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TRACTS AND OTHER PAPERS,

RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE

ORIGIN, SETTLEMENT, AND PROGRESS

OF THE

COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY TO THE YEAR 1776.

COLLECTED BY PETER FORCE.

Vol. IV.

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PETER SMITH
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VIRGINIA

richly valued,

By the description of the main land of *Florida*, her next neighbour:

Out of the foure yeeres continuall trauell and discouerie, for aboue one thousand miles East and West, of *Don Ferdinando de Soto*, and sixe hundred able men in his companie.

Wherin are truly obserued the riches and fertilitie of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasant, and profitable for the life of man: with the natures and dispositions of the Inhabitants.

Written by a Portugall gentleman of *Eluas*, emploied in all the action, and translated out of Portugese by RICHARD HACKLVYT.

AT LONDON

Printed by FELIX KYNGSTON for *Matthew Lownes*, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bishops head in Pauls Churchyard.
1609.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 1.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, THE Right Worshipfull Counsellors, and others the cheerefull aduenturors for the aduancement of that Christian and noble plantation in VIRGINIA.

THis worke, *right Honourable, right Worshipfull, and the rest, though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yeeld much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our countrie; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants, or what course is best to be taken with them.*

Touching the commodities, besides the generall report of Cabeça de Vaca *to* Charles *the Emperour (who first trauelled through a great part of the Inland of* Florida, *next adioyning vpon our* Virginia) That *Florida* was the richest countrie of the world; and, that after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, he saw gold and siluer, and stones of great value: *I referre you first to the rich mines of gold reported to be in the prouince of* Yupaha, *and described in the twelfth Chapter of this Treatise to come within our limits: And againe, to the copper hatchets found in* Cutifachiqui, *standing vpon the Riuer of* Santa Helena, *which were said to haue a mixture of gold. It seemeth also that the last Chronicler of the West Indies,* Antonio de Herrera, *speaking of the foresaid Riuer of* Santa Helena, *which standeth in* 32. *degrees and an halfe, alludeth to the prouince of* Yupaha, *in these words:* Y el oro, y plata, que hallaron, no era de aquella tierra, sino de 60. leguas, adentro al norte, de los pueblos dichos *Otapales* y *Olagatanos*, adonde se intiende, que ay minas de oro, plata, y cobre. *That is to say, That the gold and siluer which they found, was not of that countrie (of*

Chap. 35.

Decad. 3. lib. 8. cap. 8.

Santa

Santa Helena) *but* 60. *leagues distant toward the North, of the townes called* Otapales *and* Olagatanos, *where we vnderstand that there are mines of gold, siluer, and copper. By which reckoning these rich mines are in the latitude of* 35. *degrees and an halfe. I desire you likewise to take knowledge of the famous golden province of* Chisca, *stretching further to the North, whereof the Cacique of* Coste *gaue notice to* Ferdinando de Soto *in the towne of* Chiaha, *affirming, that there were mines of copper, and of another mettall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect lustre, and farre better in sight, and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfesame thing was before told the Gouernour in* Cutifachiqui: *who sent two Christians from* Chiaha *with certaine Indians which knew the countrie of* Chisca, *and the language thereof, to view it, and to make report of that which they should finde. We likewise reade not long after, that the Gouernour set forward to seeke a prouince called* Pacaha, *which hee was informed to be neere vnto* Chisca, *where the Indians told him, that there was gold. And in another place hee saith; That from* Pacaha *hee sent thirtie horsemen and fiftie footmen to the prouince of* Caluça, *to see if from thence he might trauell to* Chisca, *where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. So that here is foure times mention, and that in sundrie places, of the rich and famous goldē mines of* Chisca, *and that they lie beyond the mountaines toward the North, ouer which they were not able to trauell for the roughnes thereof. But what neede I to stand vpon forren testimonies, since Master* Thomas Heriot, *a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified vnto you all, at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right honourable the Earle of Exeter, how to the Southwest of our old fort in* Virginia, *the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red mettall, reporting the manner in working of the same. Besides, our owne Indians haue lately reuealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called* Ritanoe, *neere certaine mountaines lying West of* Roanoac.

Chap. 15.

Chap. 23.

Chap. 24.

Another very gainfull commoditie is, the huge quantitie of excellent perles, and little babies and birds made of them, that were found in Cutifachiqui. *The abundance whereof is reported to be such, that if they would haue searched diuers graues in townes thereabout, they might haue laded many of their horses. Neither are the Turkie stones and cotton wooll found at* Guasco *to be forgotten, nor passed ouer in silence.*

Chap. 14.

But

But that, which I make no small account of, is, the multitude of Oxen, which, from the beginning of the 16. *to the end of the* 26. *Chapter, are nine seuerall times made mention of, and that along from* Chiaha, Coste, Pacaha, Coligoa, *and* Tulla, *still toward the North, to wit, toward vs, there was such store of them, that they could keepe no corne for them: and that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The haire of these Oxen is likewise said to be like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe: and that they vse them for couerlets, because they are very soft and woolled like sheep: and not so onely, but they make bootes, shooes, targets, and other things necessarie of the same. Besides the former benefits, their young ones may be framed to the yoke, for carting and tillage of our ground. And I am in good hope, that ere it be long we shall haue notice of their being neerer vs, by that which I reade in the Italian relation of* Cabeça de Vaca, *the first finder of them; which writeth,* That they spread themselues within the countrie aboue foure hundred leagues. *Moreouer,* Vasques de Coronado, *and long after him,* Antonio de Espejo (*whose voiages are at large in my third volume*) *trauelled many leagues among these heards of Oxen, and found them from* 33. *degrees ranging very farre to the North and Northeast.*

A fourth chiefe commoditie wee may account to be the great number of Mulberrie trees, apt to feede Silke-wormes to make silke: whereof there was such plentie in many places, that, though they found some hempe in the countrie, the Spaniards made ropes of the barks of them for their brigandines, when they were to put to sea for Noua Hispania.

A fifth is the excellent and perfect colours, as black, white, greene, yellow, and red, and the materials to dye withall, so often spoken of in this discourse: among which I haue some hope to bring you to the knowledge of the rich graine of Cochonillio, so much esteemed, and of so great price. I speake nothing of the seuerall sorts of passing good grapes for Wine and Raisons.

Neither is it the least benefit, that they found salt made by the Indians at Cayas, *and in two places of the prouince of* Aguacay: *the manner also how the Inhabitants make it, is very well worth the obseruation.* Chap. 31. & 32.

One of the chiefest of all the rest may be the notice of the South Sea, leading vs to Iapan *and* China, *which I finde here twice to be spoken of. Whereof long since I haue written a discourse, which I thinke not fit to be made ouer common.* Chap. 31. & 32.

For

For closing vp this point, The distances of places, the qualities of the soiles, the situations of the regions, the diuersities and goodnesse of the fruits, the seuerall sorts of beasts, the varietie of fowles, the difference betweene the Inhabitants of the mountaines and the plaines, and the riches of the Inland in comparison of the Seacoast, are iudicially set downe in the conclusion of this booke, whereunto for mine owne ease I referre you.

To come to the second generall head, which in the beginning I proposed, concerning the manners and dispositions of the Inhabitants: among other things, I finde them here noted to be very eloquent and well spoken, as the short Orations, interpreted by Iohn Ortiz, *which liued twelve yeeres among them, make sufficient proofe. And the author, which was a gentleman of* Eluas *in* Portugall, *emploied in all the action, whose name is not set downe, speaking of the Cacique of* Tulla, *saith, that aswell this Cacique, as the others, and all those which came to the Gouernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could vtter the same more eloquently. But for all their faire and cunning speeches, they are not ouermuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most craftie contriued and bloody treasons, here set down at large, doe euidently proue. They be also as vnconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of aduantages to doe mischiefe. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults often times they had their deserued paiments. And many times they gaue good testimonie of their great valour and resolution. To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serue, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained vp in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands. To conclude, I trust by your Honours and Worships wise instructions to the noble Gouernour, the worthy experimented Lieutenant and Admirall, and other chiefe managers of the bnsinesse, all things shall be so prudently carried, that the painfull Preachers shall be reuerenced and cherished, the valiant and forward soldiour respected, the diligent rewarded, the coward emboldened, the weake and sick relieued, the mutinous suppressed, the reputation of the Christians among the Saluages preserued, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and Idolatrie by little and little vtterly extinguished. And here reposing and resting my selfe vpon this sweete hope, I cease,*

cease, beseeching the Almightie to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name, to the inlargement of the dominions of his sacred Maiestie, and to the generall good of all the worthie Aduenturers and vndertakers. From my lodging in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. *of Aprill*, 1609.

By one publikely and anciently deuoted to Gods seruice, and all yours in this so good action,

Richard Hakluyt.

A RELATION OF SVCH THINGS, AS DON FERDINANDO DE SOTO,

the Adelantado of *Florida* passed in seeking to conquer the said Countrey: wherein is declared who he was; and what some of them were that went with him: and some particulars and diuersities of the Countrie, and whatsoeuer they saw and happened vnto them in the same.

CHAP. I.

Which declareth who Don Ferdinando de Soto *was, and how he got the gouernment of* Florida.

CAptaine *Soto* was the son of a Squire of *Xerez* of *Badaioz*. He went into the Spanish *Indies*, when *Peter Arias* of *Auila* was Gouernour of the West *Indies:* And there he was without any thing else of his owne, saue his sword and target: and for his good qualities and valour, *Peter Arias* made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandement hee went with *Fernando Pizarro* to the conquest of *Peru:* where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present) as well at the taking of *Atabalipa*, Lord of *Peru*, as at the assault of the citie of *Cusco*, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoeuer hee was present, hee passed all other Captaines and principall persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of *Atabalipa*, he had a good share: whereby in time he gathered an hundred and foure-score thousand Duckets together, with that which fell to his part: which he brought into *Spaine:* whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaied againe with 60000 Rials of plate in the rent of the silkes of *Granada*, and all

all the rest was deliuered him in the Contractation house of *Siuil.* He tooke seruants, to wit, a Steward, a Gentleman Vsher, Pages, a Gentleman of the Horse, a Chamberlaine, Lakies, and al other officers that the house of a Noble mā requireth. From *Siuil* hee went to the Court, and in the Court, there accompanied him *Iohn Danusco* of *Siuil*, and *Lewis Moscoso D'aluarado*, *Nunno de Touar*, and *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo.* Except *Iohn Danusco*, all the rest came with him from *Peru:* and euery one of them brought fourteene or fifteene thousand Duckets: all of them went well and costly apparrelled. And although *Soto* of his owne nature was not liberall, yet because that was the first time that hee was to shew himselfe in the Court, he spent frankely, and went accompanied with those which I haue named, and with his seruants, and many other which resorted vnto him. Hee married with *Donna Isabella de Bouadilla*, daughter of *Peter Arias* of *Auila*, Earle of *Punno en Rostro.* The Emperour made him the Gouernor of the Isle of *Cuba*, and Adelantado or President of *Florida;* with a title of Marques of certaine part of the lands, that he should conquer.

Chap. II.

How Cabeça de Vaca *came to the Court, and gaue relation of the Countrie of* Florida: *And of the Companie that was assembled in* Siuil *to goe with* Don Ferdinando de Soto.

WHen *Don Ferdinando* had obtained the gouernment, there came a Gentleman from the *Indies* to the Court, named *Cabeça de Vaca*, which had been with the Gouernor *Pamphilo de Naruaez* which died in *Florida*, who reported that *Naruaez* was cast away at sea with all the companie y^t^ went with him. And how he with foure more escaped and arriued in *Nueua Espanna:* Also he brought a relation in writing of that which hee had seene in *Florida;* which said in some places: In such a place I haue seene this; and the rest which here I saw, I leaue to conferre of betweene his Maiestie and my selfe. Generally he reported the miserie of the Countrie, and the troubles which hee passed: and hee told some of his kinsfolke, which were desirous to goe into the *Indies*, and vrged him very much to tell them whether he had seene any rich country in *Florida*, that he might not tell them, because hee and another, whose name was *Orantes*, (who remained in *Nueua Espanna* with purpose to returne into *Florida:*

Florida: for which intent hee came into *Spaine* to beg the gouernment thereof of the Emperour) had sworne not to discouer some of those things which they had seene, because no man should preuent them in begging the same: And hee informed them, *That it was the richest Countrie of the world.* *Don Ferdinando de Soto* was very desirous to haue him with him, and made him a fauourable offer: and after they were agreed, because *Soto* gaue him not a summe of money which he demanded to buy a ship, they broke off againe. *Baltasar de Gallegos*, and *Christopher de Spindola*, the kinsemen of *Cabeça de Vaca*, told him, that for that which hee had imparted to them, they were resolued to passe with *Soto* into *Florida*, and therefore they prayed him to aduise them what they were best to doe. *Cabeça de Vaca* told them, that the cause why he went not with *Soto* was, because hee hoped to beg another gouernment, and that hee was loth to goe vnder the command of another: and that hee came to beg the conquest of *Florida:* but seeing *Don Ferdinando de Soto* had gotten it alreadie, for his othes sake hee might tell them nothing of that which they would know: but hee counselled them to sell their goods and goe with him, and that in so doing they should doe well. Assoone as he had opportunitie hee spake with the Emperour, and related vnto him whatsoeuer hee had passed and seene, and come to vnderstand. Of this relation made by word of mouth to the Emperour, the Marques of *Astorga* had notice, and forthwith determined to send with *Don Ferdinando de Soto* his brother *Don Antonio Osorio:* & with him two kinsmen of his prepared themselues, to wit, *Francis Osorio*, and *Garcia Osorio.* *Don Antonio* dispossessed himselfe of 60000 Rials of rent which hee held by the Church: and *Francis Osorio* of a towne of Vassals, which he had in the Countrie *de Campos.* And they made their Rendezuous with the Adelantado in *Siuil.* The like did *Nunnez de Touar*, and *Lewis de Moscoso*, and *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo*, each of whō had brought from *Peru* fourteene or fifteene thousand Duckets. *Lewis de Moscoso* carried with him two brethren: there went also *Don Carlos*, which had married the Gouernours Neece, and tooke her with him. From *Badaioz* there went *Peter Calderan*, and three kinsemen of the Adelantado, to wit, *Arias Tinoco*, *Alfonso Romo*, and *Diego Tinoco.* And as *Lewis de Moscoso* passed through * *Eluas*, *Andrew de Vasconcelos* spake with him, and requested him to speake to *Don Ferdinando de Soto* concerning him, and deliuered him certaine warrants which he had receiued from the Marques of *Villa real*, wherein

Florida is the richest Countrie of the world.

Eluas is a citie in Portugal.

he

he gaue him the Captaineship of *Ceuta* in *Barbarie*, that he might shew them vnto him. And the Adelantado saw them; and was informed who hee was, and wrote vnto him, that hee would fauour him in all things, and by al meanes, and would giue him a charge of men in *Florida*. And from *Eluas* went *Andrew de Vasconcelos*, and *Fernan Pegado*, *Antonio Martinez Segurado*, *Men Roiz Pereira*, *Iohn Cordero*, *Stephen Pegado*, *Benedict Fernandez*, and *Aluaro Fernandez*. And out of *Salamanca*, and *Iaen*, and *Valencia*, and *Albuquerque*, and from other partes of *Spaine*, many people of Noble birth assembled at *Siuil:* insomuch that in saint *Lucar* many men of good account which had sold their goods remained behind for want of shipping, wheras for other known and rich Countries, they are wont to want men: and this fell out by occasion of that which *Cabeça de Vaca* told the Emperour, and informed such persons as hee had conference withall touching the State of that Countrie. *Soto* made him great offers: and being agreed to goe with him (as I haue said before) because he would not giue him monie to pay for a ship, which he had bought, they brake off, & he went for Gouernour to the Riuer of *Plate*. His kinsemen *Christopher de Spindola*, and *Baltasar de Gallegos* went with *Soto*. *Baltasar de Gallegos* sold houses and vineyards, and rent corne, and ninetie rankes of Oliue trees in the *Xarafe* of *Siuil:* Hee had the office of *Alcalde Mayor*, and tooke his wife with him: And there went also many other persons of account with the President, and had the offices following by great friendship, because they were offices desired of many: to wit, *Antonie de Biedma* was Factor, *Iohn Danusco* was Auditor, and *Iohn Gaytan* nephew to the Cardinall of *Ciguenza* had the office of Treasurer.

Cabeça de Vaca was the Gouernour of the Riuer of Plate.

Chap. III.

How the Portugales went to Siuil, *and from thence to S.* Lucar: *he appointed Captaines ouer the ships, and distributed the people which were to goe in them.*

THe Portugales departed from *Eluas* the 15. of Ianuarie, and came to *Siuil* the 19. of the same moneth, and went to the lodging of the Gouernor, and entred into a court, ouer the which were certaine galleries where hee was, who came downe and receiued them at the staires, whereby they went vp into the galleries: when he was come vp, he commanded chaires to be giuen them to sit on.

And

And *Andrew de Vasconcelos* told him who hee and the other Portugales were, and how they all were come to accompany him, and serue him in his voiage. He gaue him thanks, and made shew of great contentment for his comming and offer. And the table being alreadie laid he inuited them to dinner. And being at dinner he commanded his steward to seeke a lodging for them neere vnto his owne, where they might bee lodged. The Adelantado departed from *Siuil* to Saint *Lucar* with al the people which were to goe with him: And he commanded a muster to be made, at the which the Portugales shewed themselues armed in verie bright armour, and the Castellans very gallant with silke vpon silke, with many pinkings and cuts. The Gouernour, because these brauaries in such an action did not like him, commanded that they should muster another day, and euery one should come foorth with his armour: at the which the Portugales came as at the first armed with very good armour. The Gouernour placed them in order neere vnto the standard which the ensigne-bearer carried. The Castellanes for the most part did weare very bad and rustie shirts of maile, and all of them headpeeces and steele cappes, and very bad lances. And some of them sought to come among the Portugales. So those passed and were counted and enroled, which *Soto* liked and accepted of, and did accompanie him into *Florida;* which were in all sixe hundred men. He had alreadie bought seuen ships, and had all necessarie prouision aboord them: He appointed Captaines, and deliuered to euery one his ship, and gaue them in a role what people euery one should carrie with them.

Sixe hundred men went with Soto into Florida.

Chap. IV.

How the Adelantado with his people departed from Spaine, *and came to the* Canaries, *and afterward to the Antiles.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1538. in the moneth of Aprill, the Adelantado deliuered his shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them: and tooke for himselfe a new ship, and good of saile, and gaue another to *Andrew de Vasconcelos,* in which the Portugales went: hee went ouer the barre of S. *Lucar* on Sunday being S. *Lazarus* day, in the morning, of the moneth and yeere aforesaid, with great ioy, commanding his trumpets to be sounded, and many shots of the ordinance

ordinance to be discharged. Hee sailed foure daies with a prosperous wind; and suddenly it calmed: the calmes continued eight daies with swelling seas, in such wise, that wee made no way. The 15. day after his departure from S. *Lucar*, hee came to *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, on Easter day in the morning. The Earle of that Island was apparralled all in white, cloke, ierkin, hose, shooes, and cappe, so that hee seemed a Lord of the Gypses. He receiued the Gouernour with much ioy: hee was well lodged, and all the rest had their lodgings gratis, and gat great store of victuals for their monie, as bread, wine and flesh: and they tooke what was needful for their ships: and the Sunday following, eight daies after their arriuall, they departed from the Isle of *Gomera*. The Earle gaue to *Donna Isabella* the Adelantados wife a bastard daughter that hee had to bee her waiting maid. They arriued at the *Antilles*, in the Isle of *Cuba*, at the port of the City of *Sant Iago* vpon Whit-sunday. Assone as they came thither, a Gentleman of the Citie sent to the sea side a very faire roan horse and well furnished for the Gouernour, and a mule for *Donna Isabella:* and all the horsemen and footemen that were in the towne came to receiue him at the sea-side. The Gouernour was well lodged, visited, and serued of all the inhabitants of that Citie, and all his companie had their lodgings freely: those which desired to goe into the countrie, were diuided by foure and foure, and sixe and sixe in the farmes or granges, according to the abilitie of the owners of the farmes, and were furnished by them with all things necessary.

Chap. V.

Of the inhabitants which are in the Citie of S. Iago, *and in the other townes of the Island: and of the qualitie of the soile, and fruites that it yeeldeth.*

THe Citie of S. *Iago* hath fourescore houses which are great and well contriued. The most part haue their walles made of bords, & are couered with thatch; it hath some houses builded with lime & stone, and couered with tiles. It hath great Orchards and many trees in them, differing from those of *Spaine:* there be figgetrees which beare figges as big as ones fist, yellow within, and of small taste; and other trees which beare a fruit which they call Ananes, in making and bignes like to a small Pineapple: it is a fruit very sweete in taste: the shel being taken away, the kernel is like a peece

Great figges.

Ananes.

peece of fresh cheese. In the granges abroad in the countrie there are other great pineapples, which grow on low trees, and are like the * Aloetree: they are of a very good smell and exceeding good taste. Other trees do beare a fruit, which they call Mameis of the bignes of Peaches. This the Islanders do hold for the best fruit of the country. There is another fruit which they call Guayabas like Filberds, as bigge as figges. There are other trees as high as a iaueline, hauing one only stocke without any bough, and the leaues as long as a casting dart: and the fruite is of the bignesse and fashion of a Cucumber, one bunch beareth 20. or 30. and as they ripen, the tree bendeth downeward with them: they are called in this countrie Plantanos; and are of a good taste, & ripen after they be gathered; but those are the better which ripen vpon the tree it selfe; they beare fruite but once: and the tree being cut downe, there spring vp others out of the but, which beare fruite the next yeere. There is another fruit; whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaues, which are called Batatas. These grow now in the Isle of *Terçera*, belonging to the Kingdome of *Portugal*, and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called Iname, they haue almost ye taste of a chestnut. The bread of this countrie is also made of rootes which are like the Batatas. And the stocke whereon those rootes doe grow is like an Elder tree: they make their ground in little hillocks, and in each of them they thrust 4. or 5. stakes; and they gather the rootes a yeere and an halfe after they set them. If any one, thinking it is a Batata or Potato roote, chance to eate of it neuer so little, hee is in great danger of death: which was seene by experience in a souldier, which assone as hee had eaten a very little of one of those rootes, hee died quicklie. They pare these rootes and stampe them, and squese them in a thing like a presse: the iuyce that commeth from them is of an euill smell. The bread is of little taste and lesse substance. Of the fruites of *Spaine*, there are Figges and Oranges, and they beare fruit all the yeere, because the soile is very ranke and fruitfull. In this countrie are many good horses, and there is greene grasse all the yeere. There be many wild oxen and hogges, whereby the people of the Island is well furnished with flesh: Without the townes abroad in the Countrie are many fruites. And it happeneth sometimes that a Christian goeth out of the way and is lost 15. or 20. daies, because of the many paths in the thicke groues that crosse to and fro

Great Pineapples.

*Erua babosa.

Mameis, an excellent fruit.

Guayabas.

Plantanos.

Batatas, or Potatos.

The Cassaui roote.

Store of good horses.

fro made by the oxen: and being thus lost, they sustaine themselues with fruites and palmîtos: for there bee many great groues of Palme trees through all the Island: they yeeld no other fruite that is of any profit. The Isle of *Cuba* is 300. leagues long from the East to the West, and is in some places 30. in others 40. leagues from North to South. It hath 6. townes of Christians: to wit, S. *Iago*, *Baracôa*, *Bayamo*, *Puerto de Principes*, S. *Espirito*, and *Hauana*. Euery one hath betweene 30. and 40. households, except S. *Iago* and *Hauana*, which haue about 60. or 80. houses. They haue Churches in each of them, and a Chaplen which confesseth them and saith Masse. In S. *Iago* is a Monasterie of Franciscan Friers: it hath but few Friers, and is well prouided of almes, because the countrie is rich: The Church of S. *Iago* hath honest reuenew, and there is a Curat and Prebends and many Priests, as the Church of that Citie, which is the chiefe of all the Island. There is in this countrie much gold, and few slaues to get it: For many haue made away themselues, because of the Christians euill vsage of them in the mines. A steward of *Vasques Porcallo*, which was an inhabitour in that Island, vnderstanding that his slaues would make away themselues, staied for them with a cudgill in his hand at the place where they were to meete, and told them, that they could neither doe nor thinke any thing, that hee did not know before; and that hee came thither to kill himselfe with them, to the end, that if hee had vsed them badly in this world, hee might vse them worse in the world to come: And this was a meane that they changed their purpose, and turned home againe to do that which he commanded them.

The length and breadth of Cuba.

A wittie stratagem.

Chap. VI.

How the Gouernour sent Donna Isabella *with the ships to* Hauana, *and he with some of his people went thither by land.*

THe Gouernour sent from S. *Iago* his Nephew *Don Carlos* with the ships in company of *Donna Isabella* to tarrie for him at *Hauana*, which is an hauen in the West part toward the head of the Island, 180. leagues from the Citie of Saint *Iago*. The Gouernour and those which staied with him bought horses and proceeded on their iournie. The first towne they came vnto was *Bayamo:* they were lodged foure and foure, and

Bayamo.

sixe and sixe, as they went in company, and where they lodged, they tooke nothing for their diet, for nothing cost them ought saue the Maiz or corne for their horses, because the Gouernor went to visit them from towne to towne, and seased them in the tribute and seruice of the Indians. *Bayamo* is 25. leagues from the Citie of S. *Iago*. Neere vnto the towne passeth a great Riuer, which is called *Tanto;* it is greater then *Guadiana*, and in it be very great Crocodiles, which sometimes hurt the Indians, or the cattell which passeth the Riuer. In all the countrie are neither Wolfe, Foxe, Beare, Lion, nor Tiger. There are wild dogges which goe from the houses into the woods and feed vpon swine. There be certaine Snakes as bigge as a mans thigh or bigger, they are very slow, they doe no kind of hurt. From *Bayamo* to *Puerto dellos principes* are 50. leagues. In al the Island from towne to towne, the way is made by stubbing vp the vnderwood: and if it be left but one yeere vndone, the wood groweth so much, that the way cannot be seene, and the paths of the oxen are so many, that none can trauell without an Indian of the Countrie for a guide: for all the rest is very hie and thicke woods. From *Puerto dellos principes* the Gouernour went to the house of *Vasques Porcallo* by sea in a bote, (for it was neere the sea) to know there some newes of *Donna Isabella*, which at that instant (as afterward was knowne) was in great distresse, in so much that the ships lost one another: and two of them fell on the coast of *Florida*, and all of them endured great want of water and victuals. When the storme was ouer, they met together, without knowing where they were: in the end they descried the Cape of S. *Anton*, a countrie not inhabited of the Island of *Cuba:* there they watered; and at the end of 40. daies, which were passed since their departure from the City of S. *Iago*, they ariued at *Hauana*. The Gouernour was presently informed thereof, and went to *Donna Isabella*. And those which went by land, which were one hundred and fiftie horsemen, being diuided into two parts, because they would not oppresse the inhabitants, trauelled by S. *Espirito*, which is 60. leagues from *Puerto dellos principes*. The food which they carried with them was *Caçabe* bread, which is that whereof I made mention before: and it is of such a qualitie, that if it be wet, it breaketh presently, whereby it happened to some to eate flesh without bread for many daies. They carried dogges with them, and a man of the Country, which did hunt; & by the way, or where they were to lodge that night, they killed as many hogges as they needed. In this iournie they were well prouided of beefe and

Puerto dellos Principes.

The Cape of S. Antonio.

and porke: And they were greatly troubled with Muskitos, especially in a lake, which is called the mere of *Pia*, which they had much adoe to passe from noone till night, the water might be some halfe league ouer, and to be swome about a crossebow shot, the rest came to the waste, and they waded vp to the knees in the mire, and in the bottome were cockle shels, which cut their feete very sore; in such sort, that there was neither boote nor shooe sole that was hole at halfe way. Their clothes and saddels were passed in baskets of Palme trees. Passing this lake, stripped out of their clothes, there came many muskitos, vpon whose biting there arose a wheale that smarted very much: they strooke them with their hands, and with the blowe which they gaue they killed so many, that the blood did runne downe the armes and bodies of the men. That night they rested very little for them, and other nights also in the like places and times. They came to *Santo Espirito*, which is a towne of thirtie houses; there passeth by it a little Riuer: it is very pleasant and fruitfull, hauing great store of Oranges and citrons, and fruites of the Countrie: One halfe of the companie were lodged here, and the rest passed forward 25. leagues to another towne called *la Trinidad* of 15. or 20. households. Here is an hospitall for the poore, and there is none other in all the Island. And they say, that this towne was the greatest in all the Countrie, and that before the Christians came into this land, as a ship passed along the coast, there came in it a very sicke man, which desired the Captaine to set him on shore: and the Captaine did so, and the ship went her way: The sicke man remained set on shore in that countrie, which vntill then had not been haunted by Christians; whereupon the Indians found him, carried him home, and looked vnto him till he was whole; and the Lord of that towne maried him vnto a daughter of his, and had warre with all the inhabitants round about, and by the industrie and valour of the Christian, he subdued and brought vnder his command all the people of that Island. A great while after, the Gouernour *Diego Velasques* went to conquer it, and from thence discouered new *Spaine:* And this Christian which was with the Indians did pacifie them, and brought them to the obedience and subiection of the Gouernour. From this towne *della Trinidad* vnto *Hauana* are 80. leagues, without any habitation, which they trauelled. They came to *Hauana* in the end of March; where they found the Gouernor, and the rest of the people which came with him from *Spaine*. The Gouernour sent from *Hauana Iohn Dannusco* with a carauele & two brigantines with

Santo Espirito.

La Trinidad.

Hauana.

50.

50. men to discouer the hauen of *Florida*: and from thence hee brought two Indians, which he tooke vpon the coast, wherewith (aswell because they might be necessarie for guides and for interpretours, as because they said by signes that there was much gold in *Florida*) the Gouernour and all the companie receiued much contentment, and longed for the houre of their departure, thinking in himselfe that this was the richest Countrie, that vnto that day had been discouered.

Chap. VII.

How we departed from Hauana, *and ariued in* Florida, *and of such things as happened vnto vs.*

Before our departure, the Gouernour depriued *Nunno de Touar* of ye office of Captaine Generall, and gaue it to *Porcallo de Figueroa*, an inhabitant of *Cuba*, which was a meane that the shippes were well furnished with victuals: for he gaue a great many loads of *Casabe* bread, and manie hogges. The Gouernour tooke away this office from *Nonno de Touar*, because hee had fallen in loue with the daughter of ye Earle of *Gomera*, *Donna Isabellas* waighting maid, who, though his office were taken from him, (to returne againe to the Gouernours fauour) though she were with child by him, yet tooke her to his wife, and went with *Soto* into *Florida*. The Gouernour left *Donna Isabella* in *Hauana;* and with her remained the wife of *Don Carlos*, and the wiues of *Baltasar de Gallegos*, and of *Nonno de Touar*. And hee left for his Lieutenant a Gentleman of *Hauana*, called *Iohn de Roias*, for the gouernment of the Island.

On Sunday the 18. of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1539. the Adelantado or president departed from *Hauana* in *Cuba* with his fleete, which were nine vessels, fiue great ships, two carauels, and two brigantines: They sailed seuen daies with a prosperous wind. The 25. day of May, the day *de Pasca de Spirito Santo*, (which we call Whitson Sonday,) they saw the land of *Florida;* and because of the shoalds, they came to an anchor a league from the shore. On Friday the 30. of May they landed in *Florida*, two leagues from a towne of an Indian Lord, called *Vcita*. They set on land two hundred and thirteene horses, which they brought with them, to vnburden the shippes, that they might draw the lesse water. Hee landed all his men, and only the

May 18. 1539.

This place was called Baya de Spirito Sancto, being on the West side of Florida, in 29. degrees, ½.

the sea men remained in the shippes, which in eight daies, going vp with the tide euery day a little, brought them vp vnto the towne. Assoone as the people were come on shore, hee pitched his campe on the sea side, hard vpon the Bay which went vp vnto the towne. And presently the Captaine generall *Vasques Porcallo* with other 7. horsemen foraged the Countrie halfe a league round about, and found sixe Indians, which resisted him with their arrowes, which are the weapons which they vse to fight withall: The horsemen killed two of them, and the other foure escaped; because the countrie is cumbersome with woods and bogs, where the horses stacke fast, and fell with their riders, because they were weake with trauelling vpon the sea. The same night following the Gouernour with an hundred men in the brigantines lighted vpon a towne, which he found without people, because, that assoone as the Christians had sight of land, they were descried, and saw along the coast many smokes, which the Indians had made to giue aduice the one to the other. The next day *Luys de Moscoso*, Master of the Campe set the men in order, the horsemen in three squadrons, the Vantgard, the Batallion, and the Rerewarde: and so they marched that day and the day following, compassing great Creekes which came out of the Bay: They came to the towne of *Vcita*, where the Gouernour was, on Sunday the first of Iune, being Trinitie Sunday. The towne was of seuen or eight houses. The Lordes house stoode neere the shore vpon a very hie mount, made by hand for strength. At another end of the towne stood the Church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of wood with gilded eies. Heere were found some pearles of small valew, spoiled with the fire, which the Indians do pierce and string them like beades, and weare them about their neckes and handwrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of timber, and couered with Palme leaues. The Gouernour lodged himselfe in the Lords houses, and with him *Vasques Porcallo*, and *Luys de Moscoso:* and in others that were in the middest of the towne, was the chiefe Alcalde or Iustice, *Baltasar de Gallegos* lodged; and in the same houses was set in a place by it selfe, al the prouision that came in the ships: the other houses and the Church were broken down, and euery three or foure souldiers made a little cabin wherein they lodged. The Countrie round about was very fennie, and encombred with great and hie trees. The Gouernor commanded to fel the woods a crossebow shot round about the towne, that the horses might runne, and the Christians might haue

The ships came vp to the towne of Vcita.

The towne of Vcita. Iune.

Some perles found.

haue the aduantage of the Indians, if by chance they should set vpon them by night. In the waies and places conuenient, they had their Centinelles of footemen by two and two in euery stand, which did watch by turnes, and the horsemen did visit them, and were readie to assist them, if there were any alarme. The Gouernour made foure Captaines of the horsemen, and two of the footemen. The Captaines of the horsemen were, one of them *Andrew de Vasconcelos*, and another *Pedro Calderan de Badaoiz:* and the other two were his kinsemen, to wit, *Arias Timoco*, and *Alfonso Romo*, borne likewise in *Badaioz*. The Captaines of the footemen, the one was *Francisco Maldonado* of *Salamanca*, and the other *Iuan Rodriguez Lobillo*. While wee were in this towne of *Vcita*, the two Indians, which *Iohn Danusco* had taken on that coast, and the Gouernor caried along with him for guides and interpretours, through carelessenes of two men, which had the charge of them, escaped away one night. For which the Gouernour and all the rest were very sorie, for they had alreadie made some roades, and no Indians could bee taken, because the countrie was full of marish grounds, and in many places full of very hie and thicke woods.

Chap. VIII.

Of some inrodes that were made into the Countrie: and how there was a Christian found, which had bin long time in the power of an Indian Lord.

From the towne of *Vcita*, the Gouernour sent the Alcalde Mayor, *Baltasar de Gallegos* with 40. horsemen and 80. footemen into the Countrie to see if they could take any Indians: and the Captaine *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo* another way with 50. footemen, the most of them were swordmen and targettours, and the rest were shot and crossebowmen. They passed through a countrie full of bogges, where horses could not trauell. Halfe a league from the campe, they lighted vpon certaine cabins of Indians neere a Riuer: The people that were in them leaped into the Riuer; yet they tooke foure Indian women: And twentie Indians charged vs, and so distressed vs, that wee were forced to retire to our campe, being, as they are, exceeding readie with their weapons. It is a people so warlike and so nimble,

Certaine cabins of Indians.

nimble, that they care not awhit for any footemen. For if their enemies charge them, they runne away, and if they turne their backs, they are presently vpon them. And the thing that they most flee, is the shot of an arrow. They never stand still, but are alwaies running and trauersing from one place to another: by reason whereof neither crossebow nor arcubuse can aime at them: and before one crossebowman can make one shot, an Indian will discharge three or foure arrowes; and he seldome misseth what hee shooteth at. An arrow, where it findeth no armour, pierceth as deepely as a crossebow. Their bowes are very long, and their arrowes are made of certaine canes like reedes, very heauie, & so strong, that a sharpe cane passeth thorow a target: Some they arme in the point with a sharpe bone of a fish like a chisel, and in others they fasten certaine stones like points of Diamants. For the most part when they light vpon an armour, they breake in the place where they are bound together. Those of cane do split and pierce a coate of maile, and are more hurtfull then the other. *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo* returned to the Campe with sixe men wounded, whereof one died; and brought the foure Indian women, which *Baltasar Gallegos* had taken in the cabins or cotages. Two leagues from the towne, comming into the plaine field, he espied ten or eleuen Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked, and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And assoone as the horsemen saw them they ran toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselues in a wood, and they ouertooke two or three of them, which were wounded: and the Christian, seeing an horseman runne vpon him with his lance, began to crie out, Sirs, I am Christian, slay me not, nor these Indians, for they haue saued my life. And straightway he called them, and put them out of feare, and they came foorth of the wood vnto them. The horse men tooke both the Christian and the Indians vp behind them; and toward night came into the Campe with much ioy: which thing being knowne by the Gouernour, and them that remained in the Campe, they were receiued with the like.

Chap. IX.

How this Christian came to the land of Florida, *and who he was: and what conference he had with the Gouernor.*

THis Christians name was *Iohn Ortiz*, and he was borne in *Siuil*, of worshipful parentage. He was 12. yeeres in the hands of the Indians. He came into this Countrie with *Pamphilo de Naruaez*, and returned in the ships to the Island of *Cuba*, where the wife of the Gouernour *Pamphilo de Naruaez* was: and by his commandement with 20. or 30. other in a brigandine returned backe againe to *Florida:* and comming to the port in the sight of the towne, on the shore they saw a cane sticking in the ground, and riuen at the top, and a letter in it: and they beleeued that the Gouernour had left it there to giue aduertisement of himselfe, when he resolued to goe vp into the land: and they demanded it of foure or fiue Indians, which walked along the sea shore: and they bad them by signes to come on shore for it: which against the will of the rest *Iohn Ortiz* and another did. And assoone as they were on land, from the houses of the towne issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place where they could not flee: and the other which sought to defend himselfe, they presentlie killed vpon the place, and tooke *Iohn Ortiz* aliue, and carried him to *Vcita* their Lord. And those of the brigandine sought not to land, but put themselues to sea, and returned to the Island of *Cuba*. *Vcita* commanded to bind *Iohn Ortiz* hand and foote vpon foure stakes aloft vpon a raft, and to make a fire vnder him, that there he might bee burned: But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging, that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a captiue. And *Vcita* granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds: and assoone as he was whole, he gaue him the charge of the keeping of the Temple: because that by night the wolues did cary away the dead corpses out of the same: who commended himselfe to God and tooke vpon him the charge of his temple. One night the wolues gate from him the corpes of a little child, the sonne of a principal Indian; and going after them he threw a darte at one of the wolues and strooke him that carried away the corps, who feeling himselfe wounded,

Iohn Ortiz, liued 12. yeeres, among the Floridians of Vcita and Mocoço.

wounded, left it, and fell downe dead neere the place: and hee not woting what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the child, he was very sad. Assoone as *Vcita* knew thereof, he resolued to put him to death; and sent by the tract, which he said the wolues went, and found the bodie of the child, and the wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat *Vcita* was much contented with the Christian, and with the watch which hee kept in the Temple, and from thence forward esteemed him much. Three yeeres after hee fell into his hands, there came another Lord, called *Mocoço*, who dwelleth two daies iourny from the Port, and burned his towne. *Vcita* fled to another towne that he had in another sea port. Thus *Iohn Ortiz* lost his office and fauour that he had with him. These people being worshippers of the diuell, are wont to offer vp vnto him the liues and blood of their Indians, or of any other people they can come by: and they report, that when he will haue them doe that sacrifice vnto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that he is athirst, and willeth them to sacrifice vnto him. *Iohn Ortiz* had notice by the damsell that had deliuered him from ye fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him ye day following, who willed him to flee to *Mocoço:* for shee knew yt he would vse him wel: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said hee would bee glad to see him: and because he knew not the way, she went with him halfe a league out of the towne by night, and set him in the way, and returned, because she would not be discouered. *Iohn Ortiz* trauailed all that night, and by ye morning came vnto a Riuer, which is in the territorie of *Mocoço:* and there he saw two Indians fishing; and because they were in war with the people of *Vcita*, and their languages were different, and hee knew not the lāguage of *Mocoço*, he was afraid, because he could not tell them who hee was, nor how hee came thither, nor was able to answer any thing for himselfe, that they would kill him, taking him for one of the Indians of *Vcita*, and before they espied him, he came to the place where they had laid their weapons: & assoone as they saw him, they fled toward the towne, and although he willed thē to stay, because he meant to do thē no hurt, yet they vnderstood him not, and ran away as fast as euer they could. And assone as they came to the towne with great outcries, many Indians came forth against him, and began to compasse him to shoote at him: *Iohn Ortiz* seeing himselfe in so great danger, sheilded himselfe with certaine trees, and began to shreeke out, and

Mocoço dwelleth two daies iournie from Vcita.

A Riuer.

and crie very loud, and to tell them that he was a Christian, and that he was fled from from *Vcita*, and was come to see and serue *Mocoço* his Lord. It pleased God that at that very instant there came thither an Indian that could speake the language and vnderstood him; and pacified the rest; who told them what hee said. Then ran from thence three or foure Indians to beare the newes to their Lord: who came foorth a quarter of a league from the towne to receiue him; and was very glad of him. He caused him presently to sweare according to the custome of the Christians, that hee would not run away from him to any other Lord: and promised him to entreate him very well; and that if at any time there came any Christians into that countrie, he would freely let him goe, and giue him leaue to goe to them: and likewise tooke his oth to performe the same according to the Indian custome. About three yeeres after certaine Indians, which were fishing at sea two leagues from the towne, brought newes to *Mocoço* that they had seene ships: and hee called *Iohn Ortiz*, and gaue him leaue to go his way: who taking his leaue of him, with all the haste he could came to the sea, and finding no ships, he thought it to be some deceit, and that the Cacique had done the same to learne his mind. So he dwelt with *Mocoço* nine yeeres, with small hope of seeing any Christians. Assoone as our Gouernor arriued in *Florida*, it was knowne to *Mocoço*, & straightway he signified to *Iohn Ortiz*, that Christians were lodged in the towne of *Vcita:* And he thought he had iested with him, as hee had done before, and told him, that by this time he had forgotten the Christians, and thought of nothing else but to serue him. But he assured him that it was so, and gaue him licence to goe vnto them: saying vnto him, that if hee would not doe it, and if the Christians should goe their way, he should not blame him, for hee had fulfilled that which he had promised him. The ioy of *Iohn Ortiz* was so great, that hee could not beleeue that it was true: notwithstanding he gaue him thankes, and tooke his leaue of him: and *Mocoço* gaue him tenne or eleuen principall Indians to beare him companie: and as they went to the port where the Gouernour was, they met with *Baltasar de Gallêgos*, as I haue declared before. Assoone as he was come to the campe, the Gouernour commanded to giue him a sute of apparrell, and very good armour, and a faire horse; and enquired of him, whether hee had notice of any countrie, where there was any gold or siluer? He answered, No, because he neuer went ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But that 30. leagues from thence dwelt an Indian Lord, which was called *Paracossi*, to whom *Mocoço*

Mocoço his towne within 2. leagues of the sea.

Paracossi 30. leagues from Puerto de Spirito Santo.

and

and *Vcita*, with al the rest of that coast paied tribute, and that hee peraduenture might haue notice of some good countrie: and that his land was better then that of the sea coast, and more fruitfull and plentifull of maiz. Whereof the Gouernour receiued great contentment: and said that he desired no more then to finde victuals, that hee might goe into the maine land, for the land of *Florida*, was so large, that in one place or other there could not chuse but bee some rich Countrie. The *Cacique Mocoço* came to the Port to visit the Gouernor, and made this speech following.

Right hie and mightie Lord, I being lesser in mine owne conceit for to obey you, then any of those which you have vnder your command; and greater in desire to doe you greater seruices, doe appeare before your Lordship with so much confidence of receiuing fauour, as if in effect this my good will were manifested vnto you in workes: not for the small seruice I did vnto you touching the Christian which I had in my power, in giuing him freely his libertie, (For I was bound to doe it to preserue mine honour, and that which I had promised him:) but because it is the part of great men to vse great magnificences: And I am perswaded, that as in bodily perfections, and commanding of good people, you doe exceede all men in the world, so likewise you doe in the parts of the minde, in which you may boast of the bountie of nature. The fauour which I hope for of your Lordship is, that you would hold mee for yours, and bethinke your selfe to command me any thing, wherein I may doe you seruice.

The Gouernour answered him, That although in freeing and sending him the Christian, he had preserued his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no comparison; and that hee would alwaies hold him as his brother, and would fauour all things to the vtmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be giuen him, and other things, wherewith the Cacique being verie well contented, tooke his leaue of him, and departed to his owne towne.

Chap. X.

How the Gouernour sent the ships to Cuba: *and left an hundred men at the Hauen* de Spirito Santo, *and himself with the rest of his people went into the maine land.*

FRom the Port *de Spirito Santo* where the Gouernour lay, he sent the Alcalde Mayor *Baltasar de Gallégos* with 50. horsemen, and 30. or 40. footemen to the prouince of *Paracossi*, to view the disposition of the countrie, and enforme himselfe of the land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his shippes backe to the Island of *Cuba*, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. *Vasques Porcallo de figueroa*, which went with the Gouernour as Captaine Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaues from *Florida*, to the Island of *Cuba*, where he had his goods and mines,) hauing made some inrodes, and seeing no Indians were to be got, because of the great bogs and woods y^t^ were in the Countrie, considering the disposition of the same, determined to returne to *Cuba*. And though there was some difference between him & the Gouernor, whereupon they neither dealt nor conuersed together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with louing words he asked him leaue and departed from him. *Baltasar de Gallégos* came to the *Paracossi:* There came to him 30. Indians from the Cacique, which was absent from his towne, and one of them made this speech: Paracossi.

Paracossi, the Lord of this prouince, whose vassals we are, sendeth vs vnto your worship, to know what it is that you seeke in this his Countrie, and wherein he may doe you seruice.

Baltasar de Gallegos said vnto him, that hee thanked them very much for their offer, willing them to warne their Lord to come to his towne, and that there they would talke and confirme their peace and friendship, which he much desired. The Indians went their way, and returned the next day, and said, that their Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. He asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Countrie where there was gold or siluer. They told them, they did: and that toward the West, there was a Prouince which was called *Cale;* and that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part

part of the yeere was sommer, and that there was much gold: and that when those their enemies came to make warre with them of *Cale*, these inhabitants of *Cale* did weare hats of gold, in manner of head peeces. *Baltasar de Gallegos*, seeing that the Cacique came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they might set themselues in safetie, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirty Indians to be chained, and sent word to the Gouernour, by eight horsemen, what had passed: whereof the Gouernour with al that were with him, at the Port *de Spirito Santo* receiued great comfort, supposing, that that which the Indians reported, might be true. Hee left Captaine *Calderan* at the Port, with thirtie horsemen, and seuentie foote-men, with prouision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the maine land, and came to the *Paracossi*, at whose towne *Baltasar de Gallegos* was: and from thence with all his men tooke the way to *Cale*.

Paracossi.

He passed by a little towne, called *Acela*, and came to another, called *Tocaste:* and from thence hee went before with 30. horsemen, and 50. foote-men toward *Cale*. And passing by a towne, whence the people were fled, they saw Indians a little from thence in a lake; to whom the Interpre-tour spake. They came vnto them and gaue them an Indian for a guide: and hee came to a Riuer with a great current, and vpon a tree, which was in the midst of it, was made a bridge, whereon the men passed: the horses swam ouer by a hawser, that they were pulled by from the otherside: for one, which they droue in at the first without it, was drowned. From thence the Gouernour sent two horsemen to his people that were behind, to make haste after him; because the way grew long, and their victuals short.

Acela.
Tocaste.

Another towne.

A Lake.

A swift Riuer.

Hee came to *Cale*, and found the towne without people. Hee tooke three Indians which were spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were sore vexed with hunger and euill waies, because the Countries was very barren of Maiz, low, and full of water, bogs, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port *de Spirito Santo*, were spent. Wheresoeuer any towne was found, there were some beetes, and hee that came first gathered them, and sodden with water and salt, did eate them without any other thing: and such as could not get them, gathered the stalkes of Maiz and eate them, which because they were young had no Maiz in them, when they came to the Riuer which the Gouernour had passed, they found

Cale.

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found palmîtos vpon low Palmetrees like those of *Andaluzia*. There they met with the two horsemen which the Gouernour sent vnto them, and they brought newes that in *Cale* there was plentie of Maiz; at which newes they all reioyced. Assoone as they came to *Cale*, the Gouernour commanded them to gather all the Maiz that was ripe in the field, which was sufficient for three moneths. At the gathering of it the Indians killed three Christians, and one of them which were taken told the Gouernour, that within seuen daies iournie, there was a very great Prouince, and plentifull of Maiz, which was called *Apalache*. And presently hee departed from *Cale* with 50. horsemen, and 60. footemen. He left the master of the Campe *Luys de Moscoso* with all the rest of the people there, with charge that hee should not depart thence vntill he had word from him. And because hitherto none had gotten any slaues, the bread that euery one was to eate, he was faine himselfe to beate in a morter made in a peece of timber with a pestle, and some of them did sift the flower through their shirts of maile. They baked their bread vpon certaine tileshares which they set ouer the fire, in such sort as heretofore I haue said they vse to doe in *Cuba*. It is so troublesome to grind their Maiz, that there were many that would rather not eate it, then grind it: and did eate the Maiz parched and sodden.

Chap. XI.

How the Gouernour came to Caliquen, *and carrying from thence the Cacique with him went to* Napetuca, *where the Indians sought to haue taken him from him, and in an assault many of them were slaine, and taken prisoners.*

THe II. day of August 1539. the Gouernour departed from *Cale;* hee lodged in a little town called *Ytara*, and the next day in another called *Potano*, and the third day at *Vtinama*, and came to another towne, which they named the towne of *Euil peace;* because an Indian came in peace, saying, That he was the Cacique, and that he with his people would serue the Gouernour, and that if he would set free 28. persons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, he would command prouision to be brought him, and would giue him a guide to instruct him in his way: The Gouernour commanded them to be set at libertie, and to keepe him in safegard. The next day in the morning there came

Ytara.

Potano.

Vtinama.

The towne of Euill peace.

many

many Indians, and set themselues round about the towne neere to a wood. The Indian wished them to carrie him neere them; and that he would speake vnto them, and assure them, and that they would doe whatsoeuer hee commanded them. And when he saw himselfe neere vnto them he brake from them, and ran away so swiftly from the Christians, that there was none that could ouertake him, and all of them fled into the woods. The Gouernour commanded to loose a grayhound, which was alreadie fleshed on them, which passing by many other Indians, caught the counterfait Cacique, which had escaped from the Christians, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Gouernour lodged at a towne called *Cholupaha:* and because it had store of Maiz in it, they named it *Villa farta.* Beyond the same there was a Riuer, on which he made a bridge of timber, and trauelled two daies through a desert. The 17. of August, he came to *Caliquen*, where he was informed of the Prouince of *Apalache:* They told him that *Pamphilo de Naruaez* had bin there, and that there hee tooke shipping, because hee could find no way to goe forward: That there was none other towne at al; but that on both sides was all water. The whole companie were very sad for these newes; and counselled the Gouernour to goe backe to the Port *de Spirito Santo*, and to abandon the Countrie of *Florida*, lest hee should perish as *Naruaez* had done: declaring, that if he went forward, he could not returne backe when he would, and that the Indians would gather vp that small quantitie of Maiz which was left. Whereunto the Gouernour answered, that he would not go backe, till he had seene with his eies that which they reported: saying, that he could not beleeue it, and that wee should be put out of doubt before it were long. And he sent to *Luys de Moscoso* to come presently from *Cale*, and that he tarried for him here. *Luys de Moscoso* and many others thought, that from *Apalache* they should returne backe; and in *Cale* they buried their yron tooles, and diuers other things. They came to *Caliquen* with great trouble; because the Countrie, which the Gouernor had passed by, was spoiled and destitute of Maiz. After all the people were come together, hee commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer that passed neere the towne. Hee departed from *Caliquen* the 10. of September, and carried the Cacique with him. After hee had trauelled three daies, there came Indians peaceably, to visit their Lord, and euery day met vs on the way playing vpon flutes: which is a token that they vse, that men may know that they come in peace. They said, that in our way

Cholupaha.

A Riuer.

Caliquen.

A Riuer.

way before there was a Cacique, whose name was *Vzachil*, a kinseman of the Cacique of *Caliquen* their Lord, waiting for him with many presents, and they desired the Gouernor that he would loose the Cacique. But he would not, fearing that they would rise, and would not giue him any guides, & sent them away from day to day with good words. He trauelled fiue daies, he passed by some smal townes, he came to a towne called *Napetuca*, the 15. day of September. Thither came 14. or 15. Indians, and besought ye Gouernor to let loose the Cacique of *Caliquen* their Lord. He answered them that he held him not in prison, but that hee would haue him to accompanie him to *Vzachil*. The Gouernour had notice by *Iohn Ortiz*, that an Indian told him how they determined to gather themselues together, and come vpon him, and giue him battell, and take away the Cacique from him. The day that it was agreed vpon, the Gouernour commanded his men to bee in a readines, and that the horsemen should bee readie armed and on horsebacke euery one in his lodging, because the Indians might not see them, and so more confidently come to the towne. There came four hundred Indians in sight of the campe with their bowes and arrowes, and placed themselues in a wood, and sent two Indians to bid the Gouernour to deliuer them the Cacique. The Gouernour with sixe footemen leading the Cacique by the hand, and talk with him, to secure the Indians, went toward the place where they were: And seeing a fit time, commanded to sound a trumpet: and presently those that were in the towne in the houses, both horse and foot, set vpon the Indians, which were so suddenly assaulted, that the greatest care they had was which way they should flee: They killed two horses; one was the Gouernours, and hee was presently horsed againe vpon another. There were 30. or 40. Indians slaine. The rest fled to two very great lakes, that were somewhat distant the one from the other: There they were swimming, and the Christians round about them. The calieuermen and crossebowmen shot at them from the banke; but the distance being great, and shooting afarre off, they did them no hurt. The Gouernour commanded that the same night they should compasse one of the lakes, because they were so great, that there were not mē enow to compasse them both; being beset, assoone as night shut in, the Indians, with determination to runne away, came swimming very softly to the banke; and to hide themselues, they put a water lillie leafe on their heads. The horsemen assoone as they perceiued it to stirre, ran into the water to the horses breasts, and the Indians fled againe into the

Some small townes.

Napetuca.

Two very great lakes.

the lake. So this night passed with any rest on both sides. *Iohn Ortiz* perswaded them, that seeing they could not escape, they should yeeld themselues to the Gouernour: which they did, enforced thereunto by the coldnes of the water; and one by one, hee first whom the cold did first ouercome, cried to *Iohn Ortiz*, desiring that they would not kill him, for he came to put himselfe into the hands of the Gouernour. By the morning watch they made an end of yeelding themselues: only 12. principall men, being more honorable and valorous then the rest, resolued rather to die then to come into his hands. And the Indians of *Paracossi*, which were now loosed out of chaines, went swimming to them, and pulled them out by the haire of their heads, and they were all put in chaines; and the next day were diuided among the Christians for their seruice.

A new conspiracie.

Being thus in captiuitie, they determined to rebell; and gaue in charge to an Indian, which was interpretour, and held to be valiant, that assoone as the Gouernour did come to speake with him, hee should cast his hands about his necke, and choke him: Who, whē he saw opportunitie, laid hands on the Gouernour, and before he cast his hands about his necke, he gaue him such a blow on the nostrils, that hee made them gush out with blood, and presently all the rest did rise. He that could get any weapons at hand, or the handle wherewith he did grind the Maiz, sought to kill his master, or the first hee met before him: and hee that could get a lance or sword at hand, bestirred himselfe in such sort with it, as though he had vsed it all his life time. One Indian in the market place enclosed betweene 15. or 20. footemen, made a way like a bull with a sword in his hand, till certaine halbardiers of the Gouernour came, which killed him. Another gat vp with a lance to a loft made of canes, which they build to keepe their Maiz in, which they call a Barbacoa, and there hee made such a noise, as though tenne men had been there defending the doore: they slew him with a partisan.

Two hundred Indians taken.

The Indians were in all about two hundred men. They were all subdued. And some of the youngest the Gouernour gaue to them which had good chaines, and were carefull to looke to them that they gat not away. Al the rest he commanded to be put to death, being tied to a stake in the midst of the market place: and the Indians of the *Paracossi* did shoote them to death.

CHAP.

Chap. XII.

How the Gouernour came to Apalache, *and was informed, that within the land, there was much gold.*

THe Gouernour departed from *Napetuca* the 23. of September: he lodged by a Riuer, where two Indians brought him a buck from the Cacique of *Vzachil*. The next day he passed by a great towne called *Hapaluya*; and lodged at *Vzachil*, and found no people in it, because they durst not tarrie for the notice the Indians had of the slaughter of *Napetuca*. He found in that towne great store of Maiz, french beanes, and *pompions, which is their foode, and that wherewith the Christians there sustained themselues. The Maiz is like course millet, and the pompions are better and more sauorie then those of *Spaine*. From thence the Gouernour sent two Captaines each a sundry way to seeke the Indians. They tooke an hundred men and women: of which aswel there as in other places where they made any inrodes, the Captaine chose one or two for the Gouernour, and diuided the rest to himselfe, and those that went with him. They led these Indians in chaines with yron collars about their neckes; and they serued to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other seruices that such captiues could doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the Christian that led them, and ran away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a peece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and vse it in stead of yron. Those that were perceiued paid for themselues, and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time. The women and young boyes, when they were once an hundred leagues from their Countrie, and had forgotten things, they let goe loose, and so they serued; and in a very short space they vnderstood the language of the Christians. From *Vzachil* the Gouernour departed toward *Apalache*, and in two daies iournie, hee came to a towne called *Axille*, and from thence forward the Indians were carelesse, because they had as yet no notice of the Christians. The next day in the morning, the first of October, he departed from thence, and commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer which hee was to passe. The deepe of the Riuer where the bridge was made, was a stones cast, and forward a crossebow shot the water came to the waste; and the wood, whereby

A Riuer.

Hapaluya a great towne.

Vzachil.

* Aboboras.

Axille.

A Riuer.

whereby the Indians came to see if they could defend the passage, and disturbe those which made the bridge, was very hie and thicke. The crossebow men so bestirred themselues that they made them giue back: and certain plancks were cast into the Riuer, whereon the men passed, which made good the passage. The Gouernor passed vpō Wednesday, which was S. *Francis* his day, and lodged at a towne which was called *Vitachuco*, subiect to *Apalache:* he found it burning; for the Indians had set it on fire. From thence forward the countrie was much inhabited, and had great store of Maiz. Hee passed by many granges like hamlets. On Sunday the 25. of October, he came to a towne, which is called *Vzela*, and vpon Tuesday to *Anaica Apalache*, where the Lord of all that Countrie and Prouince was resident: in which towne the Campemaster, whose office is to quarter out, and lodge men, did lodge all the companie round about within a league, and halfe a league of it. There were other townes, where was great store of Maiz, Pompions, French Beanes, and Plummes of the Countrie, which are better then those of *Spaine*, and they grow in the fields without planting. The victuals that were thought necessarie to passe the winter, were gathered from these townes to *Anaica Apalache*. The Gouernour was informed, that the sea was ten leagues from thence. Hee presently sent a Captaine thither with horsemen and footemen: And sixe leagues on the way, he found a towne, which was named *Ochete*, and so came to the sea; and found a great tree felled, and cut into peeces, with stakes set vp like mangers, and saw the skulles of horses. Hee returned with this newes. And that was held for certaine, which was reported of *Pamphilo de Naruaez*, that there hee had builded the barkes wherewith he went out of the land of *Florida*, and was cast away at Sea. Presently the Gouernour sent *Iohn Danusco* with 30. horsemen to the port *de Spiritu Santo*, where *Calderan* was, with order, that they should abandon the port, and all of them come to *Apalache*. He departed on Saturday the 17. of Nouember. In *Vzachil* and other townes that stood in the way he found great store of people alreadie carelesse. Hee would take none of the Indians, for not hindring himselfe, because it behooued him to giue them no leasure to gather themselues together. He passed through the townes by night, and rested without the townes three or foure houres. In tenne daies he came to the Port *de Spirito Santo*. He carried with him 20. Indian women, which

Vitachuco.

October 25.

Vzela.

Anaica-Apalache.

Apalache within 10. leagues of the sea..

Ochete.

The sea.

The Port de Spiritu Santo tenne daies

which he tooke in *Ytara*, and *Potano*, neere vnto *Cale*, and sent them to *Donna Isabella* in the two caruels, which hee sent from the Port *de Spirito Santo* to *Cuba*. And he carried all the footemen in the brigandines, and coasting along the shore, came to *Apalache*. And *Calderan* with the horsemen, and some crossebowmen on foote went by land; and in some places the Indians set vpon him, and wounded some of his men. Assoone as he came to *Apalache;* presently the Gouernour sent sawed plankes and spikes to the seaside, wherewith was made a piragua or barke, wherein were embarked 30. men well armed; which went out of the Bay to the Sea, looking for the brigandines. Sometimes they fought with the Indians, which passed along the harbour in their canoes. Vpon Saturday the 29. of Nouember, there came an Indian through the Watch vndiscouered, and set the towne on fire, and with the great wind that blew, two parts of it were consumed in a short time. On Sonday the 28. of December came *Iohn Danusco* with the brigandines. The Gouernour sent *Francisco Maldonado* a Captaine of footemen with 50. men to discouer the coast Westward, and to seeke some Port, because he had determined to go by land, and discouer y^t^ part. That day there went out eight horsemen by commandement of the Gouernor into the field, two leagues about the towne to seeke Indians: for they were now so emboldened, that within two crossebow shot of ye camp, they came and slew men. They found two men and a woman gathering French Beanes: the men, though they might haue fled, yet because they would not leaue the woman, which was one of their wiues, they resolued to die fighting: and before they were slaine, they wounded three horses, whereof one died within a few daies after. *Calderan* going with his men by the Sea-coast, from a wood that was neere the place, the Indians set vpon him, and made him forsake his way, and many of them that went with him forsooke some necessarie victuals, which they carried with them. Three or foure daies after the limited time giuen by the Gouernour to *Maldonado* for his going and comming, being alreadie determined and resolued, if within eight daies he did not come, to tarrie no longer for him, he came, and brought an Indian from a Prouince, which was called *Ochus*, sixtie leagues Westward from *Apalache;* where he had found a good Port of good depth and defense against weather. And because the Gouernor hoped to find a good countrie forward, he was very well contented. And he sent *Maldonado* for victuals to *Hauana*, with order, that he should tarrie for him at the Port of *Ochus*, which hee had discouered, for hee would goe

iournie from Aapalache.

Nouem. 29.

Decem. 28.

Ochus 60. leagues West of Apalache.

goe seeke it by land: and if he should chance to stay, and not come thither that summer, that then hee should returne to *Hauana*, and should come againe the next summer after, and tarrie for him at that port: for hee said hee would doe none other thing but goe to seeke *Ochus*. *Francisco Maldonado* departed, and in his place for Captaine of the foote-men remained *Iohn de Guzman*. Of those Indians which were taken in *Napetuca*, the treasurer *Iohn Gaytan* had a young man, which said, that he was not of that Countrie, but of another farre off toward the Sunrising, and that it was long since he had trauelled to see Countries; and that his Countrie was called *Yupaha*, and that a woman did gouerne it: and that the towne where she was resident was of a wonderfull bignesse, and that many Lords round about were tributaries to her: and some gaue her clothes, and others gold in abundance: and hee told, how it was taken out of the mines, and was moulten and refined, as if hee had seene it done, or the diuel had taught it him. So that all those which knew any thing concerning the same, said that it was impossible to giue so good a relation, without hauing seene it: And all of them, as if they had seene it, by the signes that he gaue, beleeued all that he said to be true.

Chap. 11.

Abundance of gold.

Chap. XIII.

How the Gouernour departed from Apalache *to seeke* Yupaha, *and of that which happened vnto him.*

March the 3. 1540.

ON Wedensday the third of March, of the yeere 1540. the Gouernor departed from *Anaica Apalache* to seeke *Yupaha*. He commanded his men to goe prouided with Maiz for sixtie leagues of desert. The horsemen carried their Maiz on their horses, and the footemen at their sides: because the Indians that were for seruice, with their miserable life that they lead that winter, being naked and in chaines, died for the most part. Within four daies iournie they came to a great Riuer: and they made a piragua or ferrie bote, and because of the great current, they made a cable with chaines, which they fastened on both sides of the Riuer; and the ferrie bote went along by it; and the horses swam ouer, being drawne with capstans. Hauing passed the Riuer, in a day and an halfe, they came to a towne called *Capachiqui*. Vpon Friday, the 11. of March, they found Indians in armes. The next day fiue Christians went to seeke morters, which the Indians haue to beate their Maiz, and they went to certaine houses

A great Riuer.

Capachiqui.

houses on the backside of the Campe enuironed with a wood: And within the wood were many Indians which came to spie vs; of the which came other fiue and set vpon vs. One of the Christians came running away, giuing an alarme vnto the Campe. Those which were most readie answered the alarme. They found one Christian dead, and three sore wounded. The Indians fled vnto a lake adioyning neere a very thicke wood, where the horses could not enter. The Gouernour departed from *Capachiqui*, and passed through a desert. On Wednesday the 21. of the moneth he came to a towne called *Toalli:* And from thence forward there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behind vs were thatched with straw, and those of *Toalli* were couered with reeds, in manner of tiles. These houses are verie cleanly. Some of them had walles daubed with clay, which shewed like a mud-wall. In all the cold Countrie the Indians haue euery one a house for the winter daubed with clay within and without, and the doore is very little: they shut it by night, and make fire within; so that they are in it as warme as in a stoue: and so it continueth all night that they need not clothes: and besides these, they haue others for summer; and their kitchins neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread: and they haue barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set vp in the aire vpon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The differēce which Lords or principall mens houses haue from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they haue great galleries in their fronts, and vnder them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they haue many lofts, wherein they lay vp that which the Indians doe giue them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barkes of trees, and some of a kind of grasse like vnto nettles, which being beaten, is like vnto flaxe. The women couer themselues with these mantles; they put one about them from the wast downeward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arme out, like vnto the Egyptians. The men weare but one mantle vpon their shoulders after the same manner: and haue their secrets hid with a Deeres skin, made like a linen breech, which was wont to be vsed in *Spaine*. The skins are well corried, and they giue them what colour they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloth in graine, and the blacke is most fine: and of the same leather they make shooes; and they die their mantles in the same colours. The Gouernour departed from *Toalli* the 24. of March: he came on Thursday at

Toalli.

A grasse like flaxe.

Excellent colours.

A small Riuer.

at euening to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made whereon the people passed, and *Benit Fernandez* a Portugall fell off from it, and was drowned. Assoone as the Gouernour had passed the Riuer, a little distance thence he found a towne called *Achese.*

Achese.

The Indians had no notice of the Christians: they leaped into a Riuer: some men and women were taken; among which was one that vnderstood the youth which guided the Gouernour to *Yupaha:* whereby that which he had reported was more confirmed. For they had passed through Countries of diuers languages, and some which he vnderstood not. The Gouernour sent by one of the Indians that were taken to call the Cacique, which was on the other side of the Riuer. Hee came and made this speech following:

Right high, right mightie, and excellent Lord, those things which seldome happen doe cause admiration. What then may the sight of your Lordship, and your people doe to mee and mine, whom we neuer saw? especially being mounted on such fierce beasts as your horses are, entring with such violence and furie into my Countrie, without my knowledge of your comming. It was a thing so strange, and caused such feare and terrour in our mindes, that it was not in our power to stay and receiue your Lordship with the solemnitie due to so high and renowned a Prince, as your Lordship is. And trusting in your greatnesse and singular vertues, I doe not onely hope to be freed from blame, but also to receiue fauors: and the first which I demand of your Lordship is, that you will vse me, my Countrie, and subiects as your owne: and the second, that you will tell mee who you are, and whence you come, and whither you goe, and what you seeke, that I the better may serue you therein.

The Gouernour answered him, that hee thanked him as much for his offer and good will, as if hee had receiued it, and as if hee had offered him a great treasure: and told him that he was the sonne of the Sun, and came from those parts where he dwelt, and trauelled through that Countrie, and sought the greatest Lord, and richest Prouince that was in it. The Cacique told him; that farther forward dwelt a great Lord, and that his dominion was called *Ocute.* Hee gaue him a guide, and an interpretour for that Prouince. The Gouernour commanded his Indians to bee set free, and trauelled through his Countrie vp a Riuer very well inhabited. He departed from his towne the first of Aprill; and left a very high crosse of Wood set vp in the middest of the market place: and because the time gaue no more leasure, hee declared to him onely, that that crosse was a memorie of ye same

A Riuer very well inhabited.

same, whereon Christ, which was God and man, and created the heauens and the earth, suffered for our saluation: therefore he exhorted them that they should reuerence it: and they made shew as though they would doe so. The fourth of Aprill the Gouernour passed by a towne called *Altamaca*, and the 10. of the moneth he came to *Ocute*. The Cacique sent him two thousand Indians with a present, to wit, many conies, and partriges, bread of Maiz, two hens, and many dogs: which among the Christians were esteemed as if they had been fat wethers, because of the great want of fleshmeate and salt, and hereof in many places, and many times was great need; and they were so scarse, that if a man fell sicke, there was nothing to cherish him withall: and with a sicknesse, that in another place easilie might haue been remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skinne and bones were left: and they died of pure weaknes, some of them saying, If I had a slice of meate, or a few cornes of salt, I should not die. The Indians want no fleshmeat: for they kill with their arrowes many deere, hennes, conies, and other wild fowle: for they are very cunning at it: which skill the Christians had not: and though they had it, they had no leasure to vse it: for the most of the time they spent in trauell, and durst not presume to straggle aside. And because they were thus scanted of flesh, when sixe hundred men that went with *Soto*, came to any towne, and found 30. or 40. dogs, he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man: and he that killed it, and gaue not his Captaine one quarter, if he knew it, he frowned on him, and made him feele it, in the watches, or in any other matter of labour that was offered, wherein hee might doe him a displeasure. On Monday the 12. of Aprill, the Gouernour departed from *Ocute:* The Cacique gaue him two hundred *Tamenes*, to wit, Indians to carrie burdens: hee passed through a towne, the Lord whereof was named *Cofaqui*, and came to a prouince of an Indian Lord, called *Patofa*, who, because he was in peace with the Lord of *Ocute*, and with the other bordering Lords, had many daies before notice of the Gouernour, and desired to see him: He came to visit him, and made this speech following.

Altamaca. Ocute.

Conies, Patriges, Hens, Dogges.

Cafaqui. Patofa.

Mightie Lord, now with good reason I will craue of fortune to requite this my so great prosperitie with some small aduersitie; and I will count my selfe verie rich, seeing I haue obtained that, which in this world I most desired, which is, to see, and bee able to doe your Lordship some seruice. And although the tongue bee the image of that which is in the heart, and that the contentment which I feele in my heart I cannot dissemble,

dissemble, yet is it not sufficient wholly to manifest the same. Where did this your Countrie, which I doe gouerne, deserue to be visited of so soueraigne, and so excellent a Prince, whom all the rest of the world ought to obey and serue? And those which inhabit it being so base, what shall bee the issue of such happines, if their memorie doe not represent vnto them some aduersitie that may betide them, according to the order of fortune? If from this day forward we may be capable of this benefit, that your Lordship will hold vs for your owne, we cannot faile to be fauoured and maintained in true iustice and reason, and to haue the name of men. For such as are void of reason and iustice, may bee compared to brute beasts. For mine owne part, from my very heart with reuerence due to such a Prince, I offer my selfe vnto your Lordship, & beseech you; that in reward of this my true good will, you will vouchsafe to make vse of mine owne person, my Countrie, and subiects.

The Gouernour answered him, that his offers and good wil declared by the effect, did highly please him, whereof he would alwaies be mindfull to honour and fauour him as his brother. This Countrie, from the first peaceable Cacique, vnto the Prouince of *Patofa*, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat Countrie, beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Riuers. And from thence to the Port *de Spirito Santo*, where wee first ariued in the land of *Florida*, (which may bee 350. leagues, little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groues of wild Pinetrees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very hie and thicke groues, whither the Indians that were in armes fled, so that no man could find them, neither could any horses enter into them. Which was an inconuenience to the Christians, in regard of the victuals which they found conueied away; and of the trouble which they had in seeking of Indians to bee their guides.

An excellent Countrie for 50. leagues.

Chap. XIIII.

How the Gouernour departed from the Prouince of Patofa, *and went through a desert, where he and all his men fell into great distresse, and extreme miserie.*

IN the towne of *Patofa* the youth, which the Gouernour carried with him for an interpretour and a guide, began to fome at the mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one possessed with the diuell: They said a Gospell ouer him; and the fit left him. And he said, that foure daies iournie from thence toward the

the Sunne rising, was the prouince that he spake of. The Indians of *Patofa* said, that toward that part they knew no habitation; but that toward the Northwest, they knew a Prouince which was called *Coça*, a verie plentifull countrie, which had very great townes in it. The Cacique told the Gouernour, that if he would go thither, he would giue him guides and Indians for burdens; and if he would goe whither the youth spake of, that he would likewise giue him those that he needed: and so with louing words and offers of courtesie, they tooke their leaues the one of the other. He gaue him seuen hundred Indians to beare burdens. Hee tooke Maiz for four daies iournie. Hee trauelled sixe daies by a path which grew narrow more and more, till it was lost altogether: He went where the youth did lead him, and passed two Riuers which were waded: each of them was two crossebowshot ouer: the water came to the stirrops, and had so great a current, that it was needfull for the horsemen to stand one before another, that the footemen might passe aboue them leaning vnto them. He came to another Riuer of a greater current and largenes, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim at the comming out about a lances length. Hauing passed this Riuer, the Gouernor came to a groue of pinetrees, and threatned the youth, and made as though hee would haue cast him to the dogges, because he had told him a lie, saying, it was but foure daies iournie, and they had trauelled nine, and euery day 7. or 8. leagues, and the men by this time were growne wearie and weake, and the horses leane through the great scanting of the Maiz. The youth said, that hee knew not where hee was. It saued him that he was not cast to the dogges, that there was neuer another whom *Iohn Ortiz* did vnderstand. The Gouernour with them two, and with some horsemen and footemen, leauing the Campe in a groue of pinetrees, trauelled that day 5. or 6. leagues to seek a way, and returned at night very comfortlesse, and without finding any signe of way or towne. The next day there were sundrie opinions deliuered, whether they should goe backe, or what they should doe: and because backward the Countrie whereby they had passed was greatly spoiled and destitute of Maiz, and that which they brought with them was spent, and the men were very weake, and the horses likewise, they doubted much whether they might come to any place where they might helpe themselues. And besides this, they were of opinion, that going in that sort out of order, that any Indians would presume to set vpon them, so that with hunger, or with warre, they could not escape. The Gouernour determined to send horsemen from thence

Two swift Riuers.

Another greater Riuer

Nine daies iournie.

thence euery way to seeke habitation: and the next day he sent foure Captaines, euery one a sundrie way with eight horsemen. At night they came againe, leading their horses, or driuing them with a sticke before; for they were wearie, that they could not lead them; neither found they any way nor signe of habitation. The next day, the Gouernour sent other foure with as many horsemen that could swim, to passe the Ose and Riuers which they should find, and they had choice horses the best that were in the Campe. The Captaines were *Baltasar de Gallegos*, which went vp the Riuer; and *Iohn Danusco*, downe the Riuer: *Alfonso Romo*, and *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo* went into the inward parts of the land. The Gouernour brought with him into *Florida* thirteene sowes, and had by this time three hundred swine: He commanded euery man should haue halfe a pound of hogs flesh euery day: and this hee did three or foure daies after the Maiz was all spent. With this small quantitie of flesh, and some sodden hearbs, with much trouble the people were sustained. The Gouernour dismissed ye Indians of *Patofa*, because hee had no food to giue them; who desiring to accompanie and serue the Christians in their necessitie, making shew that it grieued them very much to returne, vntill they had left them in a peopled Countrie, returned to their owne home. *Iohn Danusco* came on Sunday late in the euening, and brought newes that he had found a little towne 12. or 13. leagues from thence: he brought a woman and a boy that he tooke there. With his comming and with those newes, the Gouernour and all the rest were so glad, that they seemed at that instant to haue returned from death to life. Vpon Monday, the twentie sixe of Aprill, the Gouernour departed to goe to the towne, which was called *Aymay;* and the Christians named it the towne of *Reliefe*. He left where the Camp had lien at the foote of a Pinetree a letter buried, and letters carued in the barke of the pine, the contents whereof was this: Dig here at the foot of this pine, & you shal find a letter. And this he did, because when the Captaines came, which were sent to seeke some habitation, they might see the letter, and know what was become of the Gouernour, and which way he was gone. There was no other way to the town, but the markes that *Iohn Danusco* left made vpon the trees. The Gouernour with some of them that had the best horses came to it on the Monday: And all the rest inforcing themselues the best they could, some of them lodged within two leagues of the towne, some within three and foure, euery one as he was able to goe, and his strength serued him. There was found in the towne a storehouse full of the fowre

The great increase of swine.

Aymay.

flowre of parched Maiz; and some Maiz, which was distributed by allowance. Here were foure Indians taken, and none of them would confesse any other thing, but that they knew of none other habitation. The Gouernour commanded one of them to be burned; & presently another confessed, that two daies iournie from thence, there was a Prouince that was called *Cutifa-Chiqui.* An Indian burned for his falsehood

Vpon Wednesday came the Captaines *Baltasar de Gallegos*, *Alfonso Romo*, and *Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo:* for they had found the letter, and followed the way which the Gouernour had taken toward the towne. Two men of *Iohn Rodriguez* companie were lost, because their horses tired: the Gouernour checked him very sore for leauing them behind, and sent to seeke them: and assoone as they came, he departed toward *Cutifa-Chiqui.* In the way three Indians were taken, which said, that the Ladie of that Countrie had notice alreadie of the Christians, and staied for them in a towne of hers. The Gouernour sent by one of them to offer her his friendship, and to aduertise her how hee was comming thither. The Gouernour came vnto the towne: and presently there came foure canoes to him; in one of them came a sister of the Ladie, and approching to the Gouernour she said these words: Cutifa-Chiqui.

Excellent Lord, my sister sendeth vnto you by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to signifie vnto you, that the cause why she come not in person, is, that she thinketh to do you greater seruice staying behind, as she doth, giuing order, that with all speed, al her canoes be readie, that your Lordship may passe the Riuer, and take your rest, which shall bee presentlie performed.

The Gouernour gaue her thankes, and she returned to the other side of the Riuer. Within a little while the Ladie came out of the towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians brought her to the Riuer. She entered into a barge, which had the sterne tilted ouer, and on the floore her mat readie laied with two cushions vpō it one vpon another, where she sate her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other barges, which did wait vpon her. She went to the place where the Gouernor was, and at her comming she made this speech following:

Excellent Lord, I wish this comming of your Lordship, into these your Countries, to be most happie: although my power be not answerable to my wil, and my seruices be not according to my desire, nor such as so high a Prince, as your Lordship, deserueth; yet since the good will is rather to be accepted, then all

all the treasures of the world, that without it are offered, with most vnfaileable and manifest affection, I offer you my person, lands, and subiects, and this small seruice.

And therewithal she presented vnto him great store of clothes of the Countrie, which shee brought in other canoes; to wit, mantles and skinnes; and tooke from her owne necke a great cordon of perles, and cast it about the necke of the Gouernour, entertaining him with very gracious speeches of loue and courtesie, and commanded canoes to be brought thither, wherein the Gouernour and his people passed the Riuer. Assoone as hee was lodged in the towne, she sent him another present of many hens. This Countrie was verie pleasant, fat, and hath goodly meadows by the Riuers. Their woods are thin, and ful of walnut trees and Mulberrie trees. They said the sea was two daies iournie from thence. Within a league, and halfe a league about this towne, were great townes dispeopled, and ouergrowne with grasse; which shewed, that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said, that two yeere before there was a plague in that Countrie, and that they remooued to other townes. There was in their storehouses great quantitie of clothes, mantles of yarne made of the barkes of trees, and others made of feathers, white, greene, red, and yellow, very fine after their vse, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skinnes, with many compartiments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings, and shooes. And the Ladie perceiuing, that the Christians esteemed the perles, aduised the Gouernour to send to search certaine graues that were in that towne, and that hee should find many: and that if hee would send to the dispeopled townes, hee might load all his horses. They sought the graues of that towne, and there found fourteene rooues of perles, and little babies and birds made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well proportioned, and more ciuill then any others that were seene in all the Countrie of *Florida*, and all of them went shod and clothed. The youth told the Gouernour, that hee began now to enter into the land which he spake of: and some credit was giuen him that it was so, because hee vnderstood the language of the Indians: and hee requested that he might bee Christened, for he said hee desired to become a Christian: Hee was Christened, and named *Peter*;

A great cordon of perles.

They passe the Riuer.

Cutifa-Chiqui.

Walnut trees.

Mulbery trees for silke.

The sea two daies iournie off.

Mantles of the barkes of trees.

Mantles of feathers.

Three hundred ninetie two pounds of pearles found.

and

and the Gouernour commanded him to bee loosed from a chaine, in which vntill that time he had gone. This Countrie, as the Indians reported, had been much inhabited, and had the fame of a good Countrie. And, as it seemeth, the youth, which was the Gouernours guide, had heard of it, and that which he knew by heresay, hee affirmed that hee had seene, and augmented at his pleasure. In this towne was found a dagger, and beades, that belonged to Christians. The Indians reported, that Christians had beene in the hauen, which was two daies iournie from this towne, many yeeres agoe. Hee that came thither was the Gouernour, the *Licenciate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, which went to conquer this Countrie, and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a diuision, quarrels and slaughters betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall gouernment: And without knowing any thing of the Countrie, they returned home to *Hispaniola*. All the Companie thought it good to inhabit that Countrie, because it was in a temperat climate: And that if it were inhabited, al the shippes of New Spaine, of *Peru*, *Santa Martha*, and *Tierra firme*, in their returne for *Spaine*, might well touch there: because it was in their way; and because it was a good Countrie, and sited fit to raise commoditie. The Gouernour, since his intent was to seeke another treasure, like that of *Atabalipa* Lord of *Peru*, was not contented with a good Countrie, nor with pearles, though many of them were worth their weight in gold. And if the Countrie had been diuided among the Christians, those which the Indians had fished for afterward, would haue been of more value: for those which they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The Gouernour answered them, that vrged him to inhabit, That in all the Countrie, there were not victuals to sustaine his men one moneth; and that it was needfull to resort to the Port of *Ocus*, where *Maldanado* was to stay for them: and that if no richer Countrie were found, they might returne againe to that whensoeuer they would: and in the meane time the Indians would sow their fields, and it would be better furnished with Maiz. He inquired of the Indians, whether they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that 12. daies iournies from thence, there was a Prouince called *Chiaha*, subiect to the Lord of *Coça*. Presently the Gouernour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of few words, though he was glad to sift

This towne was but two daies iournie from the hauen of Santa Helena.

In the yeore 1525.

It is in 32. degrees ½.

Chiaha 12. daies iournie from Santa Helena: and Coste 7. daies iournie from

and

Chiaha: at which towne of Coste, they had an oxe hide: Chap.16

and know the opinion of all men, yet after hee had deliuered his owne, hee would not be contraried, and alwaies did what liked himselfe, and so all men did condescend vnto his will. And though it seemed an errour to leaue that Countrie, (for others might haue been sought round about, where the people might haue been sustained, vntill the haruest had been readie there, and the Maiz gathered) yet there was none that would say any thing against him, after they knew his resolution.

Chap. XV.

How the Gouernour departed from Cutifa-Chiqui *to seeke the Prouince of* Coça; *and what happened vnto him in the way.*

THe Gouernour departed from *Cutifa-Chiqui* the third day of May. And because the Indians had reuolted, and the will of the Ladie was perceiued, that if she could, she would depart without giuing any guides or men for burdens, for the wrongs which the Christians had done to the Indians: (for there neuer want some among many of a base sort, that for a little gaine doe put themselues and others in danger of vndoing.) The Gouernour commanded her to be kept in safegard, and carried with him, not with so good vsage as she deserued for ye good wil she shewed, and good entertainement that she had made him. And he verified that old prouerb which saith; For weldoing I receiue euill. And so he carried her on foot with his bondwomen to looke vnto her. In all the townes where the Gouernour passed, the Ladie commanded the Indians to come and carrie the burdens from one towne to another. We passed through her Countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as we saw, she was much obeyed. For the Indians did all that she commanded them with great efficacie and diligence. *Peter* the youth that was our guide, said, that she was not the Ladie her selfe, but a neece of hers, which came to that towne to execute certaine principal men by commandement of the Ladie, which had withheld her tribute: which words were not beleeued, because of the lies which they had found in him before: but they bare with all things, because of the need which they had of him, to declare what the Indians said. In seuen daies space the Gouernour came to a Prouince called *Chalaque*, the poorest Country of Maiz that was seene in *Florida*. The Indians fed vpon rootes and herbes which they seeke in the fields,

Chalaque seuen daies iournie from

fields, and vpon wild beasts, which they kil with their bowes and arrowes: and is a verie gentle people. All of them goe naked, and are very leane. There was a Lord, which for a great present, brought the Gouernour two Deeres skins: and there were in that Countrie many wild hennes. In one towne they made him a present of 700. hennes, and so in other townes they sent him those which they had or could get. From this Prouince to another, which is called *Xualla*, he spent fiue daies: here he found very little Maiz; and for this cause, though the people were wearied, and the horses very weake, he staied no more but two daies. From *Ocute* to *Cutifa-chiqui*, may bee some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof 80. are wildernesse. From *Cutifa-chiqui* to *Xualla*, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an hillie Countrie. The Gouernour departed from *Xualla* toward *Guaxule:* he passed very rough and hie hilles. In that iournie, the Ladie of *Cutifa-chiqui* (whom the Gouernour carried with him, as is afore said, with purpose to carrie her to *Guaxule*, because her territorie reached thither) going on a day with the bondwomen which lead her, went out of the way, and entred into a wood, saying, she went to ease her selfe, and so she deceiued them, and hid her selfe in the wood; and though they sought her they could not find her. She carried away with her a little chest made of canes in manner of a coffer, which they call Petaca, full of vnbored perles. Some which could iudge of them, said, that they were of great value. An Indian woman that waited on her did carrie them. The Gouernour not to discontent her altogether, left them with her, making account that in *Guaxule* he would ask them of her, when he gaue her leaue to returne: which coffer she carried away, and went to *Xualla* with three slaues which fled from the Campe, and one horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an ague went out of the way, and was lost. This man, whose name was *Alimamos*, dealt with the slaues to change their euill purpose, and returne with him to the Christians: which two of them did; and *Alimamos* and they ouertooke the Gouernour 50. leagues from thence in a Prouince called *Chiaha;* and reported how the Ladie remained in *Xualla* with a slaue of *Andrew de Vasconcellos*, which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they liued as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to *Cutifa-chiqui*. Within fiue daies the Gouernour came to *Guaxule*. The Indians there gaue him a present of 300. dogges, because they saw the Christians esteeme them, and sought them

Chutifa-Chiqui.

700. Hennes.

Xualla 5. daies off.

Rough and hie hilles.

Guaxule fiue daies off.

to

to feed on them: for among them they are not eaten. In *Guaxule*, and all that way, was very little Maiz. The Gouernour sent from thence an Indian with a message to the Cacique of *Chiaha*, to desire him to gather some Maiz thither, that he might rest a few daies in *Chiaha*. The Gouernour departed from *Guaxule*, and in two daies iournie came to a towne called *Canasagua*. There met him on the way 20. Indians euery one loaden with a basket ful of Mulberries: for there be many, and those very good, from *Cutifa-chiqui* thither, and so forward in other Prouinces, and also nuts and plummes. And the trees grow in the fields without planting or dressing them, and as big and as rancke, as though they grew in gardens digged and watered. From the time that the Gouernour departed from *Canasagua*, hee iournied fiue daies through a desert; and two leagues before hee came to *Chiaha*, there met him 15. Indians loaden with Maiz, which the Cacique had sent; and they told him on his behalfe, that he waited his comming with 20. barnes full of it; and farther, that himselfe, his Countrie, and subiects, & al things els were at his seruice. On the 5. day of Iune, the Gouernour entred into *Chiaha:* The Cacique voided his owne houses, in which he lodged, & receiued him with much ioy, saying these words following:

Canasagua two daies iournie off.

Great store of Mulberrie trees to make silke.

Iune 5.

Chiaha fiue daies iournie off, and 50. leagues from Xualla.

Mightie and excellent Lord, I hold my selfe for so happie a man, in that it hath pleased your Lordship to vse me, that nothing could haue happened vnto me of more contentment, nor that I would haue esteemed so much. From Guaxule *your Lordship sent vnto me, that I should prepare Maiz for you in this towne for two moneths: Here I haue for you* 20. *barnes full of the choicest that in all the Countrie could be found. If your Lordship bee not entertained by me in such sort, as is fit for so hie a Prince, respect my tender age, which excuseth me from blame, and receiue my good wil, which with much loyaltie, truth, and sinceritie, I will alwaies shew in any thing, which shall concerne your Lordships seruice.*

The Gouernor answered him, that he thanked him very much for his seruice and offer, and that he would alwaies account him as his brother. There was in this towne much butter in gourds melted like oile: they said it was the fat of beares. There was found also great store of oile of walnuts, which was cleare as butter, and of a good taste, and a pot full of honie of bees, which neither before nor afterward was seene in all the Countrie. The towne was an Island betweene two armes

The fat of beares.

Oile of Walnuts.

Honie of Bees.

armes of a Riuer, and was seated nigh one of them. The Riuer diuideth it selfe into those two branches two crossebow shot aboue the towne, and meeteth againe a league beneath the same. The plaine betweene both the branches is sometimes one crossebow shot, sometimes two crossebow shot ouer. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded ouer. There were along them verie good meadows, and manie fields sowne with Maiz. And because the Indians staied in their towne, the Gouernour only lodged in the houses of the Cacique, and his people in the fields; where there was euer a tree, euerie one tooke one for himselfe. Thus the Camp lay separated one from another, and out of order. The Gouernour winked at it, because the Indians were in peace, and because it was very hot, and the people should haue suffered great extremitie, if it had not bin so. The horses came thither so weake, that for feeblenesse, they were not able to carrie their masters: because that from *Cutifa-chiqui*, they alwaies trauelled with verie little prouender, and were hunger-starued and tired euer since they came from the desert of *Ocute*. And because the most of them were not in case to vse in battell, though need should require, they sent them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Camp. The Christians were there in great danger, because that if at this time the Indians had set vpon them, they had been in euill case to haue defended themselues. The Gouernour rested there thirtie daies, in which time, because the Countrie was very fruitfull, the horses grew fat. At the time of his departure, by the importunitie of some, which would haue more then was reason, hee demanded of the Cacique 30. women to make slaues of. Hee answered that he would conferre with his chiefe men. And before hee returned an answere, one night all of them with their wiues and children forsooke the towne, and fled away. The next day the Gouernour purposing to goe to seeke them, the Cacique came vnto him, and at his comming vsed these words vnto the Gouernour:

Chiaha seated in an Island.

The desert of Ocute, chap. 14.

30. Daies rest.

Mightie Lord, with shame and feare of your Lordship, because my subiects against my will haue done amisse in absenting themselues, I went my way without your license; and knowing the errour which I haue committed, like a loyall subiect, I come to yeeld my selfe into your power, to dispose of mee at your owne pleasure. For my subiects do not obey mee, nor doe any thing but what an Vncle of mine commandeth, which gouerneth this Countrie for me, vntill I be of a perfect age. If your Lordship will pursue them, and execute on them that, which

which for their disobedience they deserue, I will be your guide, since at this present my fortune will not suffer me to performe any more.

Presently the Gouernour with 30. horsemen, and as many footemen, went to seeke the Indians, and passing by some townes of the principall Indians which had absented themselues, hee cut and destroyed great fields of Maiz; and went vp the Riuer, where the Indians were in an Island, where the horsemen could not come at them. There he sent them word by an Indian to returne to their towne and feare nothing, and that they should giue him men to carrie burdens, as al those behind had done; for he would haue no Indian women, seeing they were so loth to part with them. The Indians accepted his request, and came to the Gouernour to excuse themselues; and so all of them returned to their towne. A Cacique of a Prouince called *Coste*, came to this towne to visit the Gouernour. After hee had offered himselfe, and passed with him some words of tendring his seruice and curtesie; the Gouernour asking him whether he had notice of any rich "Countrie? he said, yea: to wit, that toward the North, there "was a Prouince named *Chisca:* and that there was a melting of copper, and of another metall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect colour, and farre better to the sight; and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfe same thing was told the Gouernour in *Cutifa-chiqui;* where we saw some little hatchets of copper, which were said to haue a mixture of gold. But in that part the Countrie was not well peopled, and they said there were mountaines, which the horses could not passe: and for that cause, the Gouernour would not goe from *Cutifa-chiqui* directly thither: And hee made account, that trauelling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should bee in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would returne toward it, by mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby hee might haue better passage. He sent two Christians from *Chiaha* with certaine Indians which knew the Countrie of *Chisca*, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find; where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

Certaine townes.

Mines of copper and gold in Chisca toward the North.

Hatchets of copper holding gold.

Chisca is directly North from Cutifa-Chiqui, which is within two daies of Santa Helena.

Two Christians sent from Chiaha to seeke Chisca.

Chap. XVI.

How the Gouernor departed from Chiaha, *and at* Coste *was in danger to haue beene slaine by the hands of the Indians, and by a stratageme escaped the same: And what more happened vnto him in this iournie, and how he came to* Coça.

WHen the Gouernour was determined to depart from *Chiaha* to *Coste*, he sent for the Cacique to come before him, and with gentle words tooke his leaue of him, and gaue him certaine things, wherewith he rested much contented: In seuen daies hee came to *Coste*. The second of Iulie he commanded his Campe to be pitched two crossebow shot from the town: and with eight men of his guard he went where he found the Cacique, which to his thinking receiued him with great loue. As hee was talking with him, there went from the Campe certaine footemen to the towne to seeke some Maiz, and not contented with it, they ransacked and searched the houses, and tooke what they found. With this despite the Indians began to rise and to take their armes: and some of them with cudgils in their hands, ran vpon fiue or sixe Christians, which had done them wrong, and beat them at their pleasure. The Gouernour seeing them al in an vprore, and himselfe among them with so few Christians, to escape their hands vsed a stratagem, farre against his owne disposition, being, as hee was, very francke and open: and though it grieued him very much that any Indian should be so bold, as with reason, or without reason to despise the Christians, he tooke vp a cudgel, and tooke their parts against his owne men; which was a meanes to quiet them: And presently he sent word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place where he was; and hee tooke the Cacique by the hand, vsing very mild words vnto him, and with some principall Indians that did accompanie him, he drew them out of the towne into a plaine way, and vnto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the Christians began to come and to gather about them. Thus the Gouernour led the Cacique, and his chiefe men vntill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere vnto his tent, hee commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giuing him a guide and Indians for burthens, and till certaine sicke Christians were come, which he had

Coste seuen daies from Chiaha, chap. 14.

A wise stratagem.

had commanded to come downe the Riuer in canoes from *Chiaha;* and those also which he had sent to the Prouince of *Chisca:* (for they were not returned; and he feared that the Indians had slaine the one, and the other.) Within three daies after, those which were sent to *Chisca* returned, and made report, that the Indians had carried them through a Countrie so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and ouer so high mountaines, that it was impossible for the armie to trauell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they lingred much, they consulted to returne from a little poore towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an oxe hide, which the Indians gaue them, as thinne as a calues skinne, and the haire like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe. The Cacique gaue a guide, and men for burdens, and departed with the Gouernours leaue. The Gouernour departed from *Coste* the ninth of Iulie, and lodged at a towne called *Tali:* The Cacique came foorth to receiue him on the way, and made this speech:

Those which were sent to seeke Chisca returne.

High mountaines.

A little poore towne.

An oxe hide with haire like wooll. cap. 26. and Gomara Histor. General. cap. 215. saith so.

Tali, 1. day from Coste.

Excellent Lord and Prince, worthie to be serued and obeyed of all the Princes in the world; howsoeuer for the most part by the outward physiognomie, the inward vertue may bee iudged, and that who you are, and of what strength, was knowne vnto mee before now: I will not inferre hereupon how meane I am in your presence, to hope that my poore seruices will bee gratefull and acceptable: since whereas strength faileth, the will doth not cease to be praised and accepted. And for this cause I presume to request your Lordship, that you will be pleased onely to respect the same, and consider wherein you will command my seruice in this your Countrie.

The Gouernour answered him, that his good will and offer was as acceptable vnto him, as if he had offered him all the treasures of the world, and that hee would alwaies intreate, fauour, and esteeme him as if he were his owne brother. The Cacique commanded prouision necessarie for two daies, while the Gouernour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gaue him foure women and two men, which hee had need of to beare burthens. The Gouernour trauelled sixe daies through many townes subiect to the Cacique of *Coça:* & as he entred into his Countrie many Indians came vnto him euery day from the Cacique, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another comming. Hee came to *Coça* vpon Friday, the 26. of Iulie.

Many townes of Coça.

The

The Cacique came foorth to receiue him two crossebow shot from the towne in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting vpon a cushion, and couered with a garment of Marterns, of the fashion and bignes of a womans huke: hee had on his head a diadem of feathers, and round about him many Indians playing vpon flutes, and singing. Assoone as he came vnto the Gouernour, he did his obeysance, and vttered these words following:

Coca. Iulie 26.

Marterns.

Excellent and mightie Lord, aboue all them of the earth; although I come but now to receiue you, yet I haue receiued you many daies agoe in my heart, to wit, from the day wherein I had first notice of your Lordship; with so great desire to serue you, with so great pleasure and contentment, that this which I make shew of, is nothing in regard of that which is in my heart, neither can it haue any kind of comparison. This you may hold for certaine, that to obtaine the dominion of the whole world, would not haue reioyced me so much, as your sight, neither would I haue held it for so great a felicitie. Doe not looke for me to offer you that which is your owne: to wit, my person, my lands and subiects: onely I will busie my selfe in commanding my men with all diligence and due reuerence to welcome you from hence to the towne with playing and singing, where your Lordship shall be lodged and attended vpon by myselfe and them: and all that I possesse, your Lordship shall vse as it were your owne. For your Lordship shall doe me a verie great fauour in so doing.

The Gouernour gaue him thankes, and with great ioy they both went conferring together, till they came to the towne: and he commanded his Indians to void their houses, wherein the Gouernour and his men were lodged. There was in the barnes, and in the fields, great store of Maiz and French Beanes: The Country was greatly inhabited with many great townes, and many sowne fields, which reached from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good meadows vpon Riuers. There were in the fields, many Plum trees, aswell of such as grow in *Spaine*, as of the Countrie: and wild tall vines, that runne vp the trees; and besides these, there were other low vines with big and sweet grapes; but for want of digging and dressing, they had great kirnels in them. The Gouernour vsed to set a guard ouer the Caciques, because they should not absent themselues, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countries: because that carrying them along with him, he looked

The towne.

Many great townes.

Many plum-trees of diuers sorts.

Two sorts of grapes.

looked to find people in the townes, and they gaue him guides, and men to carrie burdens: and before hee went out of their Countries, he gaue them licence to returne to their houses, and to their porters likewise, assoone as he came to any other Lordship, where they gaue him others. The men of *Coça* seeing their Lord detained, tooke it in euil part, and reuolted, and hid themselues in the woods, aswell those of the towne of the Cacique, as those of the other townes of his principall subiects. The Gouernor sent out foure Captaines, euery one his way to seeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They seeing the hurt which they receiued, and how little they gained in absenting themselues, came againe, promising to do whatsoeuer they were commanded. Of those which were taken prisoners, some principall men were set at libertie, whom the Cacique demanded: and euery one that had any, carried the rest in chaines like slaues, without letting them goe to their Countrie: neither did any returne, but some few, whose fortune helped them with the good diligence which they vsed to file off their chaines by night, or such as in their trauelling could slippe aside out of the way, seeing any negligence in them that kept them: some escaped away with the chaines, and with the burdens, and clothes which they carried.

Chap. XVII.

How the Gouernour went from Coça *to* Tascaluca.

He Gouernour rested in *Coça* 25. daies. He departed from thence the 20. of August to seeke a Prouince called *Tascaluca:* hee carried with him the Cacique of *Coça.* He passed that day by a great towne called *Tallimuchase,* the people were fled: he lodged halfe a league farther neere a brooke. The next day he came to a towne called *Ytaua,* subiect to *Coça.* Hee staied there sixe daies because of a Riuer that passed by it, which at that time was very hie; and assoone as the Riuer suffered him to passe, he set forward, and lodged at a towne named *Vllibahali.* There came to him on the way, ou the Caciques behalfe of that Prouince, ten or twelue principall Indians to offer him his seruice; all of them had their plumes of feathers, and bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour comming to the towne with twelue horsemen, and

20. of August.

Tallimuchase, a great towne.

Ytaua.

A great Riuer.

Vllibahali.

and some footemen of his guard, leauing his peeple a crossebow shot from the towne, entred into it, hee found all the Indians with their weapons: and as farre as he could ghesse, they seemed to haue some euill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the Cacique of *Coça* from the Gouernour, if hee had requested it. The Gouernour commanded all his people to enter the towne, which was walled about, and neere vnto it passed a small Riuer. The wall, aswell of that, as of others, which afterward wee saw, was of great posts thrust deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as big as ones arme laid acrosse between them, and the wall was about the height of a lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loope holes. On the otherside of the Riuer was a towne, where at that present the Cacique was. The Gouernour sent to call him, and hee came presently. After he had passed with the Gouernour some words of offering his seruices, he gaue him such men for his cariages as he needed, and thirtie women for slaues. In that place was a Christian lost, called *Mançano*, borne in *Salamanca*, of noble parentage, which went astray to seeke for grapes, whereof there is great store, and those very good. The day that the Gouernour departed from thence, he lodged at a towne subiect to the Lord of *Vllibahali:* and the next day hee came to another towne called *Toasi*. The Indians gaue the Gouernour thirtie women, and such men for his cariages as he needed. Hee trauelled ordinarily 5. or 6. leagues a day when he trauelled through peopled Countries: and going through deserts, he marched as fast as he could, to eschew the want of Maiz. From *Toasi*, passing through some townes subiect to a Cacique, which was Lord of a prouince called *Tallise*, hee trauelled fiue daies: He came to *Tallise* the 18. of September: The towne was great, and situated neere vnto a maine Riuer. On the other side of the Riuer were other townes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. On both sides it was a very plentifull Countrie, and had store of Maiz: they had voided the towne. The Gouernour commanded to call the Cacique; who came, and betweene them passed some words of loue and offer of his seruices, and hee presented vnto him 40. Indians. There came to the Gouernour in this towne a principall Indian in the behalfe of the Cacique of *Tascaluca*, and made this speech following:

Vllibahali walled about.

The fashion of their walles.

A towne.

Great store of good grapes.

A towne.

Toasi.

He trauelled ordinarily fiue or sixe leagues a day.

Tallise, a great towne.

September 18.

A maine Riuer.

Mightie,

Mightie, vertuous, and esteemed Lord, the great Cacique of Tascaluca *my Lord, sendeth by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to let you vnderstand, that he hath notice, how you iustly rauish with your perfections and power, all men on the earth; and that euerie one by whom your Lordship passeth* [illegible] *you; which he acknowledgeth to be due vnto you, and desireth, as his life, to see, and to serue your Lordship. For which cause by me he offereth himselfe, his lands and subiects, that when your Lordship pleaseth to go through his Countrie, you may be receiued with all peace and loue, serued and obeyed; and that in recompense of the desire he hath to see you, you will doe him the fauor to let him know when you will come: for how much the sooner, so much the greater fauour he shall receiue.*

The Gouernour receiued and dispatched him graciously, giuing him beades, which among them were not much esteemed, and some other things to carrie to his Lord. And he gaue licence to the Cacique of *Coça* to returne home to his owne Countries. The Cacique of *Tallise* gaue him such men for burthens as he needed. And after he had rested there 20. daies, hee departed thence toward *Tascaluca*. That day when hee went from *Tallise*, hee lodged at a great towne called* *Casiste*. And the next day passed by another, and came to a small towne of *Tascaluca*; and the next day hee camped in a wood two leagues from the towne where the Cacique resided, and was at that time. And he sent the Master of the Camp, *Luys de Moscoso*, with 15. horsemen, to let him know hee was comming. The Caciqûe was in his lodgings vnder a Canopie: and without doores, right against his lodgings, in an high place, they spread a mat for him, & two cushions one vpon another, where he sat him downe, and his Indians placed themselues round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a void roome where he sate: and his chiefest men were neerest to him, and one with a shadow of Deeres skinne, which keept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bignes of a target, quartered with black and white, hauing a rundell in the middest: a farre off it seemed to be of taffata, because ye colours were very perfect. It was set on a small staffe stretched wide out. This was the deuice which hee carried in his warres. Hee was a man of a very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare, and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subiects. He was Lord of many territories and much people: In his countenance hee was very graue. After the Master of the Campe had spoken with him, he and those

Casiste a great towne. Tascaluca.

those that went with him coursed their horses, pransing them to and fro, and now and then toward the place where the Cacique was, who with much grauitie and dissimulation now and then lifted vp his eies, and beheld them as it were with disdaine. At the Gouernours comming, hee made no offer at all to rise. The Gouernour tooke him by the hand, and both of them sat downe together on a seate which was vnder the cloth of estate. The Cacique said these words vnto him:

Mighty Lord, I bid your Lordship right hartily welcome. I receiue as much pleasure and contentment with your sight, as if you were my brother whom I dearely loued: vpon this point it is not needfull to vse many reasons; since it is no discretion to speake that in many wordes, which in few may be vttered. How much the greater the will is, so much more giueth it name to the workes, and the workes giue testimonie of the truth. Now touching my will, by it you shall know, how certain & manifest it is, and how pure inclination I haue to serue you. Concerning the fauour which you did me, in the things which you sent me, I make as much account of them as is reason to esteeme them: and chiefly because they were yours. Now see what seruice you will command me.

The Gouernor satisfied him with sweet words, and with great breuitie. When hee departed from thence he determined to carrie him along with him for some causes, and at two daies iournie hee came to a towne called *Piache*, by which there passed a great Riuer. The Gouernour demanded canoes of the Indians: they said, they had them not, but that they would make rafts of canes and drie timber, on which he might passe well enough: And they made them with all diligence and speed, and they gouerned them; and because the water went very slow, the Gouernour and his people passed very well.

Piache.
A great Riuer.

From the Port *de Spirito Santo* to *Apalache*, which is about an hundred leagues, the Gouernour went from East to West: And from *Apalache* to *Cutifa-chiqui*, which are 430. leagues, from the Southwest to the Northeast: and from *Cutifa-chiqui* to *Xualla*, which are about two hundred and fifty leagues, from the South to the North: And from *Xualla* to *Tascaluca*, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and ninetie of them he trauelled from East to West, to wit, to the Prouince of *Coça:* and the other 60. from *Coça* to *Tascaluca* from the North to the South.

Hauing passed the Riuer of *Piache*, a Christian went from his companie from thence to seeke a woman slaue that was runne away from him, and the Indians either tooke him captiue,

or

or slue him. The Gouernor vrged the Cacique that he should giue account of him, and threatned him, that if he were not found, he would neuer let him loose. The Cacique sent an Indian from thence to *Mauilla*, whither they were trauelling, which was a towne of a principall Indian and his subiect, saying, that he sent him to aduise them to make readie victuals, and men for carriages. But, (as afterward appeared) hee sent him to assemble all the men of warre thither, that hee had in his Countrie. The Gouernour trauelled three daies; and the third day he passed all day through a peopled Countrie: and he came to *Mauilla* vpon Monday the 18. of October. He went before the Camp with 15. horsemen and 30. footemen. And from the towne came a Christian, whom he had sent to the principall man, three or foure daies before, because he should not absent himselfe, and also to learne in what sort the Indians were: who told him that hee thought they were in an euill purpose: for while hee was there, there came manie people into the towne, and many weapons, and that they made great haste to fortifie the wall. *Luys de Moscoso* told the Gouernour, that it would bee good to lodge in the field, seeing the Indians were of such disposition: and hee answered, that he would lodge in the towne, for hee was weárie of lodging in the field. When hee came neere vnto the towne, the Cacique came foorth to receiue him with many Indians playing vpon flutes and singing: And after hee had offered himselfe, hee presented him with three mantles of marterns. The Gouernour, with both the Caciques, and seuen or eight men of his guard, and three or foure horsemen, which alighted to accompanie him, entred into the towne, and sat him downe vnder a cloth of estate. The Cacique of *Tascaluca* requested him, that hee would let him remaine in that towne, and trouble him no more with trauelling: And seeing he would not giue him leaue, in his talke he changed his purpose, and dissemblinglie fained that he would speake with some principall Indians, and rose vp from the place where hee sate with the Gouernour, and entred into a house, where many Indians were with their bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour when he saw he returned not, called him, and he answered, that he would not come out from thence, neither would he goe any farther then that towne, and that if he would goe his way in peace, hee should presently depart, and should not seeke to carrie him perforce out of his Countrie and territorie.

Mauilla. 18. of October.

Mauilla walled.

3. Mantles of Marterns.

CHAP.

Chap. XVIII.

How the Indians rose against the Gouernour, and what ensued thereupon.

THe Gouernour seeing the determination, and furious answere of the Cacique, went about to pacifie him with faire words: to which he gaue no answere, but rather with much pride and disdaine, withdrew himselfe where the Gouernour might not see him, nor speake with him. As a principall Indian passed that way, the Gouernor called him, to send him word, that hee might remaine at his pleasure in his Countrie, and that it would please him to giue him a guide, and men for carriages, to see if hee could pacifie him with mild words. The Indians anwered with great pride, that hee would not hearken vnto him. *Baltasar de Gallegos*, which stood by, tooke hold of a gowne of marterns which hee had on; and hee cast it ouer his head, and left it in his hands: and because all of them immediately began to stirre, *Baltasar de Gallegos* gaue him such a wound with his coutilas, that hee opened him downe the backe, and presently all the Indians with a great crie came out of the houses shooting their arrowes. The Gouernour considering, that if hee tarried there, hee could not escape, and if hee commanded his men to come in, which were without the towne, the Indians within the houses might kill their horses, and doe much hurt, ranne out of the towne, and before hee came out, hee fell twice or thrice, and those that were with him did helpe him vp againe; and he and those that were with him were sore wounded; and in a moment there were fiue Christians slaine in the towne. The Gouernour came running out of the towne, crying out, that euery man should stand farther off, because from the wall they did them much hurt. The Indians seeing that the Christians retired, and some of them, or the most part, more then an ordinary pase, shot with great boldnesse at them, and strooke downe such as they could ouertake. The Indians which the Christians did lead with them in chaines, had laid downe their burthens neere vnto the wall: and assoone as the Gouernour and his men were retired, the men of *Mauilla* laid them on the Indians backs againe, and tooke them into the towne, and loosed them presently from their chaines, and gaue them bowes and arrowes to fight withall. Thus they possessed themselues of al the clothes and perles, and all that the Christians had, which their slaues carried. And because the Indians had been alwaies peaceable

A gowne of marterns.

Al the clothes and perles of the Christians were lost.

peaceable vntill wee came to this place, some of our men had their weapons in their fardels and remained vnarmed. And from others that had entred the towne with the Gouernour they had taken swords and halebards, and fought with them. When the Gouernour was gotten into the field, hee called for an horse, and with some that accompanied him, hee returned and slew two or three Indians: All the rest retired themselues to the towne, and shot with their bowes from the wall. And those which presumed of their nimblenes, sallied foorth to fight a stones cast from the wall: And when the Christians charged them, they retired themselues at their leasure into the towne. At the time that the broile began, there were in the towne a Frier, and a Priest, and a seruant of the Gouernour, with a woman slaue: and they had no time to come out of the towne: and they tooke an house, and so remained in the towne. The Indians being become Masters of the place, they shut the doore with a field gate: and among them was one sword which the Gouernours seruant had, and with it he set himselfe behind the doore, thrusting at the Indians which sought to come into them: and the Frier and the Priest stood on the other side, each of them with a barre in their hands to beate him downe that first came in. The Indians seeing they could not get in by the doore, began to vncouer the house top. By this time, all the horsemen and footemen which were behind, were come to *Mauilla.* Here there were sundrie opinions, whether they should charge the Indians to enter the towne, or whether they should leaue it, because it was hard to enter: and in the end it was resolued to set vpon them.

Chap. XIX.

How the Gouernour set his men in order, and entred the towne of Mauilla.

ASsoone as the battell and the rereward were come to *Mauilla,* the Gouernour commanded all those that were best armed to alight, and made foure squadrons of footmen. The Indians, seeing how he was setting his men in order, concluded with the Cacique, that hee should goe his way, saying vnto him, as after it was knowne by certaine women that were taken there, that he was but one man, and could fight but for one man, and that they had there among them many principall Indians verie valiant and expert in feates of armes, that any one of them was able to order

A consultation of the Indians to send away their Cacique.

order the people there; and forasmuch as matters of warre were subiect to casualtie, and it was vncertaine which part should ouercome, they wished him to saue himselfe, to the end, that if it fel out that they should end their daies there, as they determined, rather then to be ouercome, there might remaine one to gouerne the Countrie. For all this hee would not haue gon away: but they vrged him so much, that with fifteene or twentie Indians of his owne, hee went out of the towne, and carried away a skarlat cloke, and other things of the Christians goods; as much as hee was able to carrie, and seemed best vnto him. The Gouernour was informed how there went men out of the towne, and hee commanded the horsemen to beset it, and sent in euery squadron of footemen one souldier with a firebrand to set fire on the houses, that the Indians might haue no defense: all his men being set in order, hee commanded an harcubuz to bee shot off. The signe being giuen, the foure sqûadrons, euery one by it selfe with great furie, gaue the onset, and with great hurt on both sides they entred the towne. The Frier and the Priest, and those that were with them in the house were saued, which cost the liues of two men of account, and valiant, which came thither to succour them. The Indians fought with such courage, that many times they draue our men out of the towne. The fight lasted so long, that for wearinesse and great thirst many of the Christians went to a poole that was neere the wal, to drink, which was all stained with the blood of the dead, and then came againe to fight. The Gouernour seeing this, entred among the footemen into the towne on horseback, with certaine that accompanied them, and was a meane that the Christians came to set fire on the houses, and brake and ouercame the Indians, who running out of the towne from the footemen, the horsemen without draue in at the gates again, where being without all hope of life, they fought valiantly, & after the Christians came among thē to handy blowes, seeing themselues in great distresse without any succour, many of them fled into the burning houses, where one vpon another they were smothered and burnt in the fire. The whole number of the Indians that died in this towne, were two thousand and fiue hundred, little more or lesse. Of the Christians there died eighteene; of which one was *Don Carlos*, brother in law to the Gouernour, and a nephew of his, and one *Iohn de Gamez*, and *Men Rodriguez* Portugals, and *Iohn Vazquez de Villanoua de Barca Rota*, all men of honour, and of much valour: the rest were footemen. Besides those that were slaine, there were an hundred and fiftie wounded with 700. wounds of their arrowes: and it pleased God that of very dangerous

The death of 2500. Indians.

gerous wounds they were quickly healed. Moreouer, there were twelue horses slaine, and seuentie hurt. All the clothes which the Christians carried with them to clothe themselues withall, and the ornaments to say Masse, and the perles, were all burnt there: and the Christians did set them on fire themselues; because they held for a greater inconuenience, the hurt which the Indians might doe them from those houses, where they had gathered all those goods together, then the losse of them. Here the Gouernour vnderstood, that *Francisco Maldonado* waited for him at the Port of *Ochuse*, and that it was sixe daies iournie from thence; and he dealt with *Iohn Ortiz* to keepe it secret, because he had not accomplished that which he determined to doe; and because the perles were burnt there, which he meant to haue sent to *Cuba* for a shew, that the people hearing the newes, might be desirous to come to that Coûntrie. He feared also, that if they should haue newes of him without seeing from *Florida* neither gold nor siluer, nor any thing of value, it would get such a name, that no man would seeke to goe thither, when he should haue neede of people. And so he determined to send no newes of himselfe, vntill hee had found some rich Countrie.

The Port of Ochuse sixe daies iournie from Mauilla.

Chap. XX.

How the Gouernour departed from Mauilla *toward* Chicaça, *and what happened vnto him.*

From the time that the Gouernour entred into *Florida*, vntill his departure from *Mauilla*, there died an hundred and two Christians, some of sicknesse, and others which the Indians slew. He staied in *Mauilla*, because of the wounded men, eight and twentie daies; all which time he lay in the field. It was a well inhabited and a fat Countrie, there were some great & walled townes: and many houses scattered all about the fields, to wit, a crossebow shot or two, the one from the other. Vpon Sonday, the eighteenth of Nouember, when the hurt men were knowne to bee healed, the Gouernour departed from *Mauilla*. Euery one furnished himselfe with Maiz for two daies, and they trauelled fiue daies through a desert: they came to a Prouince called *Pafallaya*, vnto a towne, named *Taliepataua:* and from thence they went to another, called *Cabusto:* neere vnto it ran a great

Great and walled townes.

18. of Nouember.

Taliepataua.

Cabusto.

a great Riuer. The Indians on the other side cried out, threatning the Christians to kill them, if they sought to passe it. The Gouernour commanded his men to make a barge within the towne, because the Indians should not perceiue it: it was finished in foure daies, and being ended, he commanded it to be carried one night vpon sleds halfe a league vp the Riuer. In the morning there entred into it thirtie men well armed. The Indians perceiued what was attempted, and those which were neerest, came to defend the passage. They resisted what they could, till the Christians came neere them; and seeing that the barge came to the shore, they fled away into the groues of canes. The Christians mounted on horsebacke, and went vp the Riuer to make good the passage, whereby the Gouernour and his companie passed the Riuer. There were along the Riuer some townes well stored with Maiz and French Beanes. From thence to *Chicaça* the Gouernour trauelled fiue daies through a desert. Hee came to a Riuer, where on the otherside were Indians to defend the passage. He made another barge in two daies; and when it was finished, the Gouernour sent an Indian to request the Cacique to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expect his comming: whom the Indians that were on the other side the Riuer slew before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Hauing passed the Riuer, the next day, being the 17. of December, the Gouernour came to *Chicaça*, a small towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to *Chicaça*, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now winter and it snowed, while most of them were lodged in the field, before they had time to make themselues houses. This Couutrie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of *Mauilla*, fat and plentifull of Maiz, and the most part of it was fielding: they gathered as much as sufficed to passe the winter. Some Indians were taken, among which was one whom the Cacique esteemed greatly. The Gouernour sent an Indian to signifie to the Cacique, that he desired to see him and to haue his friendship. The Cacique came vnto him, to offer him his person, Countrie and subiects, and told him, that he would cause two other Caciques to come to him in peace; who within few daies after came with him, and with their Indians: The one was called *Alimamu*, the other *Nicalasa*. They gaue a present vnto the Governour of an hundred and fiftie conies, and of the Countrie garments, to wit, of mantles and skinnes. The Ca-

A great Riuer.

Canauarales.

Some townes.

A Riuer.

December 17.

Chicaça.

Snow and much cold.

Conies.

cique

cique of *Chiaça* came to visit him many times ; and sometimes the Gouernour sent to call him, and sent him an horse to goe and come. He complained vnto him, that a subiect of his was risen against him and depriued him of his tribute, requesting his aide against him, for hee meant to seeke him in his Countrie, and to punish him according to his desert. Which was nothing els but a fained plot. For they determined, assoone as the Gouernour was was gone with him, and the Campe was diuided into two parts, the one part of them to set vpon the Gouernour, and the other vpon them that remained in *Chicaça*. Hee went to the town where he vsed to keepe his residence, and brought with him two hundred Indians with their bowes and arrowes. The Gouernour tooke thirtie horsemen, and eightie footemen, and they went to *Saquechuma* (for so was the Prouince called of that chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled towne, without any men: and those which went with the Cacique set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of the great care and heedfulnesse, that was as well in the Gouernours people which hee carried with him, as of those which remained in *Chicaça*, they durst not assault them at that time. The Gouernour inuited the Cacique, and certaine principall Indians, and gaue them hogges flesh to eate. And though they did not commonly vse it, yet they were so greedie of it, that euery night there came Indians to certaine houses a crossebow shot from the Camp, where the hogges lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three Indians were taken in the manner. Two of them the Gouernor commanded to be shot to death with arrowes ; & and to cut off the hands of the other, & he sent him so handled to the Cacique. Who made as though it grieued him yt they had offended the Gouernor, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine Countrie halfe a league from the place, where the Christians lodged. Foure horsemen went a stragling thither, to wit, *Francisco Osorio*, and a seruant of the Marques of *Astorga*, called *Reynoso*, and two seruants of the Gouernour, the one his page called *Ribera*, and the other *Fuentes* his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the Indians some skinnes, and some mantles, wherewith they were offended, and forsooke their houses. The Gouernour knew of it, and commanded them to bee apprehended ; and condemned to death *Francisco Osorio*, and the Chamberlaine as principals, and al of them to losse of goods. The Friers and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon *Francisco*

An Indian stratageme.

Saquechuma.

A walled towne.

cisco Osorio his life, & to moderate his sentence, which hee would not grant for any of them. While he was readie to command them to be drawne to the market place to cut off their heads, there came certaine Indians from the Cacique to complaine of them. *Iohn Ortiz*, at the request of *Baltasar de Gallegos* and other persons, changed their words, and told the Gouernour, that the Cacique said, he had notice how his Lordship held those Christians in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither had they done him any wrong, and that if he would do him any fauour, he should set them free. And he told the Indians; That the Gouernour said, he had them in prison, and that he would punish them in such sort, that they should bee an example to others. Hereupon the Gouernour commanded the prisoners to be loosed. Assoone as March was come, hee determined to depart from *Chicaça*, and demanded of the Cacique two hundred men for cariages. He sent him answere, that hee would spëake with his principall men. Vpon Twesday the eight of March, the Gouernour went to the towne where he was, to aske him for the men: Hee told him, he would send them the next day. Assoone as the Gouernour was come to *Chicaça*, he told *Luys de Moscoso* the Camp-master, that hee misliked the Indians, and that he should keepe a strong watch that night, which heë remembred but a little. The Indians came at the second watch in foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe, and assoone as they were descried, they sounded a drum, and gaue the assault with a great cry, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entred with the scoutes, that were somewhat distant from the Campe. And when they were perceiued of them which were in the towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three horsemen chanced to bee skouts, two of them were of base calling, and the worst men in all the Camp, and the other, which was a nephew of the Gouernour, which vntill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ran away. And the Indians without any resistance came and set the towne on fire; and taried without behind the doores for the Christians, which ran out of the houses, not hauing any leasure to arme themselues; and as they ran hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinded with the smoke & flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they light vpon their weapons, nor saddle their horses, neither saw they the Indians that shot at them. Manie of the horses were burned in the stables, and those which could breake their halters gat loose. The disorder and flight was

March, 1541.

Chicaça set on fire by the Indians.

was such, that euery man fled which way he could, without leauing any to resist the Indians. But God, (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and dangers sustaineth them with his hand,) so blinded the Indians, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the horses which ran loose, were men on horsebacke, that gathered themselues together to set vpon them. The Gouernour only rod on horsebacke, and with him a souldier called *Tapia*, and set vpon the Indians, and striking the first he met with his lance, the saddle fell with him, which with haste was euill girded, and so hee fell from his horse. And all the people that were on foote were fled to a wood out of the towne, and there assembled themselues together. And because it was night, and that the Indians thought the horses were men on horsebacke which came to set vpon them, as I said before, they fled; and one onely remained dead, and that was he whom the Gouernour slew with his lance. The towne lay all burnt to ashes. There was a woman burned, who, after shee and her husband were both gone out of their house, went in againe for certaine perles, which they had forgotten, and when she would haue come out, the fire was so great at the doore that shee could not, neither could her husband succour her. Other three Christians came out of their lodgings so cruelly burned, that one of them died within three daies, and the other two were carried many daies each of them vpon a couch betweene staues, which the Indians carried on their shoulders, for otherwise they could not trauell. There died in this hurliburlie eleuen Christians, and fiftie horses; and there remained an hundred hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saued any clothes from the fire of *Mauilla*, here they were burned, and many were clad in skinnes, for they had no leasure to take their coates. They endured much cold in this place, and the chiefest remedie were great fires. They spent all night in turnings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they freesed on the other. Some inuented the weauing of certaine mats of drie iuie, & did weare one beneath, and another aboue: many laughed at this deuice, whom afterward necessitie inforced to doe the like. The Christians were so spoiled, and in such want of saddles & weapons which were burned, that if the Indians had come the second night, they had ouercome them with little labour. They remooued thence to the towne where the Cacique was wont to lie, because it was in a champion countrie. Within eight daies after, there were many lances and

The increase of hogges.

The towne where the Cacique lay.

and saddles made. There were ashtrees in those parts, whereof they made as good lances as in Biscay. Ashtrees.

Chap. XXI.

How the Indians set againe vpon the Christians, and how the Gouernour went to Alimamu, *beyond which towne in warlike sort they tarried for him in the way.*

Pon Wednesday the 15. of March 1541. after the Gouernour had lodged 8. daies in a plaine, halfe a league from the place which he had wintered in, after he had set vp a forge, and tempered the swords which in *Chicaça* were burned, and made many targets, saddles, and lances, on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, many Indians came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, euery one by themselues: Those which watched gaue the alarme. The Gouernour with great speed set his men in order in other three squadrons, and leauing some to defend the Campe, went out to incounter them. The Indians were ouercome and put to flight. The ground was champion and fit for ye Christians to take the aduantage of them; and it was now breake of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were not past thirtie or fortie Indians slaine: and this it was: that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any iust occasion, To the Campe, To the Campe: Whereupon the Gouernour and all the rest repaired thither, and the Indians had time to saue themselues. There were some taken, by whom the Gouernour informed himselfe of the Countrie, through which hee was to passe. The 25. of Aprill, he departed from *Chicaça*, and lodged at a small towne called *Alimamu*. They had very little Maiz, and they were to passe a desert of seuen daies iournie. 25. of Aprill. Alimamu.

The next day, the Gouernour sent three Captaines euerie one his way with horsemen and footemen to seeke prouision to passe the desert. And *Iohn Dannusco* the Auditor went with fifteene horsemen, and 40. footemen that way that the Gouernour was to goe, and found a strong fort made, where the Indians staied for him, and many of them walked on the top of it with their weapons, hauing their bodies, thighes and armes okered and died with blacke, white, yellow and red, striped like vnto panes, so that they shewed as though they went in hose and doublets: and some of them had plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and Black, white, yellow and red colours.

their

their faces blacke, and their eyes done round about with strakes of red, to seeme more fierce. Assoone as they saw that the Christians approched, with a great crie sounding two drummes with great furie they sallied foorth to receiue them. *Iohn Dannusco* and those that were with him, thought good to auoid them, and to acquaint the Gouernour therewith. They retired to a plaine place, a crossebowshot from the fort in sight of it, the footemen, the crossebowmen, and targetters placed themselues before the horsemen, that they might not hurt the horses. The Indians sallied out by seuen and seuen, and eight and eight to shoote their arrowes, and retired againe: and in sight of the Christians they made a fire, and tooke an Indian, some by the feete, and some by the head, and made as though they went to cast him into the fire, and gaue him first many knocks on the head: signifying, that they meant so to handle the Christians. *Iohn Danusco* sent three horsemen to aduertise the Gouernour hereof. He came presently: for his intent was to driue them from thence, saying, that if he did it not, they would be emboldned to charge him another time, when they might doe him more harme. He made the horsemen to alight, and set his men in foure squadrons: The signe being giuen, they set vpon the Indians, which made resistance till the Christians came neere the fort, and assoone as they saw they could not defend thēselues, by a place where a brooke passed neere the fort, they ran away, and from the otherside they shot some arrowes: and because at that instant we knew no ford for the horses to passe, they had time enough to get out of our danger. Three Indians were slaine there, and many Christians were hurt, whereof within few daies, there died fifteene by the way. All men thought the Gouernour to bee in fault, because he sent not to see the disposition of the place on the other side of the Riuer, and to know the passage before hee set vpon them. For with the hope they had to saue themselues by flight that way, when they saw none other means, they fought til they were broken, and it was an incouragement to defend themselues vntill then, and to offend the Christians without any danger to themselues.

Chap. XXII.

How the Gouernour went from Alimamu *to* Quizquiz, *and from thence to* Rio Grande, *or the great Riuer.*

THree daies after they had sought some Maiz, whereof they found but little store, in regard of that which was needful, and that for this cause, as well for their sakes that were wounded, it was needfull for them to rest, as for the great iournie they were to march to come where store of Maiz was: yet the Gouernour was inforced to depart presentlie toward *Quizquiz*. He trauelled seuen daies through a desert of many marishes and thicke woods: but it might all be trauelled on horsebacke, except some lakes which they swamme ouer. Hee came to a towne of the Prouince of *Quizquiz* without being descried, and tooke all the people in it before they came out of their houses. The mother of the Cacique was taken there: and he sent vnto him by an Indian, that he should come to see him, and that he would giue him his mother, and al the people which he had taken there. The Cacique sent him answere againe, that his Lordship should loose and send them to him, and that he would come to visit and serue him. The Gouernour, because his people for want of Maiz were somewhat weake and wearie, and the horses also were leane, determined to accomplish his request, to see if hee could haue peace with him, and so commanded to set free his mother and all the rest, and with louing words dismissed them and sent them to him. The next day, when the Gouernour expected the Cacique, there came many Indians with their bowes and arrowes with a purpose to set vpon the Christians. The Gouernor had commanded all the horsemen to be armed, and on horsebacke, and in a readines. When the Indians saw that they were readie, they staied a crossebow shot from the place where the Gouernour was neere a brooke. And after halfe an houre that they had stood there stil, there came to the Camp sixe principall Indians, and said, they came to see what people they were, and that long agoe, they had been informed by "their forefathers, That a white people should sub- "due them: and that therefore they would returne "to their Cacique, and bid him come presently to obey and "serue the Gouernour: and after they had presented him with sixe or seuen skinnes and mantles which they brought, they

A desert scuen daies.

A towne of Quizquiz.

An old prophecie.

tooke

tooke their leaue of him, and returned with the other, which waited for them by the brookes side. The Cacique neuer came againe nor sent other message. And because in the towne where the Gouernour lodged, there was small store of Maiz, he remooued to another halfe a league from *Rio Grande*, where they found plentie of Maiz: And he went to see the Riuer, and found, that neere vnto it was great store of timber to make barges, and good situation of ground to incampe in. Presently he remooued himselfe thither. They made houses, and pitched their Campe in a plaine field a crossebow shot from the Riuer. And thither was gathered all the Maiz of the townes, which they had latelie passed. They began presently to cut and hew down timber, and to saw plankes for barges. The Indians came presently down the Riuer: they leaped on shore, and declared to ye Gouernour, That they were subiects of a great Lord, whose name was *Aquixo*, who was Lord of many townes, and gouerned many people on the other side of the Riuer, and came to tell him on his behalfe, that the next day he with al his men would come to see, what it would please him to command him. The next day with speed, the Cacique came with two hundred canoes full of Indians with their bowes and arrowes, painted, and with great plumes of white feathers, and many other colours, with shields in their hands, wherewith they defended the rowers on both sides, and the men of warre stood from the head to the sterne, with their bowes and arrowes in their hands. The canoe wherein the Cacique was, had a tilt ouer the sterne, and hee sate vnder the tilt; and so were other canoes of the principall Indians. And from vnder the tilt where the chiefe man sat, hee gouerned and commanded the other people. All ioyned together, and came within a stones cast of the shore. From thence the Cacique said to the Gouernour, which walked along the Riuers side with others that waited on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honour, and to obey him; because he knew he was the greatest and mightiest Lord on the earth: therefore he would see what he would command him to doe. The Gouernour yeelded him thankes, and requested him to come on shore, that they might the better communicate together. And without any answere to that point, hee sent him three canoes, wherein was great store of fish and loaues, made of the substance of prunes like vnto brickes. After he had receiued al, he thanked him, and prayed him againe to come on shore. And because the Caciques pur-

Another towne.

Rio Grande, or Rio de Espiritu Santo.

Aquixo, a great Lord on the West side of Rio grande.

Two hundred canoes.

Loues made of prunes.

pose

pose was, to see if with dissimulation he might doe some hurt, when they saw that the Gouernour and his men were in readinesse, they began to goe from the shore: and with a great crie, the crossebowmen which were ready, shot at them, and slue fiue or sixe of them. They retired with great order: none did leaue his oare, though the next to him were slaine, and shielding themselues, they went farther off. Afterward they came many times and landed: and when any of vs came toward them, they fled vnto their canoes, which were verie pleasant to behold: for they were very great and well made, and had their tilts, plumes, paueses, and flagges, and with the multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a faire armie of gallies. In thirtie daies space, while the Gouernour remained there, they made foure barges: In three of which he commanded twelue horsemen to enter, in each of them foure; in a morning, three houres before they, men which hee trusted would land in despight of the Indians, and make sure the passage, or die, and some footemen being crossebowmen went with them, and rowers to set them on the other side. And in the other barge he commanded *Iohn de Guzman* to passe with the footemen, which was made Captaine in stead of *Francisco Maldonado.* And because the streame was swift, they went a quarter of a league vp the Riuer along the bancke, and crossing ouer, fell downe with the streame, and landed right ouer against the Camp. Two stones cast before they came to land, the horsemen went out of the barges on horsebacke to a sandie plot very hard and cleere ground, where all of them landed without any resistance. Assoone as those that passed first, were on land on the other side, the barges returned to the place where the Gouernour was: and within two houres after Sunne-rising, all the people were ouer. The Riuer was almost halfe a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned, whether he were a man or no. The Riuer was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwaies muddie: there came downe the Riuer continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe. There was great store of fish in it of sundrie sorts, and the most of it differing from the freshwater fish of *Spaine*, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Goodly great canoes.

Four barges made.

They passe ouer Rio Grande.

The Riuer here almost halfe a league broad.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIII.

How the Gouernour departed from Aquixo *to* Casqui, *and from thence to* Pacaha: *and how this Countrie differeth from that which we had passed.*

HAuing passed *Rio grande*, the Gouernour trauelled a league and an halfe, and came to a great towne of *Aquixo*, which was dispeopled before hee came thither. They espied thirtie Indians comming ouer a plaine, which the Cacique sent, to discouer the Christians determination: and assoone as they had sight of them, they tooke themselues to flight. The horsemen pursued them, and slue tenne, and tooke fifteene. And because the towne, whither the Gouernour went, was neere vnto the Riuer, he sent a Captaine, with as many men as he thought sufficient to carrie the barges vp the Riuer. And because in his trauelling by land many times he went farre from the Riuer to compasse the creekes that came from it, the Indians tooke occasion to set vpon them of the barges, and put them in great danger, because that by reason of the great current, they durst not leaue the shore, and from the bancke they shot at them.

A towne.

Assoone as the Gouernour was come to the towne, hee presently sent crossebow men downe the Riuer, which came to rescue them: and vpon the comming of the barges to the towne, hee commanded them to bee broken, and to saue the iron for others, when it should bee needfull. Hee lay there one night, and the day following, hee set forward to seeke a Prouince, called *Pacaha:* which hee was informed to bee neere vnto *Chisca*, where the Indians told him there was gold. He passed through great townes of *Aquixo*, which were all abandoned for feare of the Christians. Hee vnderstood by certaine Indians that were taken, that three daies iournie from thence dwelt a great Cacique, whose name was *Casqui.* Hee came to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made, by which they passed: that day till Sunset, they went all in water, which in some places came to the waste, and in some to the knees. When they saw themselues on dry land, they were very glad, because they feared they should wander vp and downe as forlorne men al night in the water. At noone they came to the first towne of *Casqui:* they found the Indians carelesse, because they had no knowledge of them. There were many men and women taken, and store

Pacaha neere vnto Chisca. Great townes.

The first towne of Casqui.

store of goods, as mantles and skinnes, as well in the first towne, as in another, which stood in a field halfe a league from thence in sight of it; whither the horsemen ran. This Countrie is higher, drier, and more champion, then any part bordering neere the Riuer, that vntill they they had seene. There were in the fields many Walnut trees, bearing soft shelled Walnuts in fashion like bullets, and in the houses they found many of them, which the Indians had laid vp in store. The trees differed in nothing else from those of *Spaine*, nor from those which we had seene before, but onely that they haue a smaller leafe. There were many Mulberrie trees and Plum trees, which bare red plums like those of *Spaine*, and other gray, somewhat differing, but farre better. And all the trees are all the yeere so fruitfull, as if they were planted in orchards: and the woods were verie thinne. The Gouernour trauelled two daies through the Countrie of *Casqui*, before hee came to the towne where the Cacique was: and the most of the way was alway by champion ground, which was full of great townes, so that from one towne, you might see two or three. He sent an Indian to certifie the Cacique, that hee was comming to the place where hee was, with intent to procure his friendship, and to hold him as his brother. Whereunto he answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would receiue him with speciall good wil, and accomplish all that his Lordship would command him. Hee sent him a present vpon the way; to wit, skinnes, mantles, and fish: And after these complements, the Gouernour found all the townes, as he passed, inhabited with people, which peaceablie attended his comming, and offered him skinnes, mantles, and fish. The Cacique accompanied with many Indians came out of the towne, and staied halfe a league on the way to receiue the Gouernour, and when hee came to him, he spake these words following:

Another towne.

Walnut trees with soft shels.

Many Mulberrie trees and plum trees.

Many great townes.

Right high, right mighty, and renowned Lord, your Lordship is most hartilie welcome. Assoone as I had notice of your Lordship, of your power, and your perfections, although you came into my Countrie, killing and taking captiues the inhabitants thereof and my subiects: yet I determined to conforme my will vnto yours, and as your owne to interpret in good part all that your Lordship did: beleeuing, that it was conuenient it should be so for some iust respect, to preuent some future matter reuealed vnto your Lordship, and concealed from me. For well may a mischiefe be permitted to auoid a greater, and that

that good may come thereof: which I beleeue will so fall out. For it is no reason to presume of so excellent a Prince, that the noblenesse of his heart, and the effect of his will would permit him to suffer any vniust thing. My abilitie is so small to serue you as your Lordship deserueth, that if you respect not mine abundant good will, which humblie offereth all kind of seruice, I deserue but little in your presence. But if it bee reason that this be esteemed, receiue the same, my selfe, my Countrie, and subiects for yours, and dispose of me and them at your pleasure. For if I were Lord of all the world, with the same good will should your Lordship by me be receiued, serued and obeyed.

The Gouernour answered him to the purpose, and satisfied him in few words. Within a while after both of them vsed words of great offers & courtesie the one to the other, and the Cacique requested him to lodge in his houses. The Gouernour, to preserue the peace the better, excused himselfe, saying, that hee would lodge in the fields. And because it was very hot, they camped neere certaine trees a quarter of a league from the towne. The Cacique went to his towne, and came againe with many Indians singing. Assoone as they came to the Gouernour, all of them prostrated themselues vpon the ground. Among these came two Indians that were blind. The Cacique made a speech: to auoid tediousnesse, I will onely tell in few words the substance of the matter. Hee said, that seeing the Gouernour was the sonne of the Sunne, and a great Lord, he besought him to doe him the fauour to giue sight to those two blind men. The blind men rose vp presently, and very earnestly requested the same of the Gouernour. He answered, That in the high heauens was he that had power to giue them health, and whatsoeuer they could aske of him; whose seruant he was: And that this Lord made the heauens and the earth, and man after his owne likenesse, and that he suffered vpon the crosse to saue mankind, and rose againe the third day, and that he died as he was man, and as touching his diuinitie, he was, and is immortall; and that he ascended into heauen, where he standeth with his armes open to receiue all such as turne vnto him: and straightway he commanded him to make a verie high crosse of wood, which was set vp in the highest place of the towne; declaring vnto him, that the Christians worshipped the same in resemblance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Gouernour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the Indians did the like. The Gouernour willed him, that from thencefoorth hee should worship the same, and should aske whatsoeuer

The chiefe towne of the Cacique of Casqui.

whatsoeuer they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in heauen. Then he asked him how far it was from thence to *Pacaha:* He said, one daies iournie, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a lake like a brooke which falleth into *Rio Grande*, and that hee would send men before to make a bridge whereby he might passe. The same day that the Gouernour departed thence, he lodged at a towne belong to *Casqui:* and the next day hee passed in sight of other townes, and came to the lake, which was halfe a crossebow shot ouer, of a great depth and current. At the time of his comming, the Indians had made an end of the bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a course of stakes higher then the bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The Cacique of *Casqui* came to the Gouernour, and brought his people with him. The Gouernour sent word by an Indian to the Cacique of *Pacaha*, that though hee were enemie to the Cacique of Casqui, and though hee were there, yet he would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if he would attēd him peaceablie, and embrace his friendship; but rather would intreate him as a brother. The Indian, which the Gouernour sent, came againe, and said, that the Cacique made none account of that which hee told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the towne. Presentlie the Gouernour entred, and ran before with the horsemen, that way, by which the Indians fled; and at another towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many Indians: and assoone as the horsemen had taken them, they deliuered them to the Indians of *Casqui*, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and reioycing, they brought to the towne where the Christians were: and the greatest griefe they had, was this, that they could not get leaue to kill them. There were found in the towne many mantles, and Deere skinnes, Lions skins, and Beares skinnes, and many Cats skins. Many came so farre poorely apparelled, and there they clothed themselues: of the mantles, they made them cotes and cassocks, and some made gownes, and lined them with Cats skins; and likewise their cassocks. Of the Deeres skinnes, some made them also ierkins, shirts, hose and shooes: and of the Beare skinnes, they made them verie good clokes: for no water could pierce them. There were targets of raw oxe hides found there; with which hides they armed their horses.

A towne belonging to Casqui.

Other towns.

Another towne.

Mantles, Deeres skins, Lions skinnes, Beares skins, and Cats skinnes.

Targets of raw oxe hides.

CHAP.

Chap. XXIIII.

How the Cacique of Pacaha *came peaceablie to the Gouernour, and the Cacique of* Casqui *absented himselfe, and came againe to make his excuse, and how the Gouernour made them both friends.*

Pacaha, a very great towne beset with towers.

Pon Wednesday, the 19. of Iune, the Gouernour entred into *Pacaha:* He lodged in the towne, where the Cacique vsed to reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with towers, and many loopeholes were in the towers and wall. And in the towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great townes all walled. Where the Gouernour was lodged, was a great lake, that came neere vnto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the towne, wanting but a little to enuiron it round. From the lake to the great Riuer was made a weare by the which the fish came into it; which the Cacique kept for his recreation and sport: with nets, that were found in the towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they neuer so much, there was no want perceiued. There was also great store of fish in many other lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the Riuer, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of *Spaine*. There was a fish which they called Bagres: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gilles, and along the sides great pricks like very sharpe aules: those of this kind that were in the lakes were as big as pikes: and in the Riuer, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hooke. There was another fish like barbilles; and another like breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in *Spaine* besugo, betweene red and gray. This was there of most esteeme. There was another fish called a pele fish: it had a snout of a cubit long, and at the end of the vpper lip it was made like a peele. There was another fish like a Westerne shad: And all of them had scales, except the bagres, and the pele fish. There was another fish, which sometimes the Indians brought vs, of the bignes of an hog, they called it the Pereo fish: it had rowes of teeth beneath and aboue. The Cacique of *Casqui* sent many times

Great walled townes.

Nets found.

The diuers sorts of excellent fish in Rio Grande.

times great presents of fish, mantles, and skinnes. Hee told the Gouernour, that he would deliuer the Cacique of *Pacaha* into his hands. He went to *Casqui*, and sent many canoes vp the Riuer, and came himselfe by land with many of his people. The Gouernour with 40. horsemen, and 60. footemen tooke him along with him vp the Riuer. And his Indians which were in the canoes, discouered where the Cacique of *Pacaha* was in a little Island, situated betweene two armes of the Riuer. And fiue Christians entred into a canoe, wherein *Don Antonio Osorio* went before, to see what people the Cacique had with him. There were in the Isle fiue or sixe thousand soules. And assoone as they saw them, supposing that the Indians which were in the other canoes were also Christians, the Cacique, and certaine which were in three canoes, which they had there with thē, fled in great haste to the other side of the Riuer: The rest with great feare and danger, lept into the Riuer, where much people was drowned, especially women, and little children. Presently the Gouernour which was on land, not knowing what had happened to *Don Antonio*, and those that went with him, commanded ye Christians with all speed to enter with the Indians of *Casqui* in the canoes, which were quickly with *Don Antonio* in the little Island, where they tooke many men and women, and much goods. Great store of goods, which the Indians had laid vpon hurdles of canes, and rafts of timber to carrie ouer to the other side, draue down the riuer, wherewith the Indians of *Casqui* filled their canoes: and for feare lest the Christians would take it from them, the Cacique went home with them downe the Riuer, without taking his leaue of the Gouernour: whereupon the Gouernour was highly offended with him: and presently returning to *Pacaha*, he ouerran the Countrie of *Casqui* the space of two leagues, where hee tooke twentie or thirtie of his men. And because his horses were wearie, and he wanted time that day to goe any farther, hee returned to *Pacaha*, with determination within three or foure daies after to inuade *Casqui*. And presently he let loose one of the Indians of *Pacaha*, and sent word by him to the Cacique, that if hee would haue his friendship, he should repaire vnto him, and that both of them would make warre vpon *Casqui*. And presently came many Indians that belonged to *Pacaha*, and brought an Indian, in stead of the Cacique, which was discouered by the Caciques brother which was taken prisoner. The Gouernour wished the Indians that their Master himselfe should come: for hee knew very well that that was not hee, and told them, that they could doe nothing, which he knew not before they thought it. The

Fiue or sixe thousand Indians.

next

The Cacique of Pacaha commeth to the Gouernour.

next day the Cacique came, accompanied with many Indians, and with a present of much fish, skinnes and mantles. He made a speech that all were glad to heare, and concluded saying, That thoûgh his Lordship, without his giuing occasion of offence had done him hurt in his Countrie and subiects, yet he would not therefore refuse to bee his, and that he would alwaies be at his commandement. The Gouernour commanded his brother to be loosed, and other principall Indians that were taken prisoners. That day came an Indian from the Cacique of *Casqui*, and said, that his Lord would come the next day to excuse himselfe of the error which he had committed, in going away without licence of the Gouernour. The Gouernour willed the messenger to signifie vnto him, that if he came not in his owne person, he would seeke him himselfe, and giue him such punishment as he deserued. The next day with all speede came the Cacique of *Casqui*, and brought a present to the Gouernour of many mantles, skinnes, and fish, and gaue him a daughter of his, saying, that he greatly desired to match his blood with the blood of so great a Lord as he was, and therefore he brought him his daughter, and desired him to take her to his wife. Hee made a long and discreet oration, giuing him great commendations, and concluded, saying, that hee should pardon his going away without licence, for that Crosses sake, which he had left with him: protesting, that hee went away for shame of that which his men had done without his consent. The Gouernour answered him, that hee had chosen a good patrone; and that if he had not come to excuse himselfe, hee had determined to seeke him, to burne his townes, to kill him and his people, and to destroy his Countrie. To which he replied, saying:

My Lord, I and mine are yours, and my Countrie likewise is yours: therefore if you had done so, you should haue destroyed your owne Countrie, and haue killed your own people: whatsoeuer shall come vnto me from your hand, I will receiue as from my Lord, aswell punishment as reward: And know you, that the fauour which you did me in leauing me the Crosse, I do acknowledge the same to be a very great one, and greater then I haue euer deserued. For you shall vnderstand, that with great droughts, the fields of Maiz of my Countrie were withered; and assoone as I and my people kneeled before the Crosse, and prayed for raine, presently our necessitie was relieued.

The Gouernour made him, and the Cacique of *Pacaha* friends; and set them with him at his table to dine with him: and the Caciques fell at variance about the seates, which of them should sit

sit on his right hand. The Gouernour pacified them; telling them, that among the Christians, all was one to sit on the one side, or on the other, willing them so to behaue themselues, seeing they were with him, that no bodie might heare them, and that euery one should sit in the place that first hee lighted on. From thence he sent thirtie horsemen, and fiftie footemen to the Prouince of *Caluça*, to see if from thence hee might trauell to *Chisca*, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. They trauelled seuen daies iournie through a desert, and returned verie wearie, eating greene plums and stalkes of Maiz, which they found in a poore towne of sixe or seuen houses. From thence forward toward the North; the Indians said, That the Country was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And that there were such store of Oxen, that they could keepe no corne for them: that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The Gouernor seeing, that toward that part the Countrie was so poore of Maiz, that in it they could not bee sustained, demanded of the Indians, which way it was most inhabited: and they said, they had notice of a great Prouince, and a very plentifull Countrie, which was called *Qaigaute*, and that it was toward the South.

Gold and copper in Chisca.

A poore towne.

Great store of Oxen toward the North of Pacaha.

This is like Quiuera.

Chap. XXV.

How the Gouernour departed from Pacaha *to* Quigaute, *and to* Coligoa, *and came to* Cayas.

THe Gouernour rested in *Pacaha* fortie daies. In all which time the two Caciques serued him with great store of fish, mantles, and skinnes, and stroue who should doe him greatest seruice. At the time of his departure, the Cacique of *Pacaha* gaue him two of his sisters, saying, that in signe of loue that he might remember him, he should take them for his wiues: the ones name was *Macanoche*, and the others *Mochila:* they were well proportioned, tall of bodie, and well fleshed. *Macanoche* was of a good countenance, and in her shape and physiognomie looked like a Ladie: the other was strongly made. The Cacique of *Casqui* commanded the bridge to be repaired, and the Gouernour returned through his Countrey, and lodged in the field neere his towne, whither hee came with great store of fish, and two women,

The Caciques towne.

which

which hee exchanged with two Christians for two shirts. He gaue vs a guide and men for cariages. The Gouernour lodged at a towne of his, and the next day at another neere a Riuer, whither he caused canoes to be brought for him to passe ouer, and with his leaue returned. The Gouernour tooke his iournie toward *Quigaute*. The fourth day of August, he came to the towne, where the Cacique vsed to keep his residencie: on the way he sent him a present of many mantles and skinnes, and not daring to stay for him in the towne, he absented himselfe. The towne was the greatest that was seene in *Florida*. The Gouernour and his people lodged in the one halfe of it: and within few daies, seeing the Indians became liars, he commanded the other halfe to be burned, because it should not bee a shelter for them, if they came to assault him by night, nor an hindrance to his horsemen for the resisting of them. There came an Indian very well accompanied with many Indians, saying, that hee was the Cacique. He deliuered him ouer to the men of his guard to look vnto him. There went and came many Indians, and brought mantles and skinnes. The counterfeit Cacique, seeing so little opportunitie to execute his euill thought, as hee went one day abroad talking with the Gouernour, he shewed him such a paire of heeles, that there was no Christian that could ouertake him, and he leaped into the Riuer, which was a crossebow shot from the towne: and assoone as hee was on the other side, many Indians that were there about making a great crie began to shoote. The Gouernour passed presently ouer to them with horsemen and footemen, but they durst not tarrie for him. Going forward on his way, hee came to a towne where the people were fled, and a little further to a lake, where the horses could not passe, and on the otherside were many women. The footemen passed, and tooke many of them, and much spoile. The Gouernour came to the Camp: And that night was a spie of the Indians taken by them of the watch. The Gouernour asked him, whether he would bring him where the Cacique was? he said, he would. And he went presently to seeke him with twentie horsemen, and fiftie footemen: and after he had sought him a day, and an halfe, hee found him in a strong wood: And a souldiour not knowing him, gaue him a wound on the head; and he cried out, that he should not kill him, saying, that he was the Cacique: so he was taken, & an hundred and fortie of his men with him. The Gouernour came againe to *Quigaute*, and willed him to cause his men to come

A towne of Casqui.

Another towne.

Quigaute.

The fourth of August.

The greatest towne seene in Florida.

A towne.

come to serue the Christians: and staying some daies for their comming, and seeing they came not, he sent two Captaines, euery one his way on both sides of the Riuer with horsemen and footemen. They tooke many men and women. Now seeing the hurt which they sustained for their rebellion, they came to see what the Gouernour would command them, and passed to and fro many times, and brought presents of cloth and fish. The Cacique and his two wiues were in the lodging of the Gouernour loose, and the halbardiers of his guard did keepe them. The Gouernour asked them which way the Countrie was most inhabited? They said, that toward the South downe the Riuer, were great townes and Caciques, which commanded great Countries, and much people: And that toward the Northwest, there was a Prouince neere to certaine mountaines, that was called *Coligoa*. The Gouernour and all the rest thought good to goe first to *Coligoa:* saying, that peraduenture the mountains would make some difference of soile, and that beyond them there might be some gold or siluer: As for *Quigaute*, *Casqui*, and *Pacaha*, they were plaine Countries, fat grounds, and full of good medowes on the Riuers, where the Indians sowed large fields of Maiz. From *Tascaluca* to *Rio grande*, or the great Riuer, is about 300. leagues: it is a very low Countrie, and hath many lakes. From *Pacaha* to *Quigaute* may be an hundred leagues. The Gouernour left the Cacique of *Quigaute* in his owne towne: And an Indian, which was his guide, led him through great woods without any way seuen daies iournie through a desert, where, at euery lodging, they lodged in lakes and pooles in verie shold water: there was such store of fish, that they killed them with cudgils; and the Indians which they carried in chaines, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fish being therewith, as it were, astonied, came to the top of the water, and they tooke as much as they listed. The Indians of *Coligoa* had no knowledge of the Christians, & when they came so neere the towne, that the Indians saw them, they fled vp a Riuer, which passed neere the towne, and some leaped into it; but the Christians went on both sides of the Riuer, and tooke them. There were many men and women taken, and the Cacique with them. And by his commandement within three daies came many Indians with a present of mantles and Deeres skinnes, and two oxe hides: And they reported, that 5. or 6. leagues from thence toward

Cloth.

Coligoa neere to certaine mountaines Northwest.

A new way to take fish.

Coligoa.

A Riuer.

Two oxe hides.

Store of oxen toward the North.

toward the North, there were many of these oxen, and that because the Countrie was cold, it was euill inhabited: That the best Countrie which they knew, the most plentifull, and most inhabited, was a Prouince called *Cayas*, lying toward the south. From *Quiguate* to *Coligoa* may be 40. leagues. This towne of *Coligoa* stood at the foote of an hill, on the bank of a meane Riuer, of the bignesse of *Cayas*, the Riuer that passeth by *Estremadura*. It was a fat soile and so plentifull of Maiz, that they cast out the old, to bring in the new. There was also great plentie of French beanes and pompions. The French beanes were greater, and better then those of *Spaine*, and likewise the pompions, and being rosted, they haue almost the taste of chestnuts. The Cacique of *Coligoa* gaue a guide to *Cayas*, and staied behind in his owne towne. Wee trauelled fiue daies, and came to the Prouince of *Palisema*. The house of the cacique was found couered with Deeres skinnes of diuers colours and works drawne in them, and with the same in manner of carpets was the ground of the house couered. The Cacique left it so, that the Gouernour might lodge in it, in token that he sought peace and his friendship. But hee durst not tarrie his comming. The Gouernour, seeing he had absented himselfe, sent a Captaine with horsemen and footemen to seeke him: Hee found much people, but by reason of the roughnesse of the Countrie, he tooke none saue a few women and children. The towne was little and scattering, and had very little Maiz. For which cause the Gouernour speedilie departed from thence. Hee came to another towne called *Tatalicoya*, hee carried with him the Cacique thereof, which guided him to *Cayas*. From *Tatalicoya* are foure daies iournie to *Cayas*. When hee came to *Cayas*, and saw the towne scattered: hee thought they had told him a lie, and that it was not the Prouince of *Cayas*, because they had informed him that it was well inhabited: He threatned the Cacique, charging him to tell him where hee was: and he and other Indians which were taken neere about that place, affirmed that this was the towne of *Cayas*, and the best that was in that Countrie, and that though the houses were distant the one from the other, yet the ground that was inhabited was great, and that there was great store of people, and many fields of Maiz. This towne was called *Tanico:* he pitched his Campe in the best part of it neere vnto a Riuer. The same day that the Gouernour came thither,

From Quiguate to Coligoa are 40. leagues.

The Prouince of Palisema.

Tatalicoya.

Cayas.

Tanico.

thither, he went a league farther with certaine horsemen, and without finding any people, hee found many skinnes in a pathway, which the Cacique had left there, that they might bee found, in token of peace. For so is the custome in that Countrie.

Chap. XXVI.

How the Gouernour discouered the Prouince of Tulla, *and what happened vnto him.*

THe Gouernour rested a moneth in the Prouince of *Cayas*. In which time the horses fattened and thriued more, then in other places in a longer time, with the great plentie of Maiz and the leaues thereof, which I thinke was the best that hath been seene, and they dranke of a lake of very hot water, and somewhat brackish, and they dranke so much, that it swelled in their bellies when they brought them from the watering. Vntill that time the Christians wanted salt, and there they made good store, which they carried along with them. The Indians doe carrie it to other places to exchange it for skinnes and mantles. They make it along the Riuer, which when it ebbeth, leaueth it vpon the vpper part of the sand. And because they cannot make it, without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certaine baskets which they haue for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottom, and set it in the aire vpon a barre, and throw water into it, and set a small vessell vnder it, wherein it falleth: Being strained and set to boile vpon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the salt remaineth in the bottome of the pan. On both sides of the Riuer the Countrie was full of sowne fields, and there was store of Maiz. The Indians durst not come ouer where wee were: & when some of them shewed themselues, the souldiers that saw them called vnto them; then the Indians passed the Riuer, and came with them where the Gouernor was. He asked thē for the Cacique. They said, that he remained quiet, but that he durst not shew himselfe. The Gouernour presently sent him word, that he should come vnto him, and bring him a guide and an interpretour for his iournie, if he made account of his friendship: and if he did not so, he would come himselfe to seeke him, and that it would bee the worse for him. Hee waited three daies, and seeing he came not, he went to seeke him, and brought him prisoner with 150. of his men. He asked him, whether hee had notice

A lake of hot and somewhat brackish water.

Store of salt made at Cayas.

notice of any great Cacique, & which way the Countrie was best inhabited. Hee answered, that the best Countrie thereabout was a Prouince toward the South, a day and an halfes iournie, which was called *Tulla;* and that he could giue him a guide, but no interpretour, because the speech of that Countrie was different from his, and because he and his ancesters had alwaies warres with the Lords of that Prouince; therefore they had no commerce, nor vnderstood one anothers language. Immediately the Gouernour with certaine horsemen, and 50. footemen, departed toward *Tulla*, to see if the Countrie were such, as hee might passe through it with all his companie: and assoone as he arriued there, and was espied of the Indians, the Countrie gathered together, and assoone as 15. and 20. Indians could assemble themselues, they set vpon the Christians: and seeing that they did handle them shrewdly, and that the horsemen ouertooke them when they fled, they gat vp into the tops of their houses, and sought to defend themselues with their arrowes: and being beaten downe from one, they gat vp vpon another. And while our men pursued some, others set vpon them another way. Thus the skirmish lasted so long, that the horses were tired, and they could not make them runne. The Indians killed there one horse, and some were hurt. There were 15. Indians slaine there, and 40. women and boies were taken prisoners. For whatsoeuer Indian did shoot at them, if they could come by him, they put him to the sword. The Gouernour determined to returne toward *Cayas*, before the Indians had time to gather a head; and presently that euening, going part of ye night to leaue *Tulla*, he lodged by the way, and the next day came to *Cayas:* and within three daies after he departed thēce toward *Tulla* with all his companie: He carried the Cacique along with him, and among all his men, there was not one found that could vnderstand the speech of *Tulla*. He staied three daies by the way, and the day that he came thither, he found the towne abandoned: for the Indians durst not tarrie his comming. But assoone as they knew that the Gouernour was in *Tulla*, the first night about ye morning watch, they came in two squadons two seuerall waies, with their bowes and arrowes, and long staues like pikes. Assoone as they were descried, both horse and foot sallied out vpon them, where many of the Indians were slaine: And some Christians and horses were hurt: Some of the Indians were taken prisoners, whereof the Gouernour sent sixe to the Cacique, with their right hands and noses cut off: and sent him word, that if he came not to him to excuse

Tulla.

The Gouernor commeth againe to Tulla with all his companie.

Indians haue their right hands and noses cut off.

excuse and submit himselfe, that hee would come to seeke him, and that hee would doe the like to him, and as many of his as hee could find, as hee had done to those which hee had sent him: and gaue him three daies respit for to come. And this he gaue them to vnderstand by signes, as well as hee could, for there was no interpretour. At the three daies end, there came an Indian laden with Oxe hides. He came weeping with great sobs, and comming to the Gouernour cast himselfe downe at his feete: He tooke him vp, and he made a speech, but there was none that vnderstood him. The Gouernour by signes commanded him, to returne tō the Cacique, and to will him, to send him an interpretor, which could vnderstand the men of *Cayas*. The next day came three Indians laden with oxe hides; and within three daies after came 20. Indians, and among them one that vnderstood them of *Cayas:* Who, after a long oration of excuses of the Cacique, and praises of the Gouernour, concluded with this, that he and the other were come thither on the Caciques behalfe, to see what his Lordship would command him to doe, for he was readie at his commandement. The Gouernour and all his companie were verie glad. For in no wise could they trauell without an interpretour. The Gouernour commanded him to be kept safe, and bad him tell the men that came with him, that they shuld returne to the Cacique, and signifie vnto him, that he pardoned him for that which was past, and thanked him much for his presents and interpretour, which he had sent him, and that he would bee glad to see him, and that he should come the next day to talke with him. After three daies, the Cacique came, and 80. Indians with him: and himselfe and his men came weeping into the Camp, in token of obedience and repentance for the errour passed, after the manner of that Countrie: He brought a present of many oxe hides: which, because the Countrie was cold, were verie profitable, and serued for couerlets, because they were very soft, and wolled like sheepe. Not farre from thence toward the North were many oxen. The Christians saw them not, nor came into the Countrie where they were, because those parts were euill inhabited, and had small store of Maiz where they were bred. The Cacique of *Tulla* made an oration to the Gouernour, wherein he excused himselfe, and offered him his Countrie, subiects, and person. Aswell this Cacique as the others, and all those which

Oxe hides.

Oxe hides.

The Cacique of Tulla.

Many Oxe hides with wooll on them, as soft as sheepes wooll. Gomara Histor. Gener. cap. 215.

Many Oxen toward the North.

The great eloquence of the Indians.

came

came to the Gouernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no oratour could vtter the same more eloquentlie.

Chap. XXVII.

How the Gouernour went from Tulla *to* Autiamque, *where he passed the winter.*

THe Gouernour enformed himselfe of all the Countrie round about; and vnderstood, that toward the West was a scattered dwelling, and that toward the Southeast were great townes, especially in a Prouince called *Autiamque*, tenne daies iournie from *Tulla;* which might be about 80. leagues; and that it was a plentifull Countrie of Maiz. And because winter came on, and that they could not trauell two or three moneths in the yeere for cold, waters, and snow: and fearing, that if they should stay so long in the scattered dwelling, they could not be susteined; and also because the Indians said, that neere to *Autiamque* was a great water, and according to their relation, the Gouernour thought it was some arme of the Sea: And because he now desired to send newes of himselfe to *Cuba*, that some supplie of men & horses might be sent vnto him: (for it was aboue three yeeres, since *Donna Isabella*, which was in *Hauana*, or any other person in Christendome had heard of him, and by this time he had lost 250. men, and 150. horses) he determined to winter in *Autiamque*, and the next spring, to goe to the sea cost, and make two brigantines, and send one of them to *Cuba*, and the other to *Nueua Espanna*, that that which went in safetie, might giue newes of him: Hoping with the goods which he had in *Cuba*, to furnish himselfe againe, and to attempt the discouery and conquest toward the West: for he had not yet come where *Cabeça de Vaca* had been. Thus hauing sent away the two Caciques of *Cayas* and *Tulla*, he tooke his iournie toward *Autiamque:* Hee trauelled fiue daies ouer rough mountaines, and came to a towne called *Quipana*, where no Indians could be taken for the roughnesse of the Countrie: and the towne being betweene hilles, there was an ambush laid, wherewith they tooke two Indians; which told them, that *Autiamque* was sixe daies iournie from thence, and that there was another Prouince toward the South eight

A winter of two or three moneths.

Quipana, fiue daies iournie from Tulla.

eight daies iournie off, plentifull of Maiz, and very well peopled, which was called *Guahate*. But because *Autiamque* was neerer, and the most of the Indians agreed of it, the Gouernour made his iournie that way. In three daies he came to a towne called *Anoixi*. He sent a Captaine before with 30. horsemen, and 50. footemen, and tooke the Indians carelesse, hee tooke many men and women prisoners. Within two daies after the Gouernour came to another towne called *Catamaya*, and lodged in the fields of the towne. Two Indians came with a false message from the Cacique to know his determination. Hee bad them tell their Lord, that hee should come and speake with him. The Indians returned and came no more, nor any other message from the Cacique. The next day the Christians went to the towne, which was without people: they tooke as much Maiz as they needed. That day they lodged in a wood, and the next day they came to *Autiamque*. They found much Maiz laid vp in store, and French beanes, and walnuts, and prunes, great store of all sorts. They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuffe which their wiues had hidden. This was a champion Countrie, and well inhabited. The Gouernour lodged in the best part of the towne, and commanded presently to make a fense of timber round about the Campe distant from the houses, that the Indians might not hurt them without by fire. And measuring the ground by pases, hee appointed euery one his part to doe according to the number of Indians which he had: presently the timber was brought by them; and in three daies there was an inclosure made of very hie and thicke posts thrust into the ground, and many railes laid acrosse. Hard by this towne passed a Riuer, that came out of the Prouince of *Cayas;* and aboue and beneath it was very well peopled. Thither came Indians on the Caciques behalfe with a present of mantles and skinnes; and an halting Cacique, subiect to the Lord of *Autiamque*, Lord of a towne called *Tietiquaquo*, came many times to visit the Gouernour, and to bring him presents of such as hee had. The Cacique of *Autiamque* sent to know of the Gouernour, how long time hee meant to stay in his Countrie? And vnderstanding that he meant to stay aboue three daies, he neuer sent any more Indians, nor any other message, but conspired with the lame Cacique to rebell. Diuers inrodes were made, wherein there were many men and women taken, and the lame Cacique among the rest. The Gouernour respecting the seruices which he had receiued of him, reprehended and admonished

Guahate.

Anoixi.

Catamaya.

Autiamque sixe daies iourney from Quipana.

A Riuer.

Tietiquaquo.

admonished him, and set him at libertie, and gaue him two Indians to carrie him in a chaire vpon their shoulders. The Cacique of *Autiamque* desiring to thrust the Gouernour out of his Countrie, set spies ouer him. And an Indian comming one night to the gate of the inclosure, a souldier that watched espied him, and stepping behind the gate, as he came in, he gaue him such a thrust, that he fell downe; and so he carried him to the Gouernour: and as hee asked him wherefore he came, not being able to speake, hee fell downe dead. The night following the Gouernor commanded a souldiour to giue the alarme, and to say that he had seene Indians, to see how ready they would be to answere the alarme. And hee did so sometimes as well there, as in other places, when he thought that his men were carelesse, & reprehended such as were slacke. And as well for this cause, as in regard of doing their dutie, when the alarme was giuen, euery one sought to be the first that should answere.

Great prouidence.

They staied in *Autiamque* three moneths with great plentie of Maiz, French beanes, Walnuts, Prunes, and Conies: which vntill that time they knew not how to catch. And in *Autiamque* the Indians taught them how to take them: which was, with great sprindges, which lifted vp their feete from the ground: And the snare was made with a strong string, whereunto was fastened a knot of a cane, which which ran close about the neck of the conie, because they should not gnaw the string. They tooke many in the fields of Maiz, especiallie when it freesed or snowed. The Christians staied there one whole moneth so inclosed with snow, that they went not out of the towne: and when they wanted firewood, the Gouernour with his horsemen going and comming many times to the wood, which was two crossebow shot from the towne, made a pathway, whereby the footemen went for wood. In this meane space, some Indians which went loose, killed many conies with their giues, and with arrowes. These conies were of two sorts, some were like those of *Spaine*, and the other of the same colour and fashion, and as big as great Hares, longer, and hauing greater loines.

Three moneths abode in Autiamque.

Frost and snow.

A moneth of snow.

Conies of two sorts.

CHAP.

Chap. XXVIII.

How the Gouernour went from Autiamque *to* Nilco, *and from thence to* Guyacoya.

Pon Monday the sixt of March 1542, the Gouernour departed from *Autiamque* to seeke *Nilco*, which the Indians said was neere the Great riuer, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure some succour of men and horses: for hee had now but three hundred men of warre, and fortie horses, and some of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make vp the number: and for want of iron they had gone aboue a yeere vnshod: and because they were vsed to it in the plaine countrie, it did them no great harme. *Iohn Ortiz* died in *Autiamque;* which grieued the Gouernor very much: because that without an Interpretour hee feared to enter farre into the land, where he might be lost. From thence forward a youth that was taken in *Cutifachiqui* did serue for Interpretour, which had by that time learned somewhat of the Christians language. The death of *Iohn Ortiz* was so great a mischiefe for the discouering inward, or going out of the land, that to learne of the Indians, that which in foure words hee declared, they needed a whole day with the youth: and most commonly hee vnderstood quite contrarie that which was asked him: whereby it often happened that the way that they went one day, and sometimes two or three daies, they turned backe, and went astray through the wood here and there. The Gouernour spent ten daies in trauelling from *Autiamque* to a prouince called *Ayays;* and came to a towne that stood neere the Riuer that passeth by *Cayas* and *Autiamque*. There hee commanded a barge to be made, wherewith he passed the Riuer. When he had passed the Riuer there fell out such weather, that foure daies he could not trauell for snow. Assoone as it gaue ouer snowing, he went three daies iourney through a Wildernesse, and a countrie so low, and so full of lakes and euill waies, that hee trauelled one time a whole day in water, sometimes knee deepe, sometimes to the stirrup, and sometimes they swamme. He came to a towne called *Tutelpinco*, abandoned, and without Maiz: there passed by it a lake, that entred into the riuer, which carried a great streame and force

March 6. 1542.

The death of John Ortiz, and the great misse of him being their interpretour.

Ayays. A Riuer.

Great snow about the twentieth of March.

Tutelpinco.

A great lake.

of

of water. Fiue Christians passing ouer it in a periagua, which the Gouernour had sent with a Captaine, the periagua ouerset: some tooke hold on it, some on the trees that were in the lake. One *Francis Sebastian*, an honest man of *Villa noua de Barca Rota*, was drowned there. The Gouernour went a whole day along the lake seeking passage, and could finde none, nor any way that did passe to the other side. Comming againe at night to the towne hee found two peaceable Indians, which shewed him the passage, and which way hee was to goe. There they made of canes and of the timber of houses thatched with canes, rafts wherewith they passed the lake. They trauelled three daies, and came to a towne of the territorie of *Nilco*, called *Tianto*. There they tooke thirtie Indians, and among them two principall men of this towne. The Gouernour sent a Captaine with horsemen and footmen before to *Nilco*, because the Indians might haue no time to carrie away the prouision. They passed through three or foure great townes; and in the towne where the Cacique was resident, which was two leagues from the place where the Gouernour remained, they found many Indians with their bowes and arrowes, in manner as though they would haue staied to fight, which did compasse the towne; and assoone as they saw the Christians come neere them without misdoubting them, they set the Caciques house on fire, and fled ouer a lake that passed neere the towne, through which the horses could not passe. The next day being Wednesday the 29. of March the Gouernour came to *Nilco:* he lodged with all his men in the Caciques towne, which stood in a plaine field, which was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league: and within a league and a halfe a league were other very great townes, wherein was great store of Maiz, of French beanes, of Walnuts, and Prunes. This was the best inhabited countrie, that was seene in *Florida*, and had most store of Maiz, except *Coça*, and *Apalache*. There came to the campe an Indian accompanied with others, and in the Caciques name gaue the Gouernour a mantle of Marterns skinnes, and a cordon of perles. The Gouernour gaue him a few small Margarites, which are certaine beades much esteemed in *Peru*, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. He promised to returne within two daies, but neuer came againe: but on the contrarie the Indians came by night in canoes, and carried away all the Maiz they could, and made them cabins on the other side

Rafts wherewith they passed the lake.

Tianto.

Three or foure great townes.

March 29. Nilco.

Verie great townes.

The best Countrie of Florida.

Marterns skinnes.

A cordon of perles.

side of the Riuer in the thickest of the wood, because they might flee if wee should goe to seeke them. The Gouernour, seeing hee came not at the time appointed, commanded an ambush to be laid about certaine store-houses neere the lake, whither the Indians came for Maiz: where they tooke two Indians, who told the Gouernour, that hee which came to visit him, was not the Cacique, but was sent by him vnder pretence to spie whether the Christians were carelesse, and whether they determined to settle in that country or to goe forward. Presently the Gouernour sent a Captaine with footmen and horsemen ouer the riuer; and in their passage they were descried of the Indians, and therefore he could take but tenne or twelue men and women, with whom hee returned to the campe. This Riuer which passed by *Nilco*, was that which passed by *Cayas* and *Autiamque*, and fell into *Rio grande*, or the Great Riuer, which passed by *Pachaka* and *Aquixo* neere vnto the prouince of *Guachoya:* and the Lord thereof came up the Riuer in canoes to make warre with him of *Nilco*. On his behalf there came an Indian to the Gouernour and said vnto him, That he was his seruant, and prayed him so to hold him, and that within two daies hee would come to kisse his Lordships hands: and at the time appointed he came with some of his principal Indians, which accompanied him, and with words of great offers and courtesie hee gaue the Gouernour a present of many Mantles and Deeres skinnes. The Gouernour gaue him some other things in recompense, and honoured him much. Hee asked him what townes there were downe the Riuer? Hee answered that he knew none other but his owne: and on the other side of the Riuer a prouince of a Cacique called *Quigalta*. So hee tooke his leaue of the Gouernour and went to his owne towne. Within few daies the Gouernour determined to goe to *Guachoya*, to learne there whether the Sea were neere, or whether there were any habitation neere, where hee might relieue his companie, while the brigantines were making, which he meant to send to the land of the Christians. As he passed the Riuer of *Nilco*, there came in canoes Indians of *Guachoya* vp the streame, and when they saw him, supposing that he came to seeke them to doe them some hurt, they returned downe the Riuer, and informed the Cacique thereof: who with all his people, spoiling the towne of all that they could carrie away, passed that night ouer to the other side of *Rio grande*, or the great Riuer. The Gouernour sent a Captaine with fiftie men in sixe canoes downe the Riuer, and went himselfe by land with the rest: hee came to *Guachoya* vpon Sunday the 17. of Aprill:

A Riuer falling into Rio grande.

Guachoya.

Aprill: he lodged in the towne of the Cacique, which was inclosed about, and seated a crossebow shot distant from the Riuer.

Foure names of Rio grande.

Here the Riuer is called *Tamaliseu*, and in *Nilco Tapatu*, and in *Coca Mico*, and in the port or mouth *Ri*.

Chap. XXIX.

Of the message which the Gouernour sent to Quigalta, *and of the answere which he returned: and of the things which happened in this time.*

S soone as the Gouernour came to *Guachoya*, hee sent *Iohn Danusco* with as many men as could goe in the canoes vp the Riuer. For when they came downe from *Nilco*, they saw on the other side the Riuer new cabins made. *Iohn Danusco* went and brought the canoes loden with Maiz, French beanes, Prunes, and many loaues made of the substance of prunes. That day came an Indian to the Gouernor from the Cacique of *Guachoya*, and said, that his Lord would come the next day. The next day they saw many canoes come vp the Riuer, and on the other side of the great Riuer, they assembled together in the space of an houre: they consulted whether they should come or not; & at length concluded to come, and crossed the Riuer. In thē came the Cacique of *Guachoya*, and brought with him manie Indians with great store of Fish, Dogges, Deeres skinnes, and Mantles: And assoone as they landed, they went to the lodging of the Gouernour, and presented him their gifts, and the Cacique vttered these words:

Many loaues made of prunes.

Mightie and excellent Lord, I beseech your Lordship to pardon mee the errour which I committed in absenting my selfe, and not tarrying in this towne to haue receiued and serued your Lordship; since, to obtaine this opportunitie of time, was, and is as much as a great victorie to me. But I feared that, which I needed not to haue feared, and so did that which was not reason to do: But as haste maketh waste, and I remoued without deliberation; so, as soone as I thought on it, I determined not to follow the opinion of the foolish, which is, to continue in their errour; but to imitate the wise and discreet, in changing my counsell, and so I came to see what your Lordship will command me to doe, that I may serue you in all things that are in my power.

The

The Gouernour receiued him with much ioy, and gaue him thankes for his present and offer. He asked him, whether hee had any notice of the Sea. Hee answered, no, nor of any townes downe the Riuer on that side; saue that two leagues from thence was one towne of a principall Indian a subiect of his; and on the other side of the Riuer, three daies iourney from thence downe the Riuer, was the Prouince of *Quigalta*, which was the greatest Lord that was in that Countrie. The Gouernour thought that the Cacique lied vnto him, to rid him out of his owne townes, and sent *Iohn Danusco* with eight horsemen downe the Riuer, to see what habitation there was, and to informe himselfe, if there were any notice of the Sea. Hee trauelled eight daies, and at his returne hee said, that in all that time he was not able to go aboue 14 or 15 leagues, because of the great creekes that came out of the Riuer, and groues of canes, and thicke woods that were along the bankes of the Riuer, and that hee had found no habitation. The Gouernour fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the Sea; and worse, because his men and horses euery day diminished, being without succour to sustaine themselues in the country:

The Gouernor falleth sick of thought.

and with that thought he fell sick. But before he tooke his bed hee sent an Indian to the Cacique of *Quigalta* to tell him, that hee was the Childe of the Sunne, and that all the way that hee came all men obeyed and serued him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship, and come vnto him; for he would be very glad to see him; and in signe of loue and obedience to bring something with him of that which in his countrie was most esteemed. The Cacique answered by the same Indian:

A most wittie and stout answere of the Cacique of Quigalta.

That whereas he said he was the Child of the Sunne, if he would drie vp the Riuer he would beleeue him: and touching the rest, that hee was wont to visit none; but rather that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, serued, obeyed and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore if hee desired to see him, it were best he should come thither: that if hee came in peace, he would receiue him with speciall good will; and if in warre, in like manner hee would attend him in the towne where he was, and that for him or any other hee would not shrinke one foote backe.

By that time the Indian returned with this answere, the Gouernour had betaken himselfe to bed, being euill handled with feuers, and was much aggrieued, that he was not in case to passe presently the Riuer and to seeke him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the Riuer went now very strongly

in

in those parts; for it was neere halfe a league broad, and 16. fathomes deep, and very furious, and ranne with a great current; and on both sides there were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that hee had need to helpe himselfe rather by slights then by force. The Indians of *Guachoya* came euery day with fish in such numbers, that the towne was full of them. The Cacique said, that on a certaine night hee of *Quigalta* would come to giue battell to the Gouernour. Which the Gouernour imagined that he had deuised, to driue him out of his countrey, and commanded him to bee put in hold: and that night and all the rest, there was good watch kept. Hee asked him wherefore *Quigalta* came not? He said that hee came, but that he saw him prepared, and therefore durst not giue the attempt: and hee was earnest with him to send his Captaines ouer the Riuer, and that he would aide him with many men to set vpon *Quigalta.* The Gouernour told him that assoone as he was recouered, himselfe would seeke him out. And seeing how many Indians came daily to the towne, and what store of people was in that countrie, fearing they should al conspire together and plot some treason against him; and because the towne had some open gaps which were not made an end of inclosing, besides the gates which they went in and out by: because the Indians should not thinke he feared them, he let them all alone vnrepaired; and commanded the horsemen to be appointed to them, and to the gates: and all night the horsemen went the round; and two and two of euery squadron rode about, and visited the skouts that were without the towne in their standings by the passages, and the crossebowmen that kept the canoes in the Riuer. And because the Indians should stand in feare of them, hee determined to send a Captaine to *Nilco*, for those of *Guachoya* had told him that it was inhabited; that by vsing them cruelly, neither the one nor the other should presume to assaile him; and hee sent *Nunnez de Touar* with fifteene horsemen, and *Iohn de Guzman* Captaine of the footemen with his companie in canoes vp the Riuer. The Cacique of *Guachoya* sent for many canoes and many warlike Indians to goe with the Christians: and the Captaine of the Christians, called *Nunnez de Touar*, went by land with his horsemen, and two leagues before he came to *Nilco* hee staied for *Iohn de Guzman*, and in that place they passed the Riuer by night: the horsemen came first, and in the morning by breake of day in sight of the towne they lighted vpon a spie; which assoone as he perceiued the Christians, crying out amaine fled to the towne to giue warning. *Nunnez de Touar* and his companie made such speed, that before the Indians of the

the towne could fully come out, they were vpon them: it was champion ground that was inhabited, which was about a quarter of a league. There were about fiue or sixe thousand people in the towne: and, as many people came out of the houses, & fled from one house to another, and many Indians came flocking together from all parts, there was neuer a horseman that was not alone among many. The Captaine had commanded that they should not spare the life of any male. Their disorder was so great, that there was no Indian that shot an arrow at any Christian. The shreekes of women and children were so great, that they made the eares deafe of those that followed them. There were slaine an hundred Indians, little more or lesse: and many were wounded with great wounds, whom they suffered to escape to strike a terror in the rest that were not there. There were some so cruell and butcherlike, that they killed old and young, and all that they met, though they made no resistance: and those which presumed of themselues for their valour, and were taken for such, brake through the Indians, bearing downe many with their stirrops and brests of their horses; and some they wounded with their lances, and so let them goe: and when they saw any youth or woman they tooke them, and deliuered them to the footmen. These mens sinnes by Gods permission light- " on their own heads: who, because they would seeme valiant, " became cruell; shewing themselues extreme cowards in the " sight of all men, when as most neede of valour " was required, and * afterward they came to a " shameful death. Of the Indians of *Nilco* were taken prisoners, fourescore women and children, and much spoile. The Indians of *Guachoya* kept back before they came at the towne, and staied without, beholding the successe of the Christians with the men of *Nilco*. And when they saw them put to flight, and the horsemen busie in killing of them, they hastened to the houses to rob, and filled their canoes with the spoile of the goods; and returned to *Guachoya* before the Christians; and wondering much at the sharpe dealing which they had seene them vse toward the Indians of *Nilco*, they told their Cacique all that had passed with great astonishment.

Fiue or sixe thousand people in Nilco.

* Chap. 37.

Chap. XXX.

Of the death of the Adelantado Fernando de Soto: *And how* Luys Moscoso de Aluarado *was elected Gouernour in his stead.*

THe Gouernour felt in himselfe that the houre approched, wherein hee was to leaue this present life, and called for the Kings officers, Captaines and principall persons, to whom he made a speech, saying:

That now he was to goe to giue an account before the presence of God of all his life past: and since it pleased him to take him in such a time, and that the time was come that he knew his death, that he his most vnworthie seruant did yeeld him many thankes therefore; and desired all that were present and absent (whom he confessed himselfe to be much beholding vnto for their singular vertues, loue and loyaltie, which himselfe had well tried in the trauels, which they had suffered, which alwaies in his mind he did hope to satisfie and reward, when it should please God to giue him rest, with more prosperitie of his estate,) that they would pray to God for him, that for his mercie he would forgiue him his sinnes, and receiue his soule into eternall glorie: and that they would quit and free him of the charge which hee had ouer them, and ought vnto them all, and that they would pardon him for some wrongs which they might haue receiued of him: And to auoid some diuision, which vpon his death might fall out vpon the choice of his successour, he requested them to elect a principall person, and able to gouerne, of whom all should like well; and when he was elected, they should sweare before him to obey him: and that he would thanke them very much in so doing; because the griefe that he had, would somewhat be asswaged, and the paine that he felt, because he left them in so great confusion, to wit, in leauing them in a strange Countrie, where they knew not where they were.

Baltasar de Gallegos answered in the name of all the rest: And first of all comforting him, he set before his eies how short the life of this world was, and with how many troubles and miseries it is accompanied, and how God shewed him a singular fauor which soonest left it: telling him many other things fit for such a time. And for the last point, that since it pleased God to take him to himselfe, although his death did iustly grieue them

them much, yet as wel he, as al the rest, ought of necessitie to conforme themselues to the will of God. And touching the Gouernour which he commanded they should elect, he besought him, that it would please his Lordship to name him which he thought fit, and him they would obey. And presently he named *Luys de Moscoso de Aluarado* his Captaine generall. And presently he was sworne by all that were present and elected for Gouernour. The next day, being the 21. of May, 1542. departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captaine, *Don Fernando de Soto*, Gouernour of *Cuba*, and Adelantado of *Florida:* whom fortune aduanced, as it vseth to doe others, that hee might haue the higher fal. He departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sicknesse he had but little comfort: and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that Countrie, which appeared before their eies, was cause sufficient, why euery one of them had need of comfort, and why they did not visit nor accompanie him as they ought to haue done. *Luys de Moscoso* determined to conceale his death from the Indians, because *Ferdinando de Soto* had made them beleeue, That the Christians were immortall; and also because they tooke him to be hardie, wise, and valiant: and if they should know that he was dead, they would bee bold to set vpon the Christians, though they liued peaceablie by them. In regard of their disposition, and because they were nothing constant, and beleeued all that was tolde them, the Adelantado made them beleeue, that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselues, without their knowledge, how, or in what manner he came by them: and that the figure which appeared in a glasse, which he shewed them, did tell him whatsoeuer they practised and went about: and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt any thing that might bee preiudiciall vnto him.

The death of Don Ferdinando de Soto the 21. of May, 1542 at Guacoya.

A wittie stratagem.

Assoone as he was dead, *Luis de Moscoso* commanded to put him secretly in an house, where hee remained three daies: and remooving him from thence, commanded him to bee buried in the night at one of the gates of the towne within the wall. And as the Indians had seene him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might bee. And passing by the place where hee was buried, seeing the earth mooued, they looked and spake one to another. *Luys de Moscoso* vnderstanding of it, commanded him to be taken vp by night, and to cast a great deale of sand into the mantles, wherein he was winded vp, wherein hee was carried in a canoe, and throwne into the

the middest of the Riuer. The Cacique of *Guachoya* inquired for him, demanding what was become of his brother and Lord, the Gouernour: *Luys de Moscoso* told him, that hee was gon to heauen, as many other times hee did: and because hee was to stay there certaine daies, hee had left him in his place. The Cacique thought with himselfe that he was dead; and cõmanded two young and well proportioned Indians to be brought thither; and said, that ye vse of that Countrie was, when any Lord died, to kill Indians to wait vpon him, and serue him by the way: and for that purpose by his commandement were those come thither: and prayed *Luys de Moscoso* to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serue his Lord and brother. *Luys de Moscoso* told him, that the Gouernour was not dead, but gone to heauen, and that of his owne Christian souldiers, he had taken such as he needed to serue him, & praied him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to vse any such bad custome from thencefoorth: straightway hee commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not goe; saying, that hee would not serue him, that without desert had iudged him to death, but that hee would serue him as long as hee liued, which had saued his life.

This is also the custome of the old Tartars.

Luys de Moscoso caused all the goods of the Gouernor to be sold at an outcrie: to wit, two men slaues, & two women slaues, and three horses, and 700 hogges. For euery slaue or horse, they gaue two or three thousand ducats: which were to be paied at the first melting of gold or siluer, or at the diuision of their portion of inheritance. And they entred into bonds, though in the Countrie there was not wherewith, to pay it within a yeere after, and put in sureties for the same. Such as in *Spaine* had no goods to bind, gaue two hundred ducats for an hog, giuing assurance after the same maner. Those which had any goods in *Spaine*, bought with more feare, and bought the lesse. From that time forward, most of the companie had swine, and brought them vp, and fed vpon them; and obserued Fridaies and Saturdaies, and the euenings of feasts, which before they did not. For sometimes in two or three moneths they did eate no flesh, and whensoeuer they could come by it, they did eate it.

Seuen hundred hogges.

Chap. XXXI.

How the Gouernour Luys de Moscoso *departed from* Guachoya, *and went to* Chaguate; *and from thence to* Aguacay.

SOme were glad of the death of *Don Ferdinando de Soto*, holding for certaine, that *Luys de Moscoso* (which was giuen to his ease) would rather desire to be among the Christians at rest, then to continue the labours of the warre in subduing and discouering of Countries; whereof they were alreadie wearie, seeing the small profit that insued thereof. The Gouernour commanded the Captaines and principall persons to meet to consult and determine what they should doe. And being informed what peopled habitation was round about, he vnderstood that to the West, the Countrie was most inhabited, and that downe the Riuer beyond *Quigalta* was vninhabited, and had little store of food. He desired them all, that euerie one would giue his opinion in writing, & set his hand to it: that they might resolue by generall consent, whether they should goe downe the Riuer, or enter into the maine land. All were of opinion, that it was best to go by land toward the West, because *Nueua Espanna* was that way; holding the voyage by sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storme, neither had they Master, nor Pilot, Compasse, nor Chart, neither knew they how farre the sea was off, nor had any notice of it; not whether the Riuer did make any great turning into the land, or had any great fall from the rocks, where all of them might be cast away. And some which had seene the sea-chart, did find, that from the place where they were by the sea coast to *Noua Espanna*, might bee 400. leagues, little more or lesse; and said, that though they went somewhat about by land in seeking a peopled Countrie, if some great wildernesse which they could not passe did hinder thē, by spending that sommer in trauell, finding prouision to passe the winter in some peopled Countrie, that the next sommer after they might come to some Christian land, and that it might fortune in their trauel by land to find some rich Countrie, where they might doe themselues good. The Gouernour, although he desired to get out of *Florida* in shorter time, seeing the inconueniences they laid before him, in trauelling by sea, determined to follow that which seemed good to them

Their general resolution to trauell by land Westward.

The fifth of Iune. all. On Monday the fifth of Iune, he departed from *Guachoya*. The Cacique gaue him a guide to *Chaguate*, and staied at home in his owne towne. They passed through a Prouince called *Catalte:* and hauing passed a wildernesse of sixe daies iournie, the twentieth day of ye moneth he came to *Chaguate*. The Cacique of this Prouince had visited the Gouernour *Don Ferdinando de Soto* at *Autiamque*, whither he brought him presents of skinnes, and mantles and salt. And a day before *Luys de Moscoso* came to his towne, we lost a Christian that was sicke ; which hee suspected that the Indians had slaine. Hee sent the Cacique word, that he should command his people to seeke him vp, and send him vnto him, and that he would hold him, as he did, for his friend: and if he did not, that neither he, nor his, should escape his hands, and that hee would set his Countrie on fire. Presently the Cacique came vnto him, and brought a great present of mantles and skinnes, and the Christian that was lost, and made this speech following :

Catalte.

Chiguate.

Right excellent Lord, I would not deserue that conceit which you had of me, for all the treasure of the world. What inforced me to goe to visit and serue the excellent Lord Gouernour your father in Autianique, *which you should haue remembred, where I offered my selfe with all loyaltie, faith and loue, during my life to serue and obey him? What then could be the cause, I hauing receiued fauours of him, and neither you nor he hauing done me any wrong, that should mooue me to doe the thing, which I ought not? Beleeue this of mee, that neither wrong, nor any worldly interest, was able to make me to haue done it, nor shall be able to blind me. But as in this life it is a naturall course, that after one pleasure, many sorrowes doe follow: so by your indignation, fortune would moderate the ioy, which my heart conceiueth with your presence; and that I should erre, where I thought surest to haue hit the marke; in harboring this Christian which was lost, and vsing him in such manner, as he may tell himselfe, thinking that herein I did you seruice, with purpose to deliuer him vnto you in* Chaguate, *and to serue you to the vttermost of my power. If I deserue punishment for this, I will receiue it at your hands, as from my Lord, as if it were a fauour. For the loue which I did beare to the excellent Gouernour, and which I beare to you hath no limit. And like as you giue me chastisement, so will you also shew me fauour. And that which now I craue of you is this, to declare your will vnto me, and those things, wherein I may bee able to doe you the most and best seruice.*

The

The Gouernour answered him, that because he did not find him in that towne, hee was incensed against him, thinking he had absented himselfe, as others had done: But seeing he now knew his loyaltie and loue, he would alwaies hold him as a brother, and fauour him in all his affaires. The Cacique went with him to the towne where he resided, which was a daies iournie from thence. They passed through a smal town, where there was a lake, where the Indians made salt: and the Christians made some one day while they rested there, of a brackish water, which sprang neere the towne in ponds like fountaines. The Gouernour staied in *Chaguate* sixe daies. There he was informed of the habitation that was toward the West. They told him, that three daies iournie from thence was a Prouince called *Aguacay*. The day that he departed from *Chaguate*, a Christian, called *Francisco de Guzman*, the base sonne of a Gentleman of *Siuill*, staied behind, and went to the Indians, with an Indian woman which he kept as his concubine, for feare he should be punished for gaming debts, that he did owe. The Gouernor had trauelled two daies before he missed him; hee sent the Cacique word to seeke him vp, and to send him to *Aguacay*, whither he trauelled: which hee did not performe. From the Cacique of *Aguacay*, before they came into the Countrie, there met him on the way 15. Indians with a present of skinnes, fish and rosted venison. The Gouernour came to his towne on Wednesday, the fourth of Iulie. He found the towne without people, and lodged in it: he staied there about a day; during which, he made some roades, and tooke many men and women. There they had knowledge of *the South Sea*. Here there was great store of salt made of sand, which they gather in a vaine of ground like peeble stones. And it was make as they made salt in *Cayas*.

A smal towne.

Salt made of salt springs of water.

Aguacay.

Knowledge of *the South Sea*.

Store of Salt made.

Chap. XXXII.

How the Gouernour went from Aguacay *to* Naguatex, *and what happened vnto him.*

THe same day that the Gouernour departed from *Aguacay* he lodged in a small towne subiect to the Lord of that prouince. The Campe pitched hard by a lake of salt water; and that euening they made some salt there. The day following hee lodged be-

A smal towne.

Salt made here.

tweene

tweene two mountaines in a thinne groue of wood. The next day hee came to a small towne called *Pato.* The
Pato. fourth day after his departure from *Aguacay* he came to the first habitation of a prouince called
Amaye. *Amaye.* There an Indian was taken, which said that from thence to *Naguatex* was a day and a halfes iourney; which they trauelled, finding all the way inhabited places. Hauing passed the peopled countrie of *Amaye*, on
Iulie 20. Saturday the 20. of Iulie they pitched their Campe at noone betweene *Amaye* and *Naguatex* along the corner of a groue of very faire trees. In the same place certaine Indians were discouered, which came to view them. The horsemen went out to them, and killed six, and tooke two; whom the Gouernour asked, wherefore they came? They said, to know what people hee had, and what order they kept; and that the Cacique of *Naguatex* their Lord had sent them, and that he, with other Caciques which came to aide him, determined that day to bid him battell. While they were occupied in these questions and answeres, there came many Indians by two waies in two squadrons: and when they saw they were descried, giuing a great crie they assaulted the Christians each squadron by it selfe: but seeing what resistance the Christians made them, they turned their backes and betooke themselues to flight, in which many of them lost their liues; and most of the horsemen following them in chase, carelesse of the Camp, other two squadrons of Indians, which lay in ambush, set vpon the Christians that were in the Campe, which also they resisted, who also had their reward as the first. After the flight of the Indians, and that the Christians were retired, they heard a great noise a crossebow shot from the place where they were. The Gouernour sent twelue horsemen to see what it was. They found sixe Christians, foure footmen and two horsemen, among many Indians; the horsemen defending the footmen with great labour. These being of them that chased the first two squadrons, had lost themselues, and comming to recouer the Campe fell among those with whom they were fighting: and so they, and those that came to succour thē, slew many of the Indians, and brought one aliue to the Campe: whom the Gouernour examined, who they were that came to bid him battell. He told him, that they were the Cacique of *Naguatex*, and of
Hacanac. *Amaye*, and another of a prouince called *Hacanac*, a Lord of great countries and many subiects; and that the Cacique of *Naguatex* came for Captaine and chiefest of them all. The Gouernour commanded his right arme and nose to be cut off, and sent him to the Cacique of

Naguatex,

Naguatex, charging him to tell him, that the next day hee would bee in his countrey to destroy him; and if hee would withstand his entrance, hee should stay for him. That night he lodged there; and the next day hee came to the habitation of *Naguatex*, which was very scattering: he inquired where the Caciques chiefe towne was? They told him that it was on the other side of a Riuer, that passed thereby: hee trauelled thitherward, and came vnto it: and on the other side hee saw many Indians, that taried for him, making shew as though they would defend the passage. And because hee knew not whether it could bee waded, nor where the passage was; and that some Christians and horses were hurt; that they might haue time to recouer, he determined to rest certaine daies in the towne where he was. So hee pitched his campe a quarter of a league from the Riuer, because the weather was very hot, neere vnto the towne, in a thinne groue of very faire and hie trees neere a brookes side: and in that place were certaine Indians taken; whom hee examined, whether the Riuer were wadeable or no? They said, yea, at some times, and in some places. Within ten daies after he sent two Captaines with fifteene horsemen a peece vpward and downe the Riuer with Indians to shew them where they should goe ouer, to see what habitation was on the other side: And the Indians withstood them both, defending the passage of the Riuer as farre as they were able, but they passed in despite of them: and on the other side of the Riuer they saw great habitation, and great store of victuals; and with these newes returned to the Camp.

Naguatex.

A Riuer.

August.

They passe the Riuer.

Chap. XXXIII.

How the Cacique of Naguatex *came to visite the Gouernour: and how the Gouernour departed from* Naguatex *and came to* Nondacao.

THe Gouernour sent an Indian from *Naguatex* where hee lay, to command the Cacique to come to serue and obey him, and that hee would forgiue him all that was past; and if he came not, that he would seeke him, and giue him such punishment as he had deserued for that which he had done against him. Within two daies the Indian returned, & said that the Cacique would come the next day: which, the same day when he

he came, sent many Indians before him, among whom there were some principall men: hee sent them to see what countenance they found in the Gouernour, to resolue with himselfe whether hee should goe or not. The Indians let him vnderstand, that he was comming, and went away presently: and the Cacique came within two houres accompanied with many of his men: they came all in a ranke one before another on both sides, leauing a lane in the middest where hee came. They came where the Gouernour was, all of them weeping after the manner of *Tulla*, which was not farre from thence toward the East. The Cacique made his due obedience, and this speech following:

Tulla not far from Naguatex, Eastward.

Right high and mightie Lord, whom all the world ought to serue and obey, I was bold to appeare before your Lordship, hauing committed so heinous and abominable an act, as only for me to haue imagined, deserued to be punished; trusting in your greatnes, that although I deserue to obtaine no pardon, yet for your owne sake only you will vse clemencie toward me, considering how small I am in comparison of your Lordship; and not to think upon my weaknesses, which, to my griefe and for my greater good, I haue knowne. And I beleeue that you and yours are immortall; and that your Lordship is Lord of the land of nature, seeing that you subdue all things, and they obey you, euen the very hearts of men. For when I beheld the slaughter and destruction of my men in the battell, which, through mine ignorãce, and the counsell of a brother of mine, which died in the same, I gaue your Lordship, presently I repented me in my heart of the error, which I had committed; and desired to serue and obey you: and to this end I come, that your Lordship may chastise and command mee as your owne.

The Gouernour answered him, that he forgaue him all which was past, that from thenceforth hee should do his dutie, & that he would hold him for his friend, and that he would fauour him in all things. Within foure daies hee departed thence, and comming to the Riuer he could not passe, because it was growne very bigge; which seemed to him a thing of admiration, being at that time that it was, and since it had not rained a moneth before. The Indians said, that it increased many times after that manner without raining in all the countrie. It was supposed, that it might bee the tide that came into it. It was learned that the flood came alway from aboue, and that the Indians of all that countrie had no knowledge of the Sea. The Gouernour returned vnto the place where

The Riuer growne vnpassable in August, at Naguatex.

Coniectures of a Sea to the Northward.

where he had lodged before: and vnderstanding within eight daies after that the Riuer was passeable, he departed. He passed ouer and found the towne without people: he lodged in the field, and sent the Cacique word to come vnto him, and to bring him a guide to goe forward. And some daies being past, seeing the Cacique came not, nor sent any bodie, hee sent two Captaines sundrie waies to burne the townes, and to take such Indians as they could finde: They burnt great store victuals, and took many Indians. The Cacique seeing the hurt that he receiued in his countrie, sent sixe principall Indians with three men for guides, which knew the language of the countrie, through which the Gouernour was to passe. Hee departed presently from *Naguatex*, and within three daies iourney came to a towne of foure or fiue houses, which belonged to the Cacique of that prouince, which is called *Nissoone:* it was euill inhabited and had little Maiz. Two daies iourney forward the guides which guided the Gouernour, if they were to goe Westward, guided him to the East; and sometimes went vp and downe through very great woods out of the way. The Gouernour commanded them to bee hanged vpon a tree: and a woman that they tooke in *Nissoone* guided him, and went backe againe to seeke the way. In two daies he came to another miserable towne, called *Lacane:* an Indian was taken in that place, that said, that the countrie of *Nondacao* was a countrie of great habitation, and the houses scattering the one from the other, as they vse to bee in mountains, and had great store of Maiz. The Cacique came with his men weeping, like them of *Naguatex:* for this is their vse in token of obedience: hee made him a present of much fish, and offered to doe what he would command him. Hee tooke his leaue, and gaue him a guide to the prouince of *Soacatino.*

A towne.

Townes burned.

Nissoone.

Lacane. Nondacao.

CHAP.

Chap. XXXIIII.

How the Gouernour went from Nondacao *to* Soacatino *and* Guasco, *and passed through a desert, from whence, for want of a guide, and an interpretour, he returned to* Nilco.

Aays. He Gouernour departed from *Nondadacao* toward *Soacatino*, and in fiue daies iournie came to a Prouince called *Aays*. The Indians which inhabited it, had no notice of the Christians: but assoone as they saw that they entred into their country, they assembled themselues: and as they came together 50. or 100. they came foorth to fight: while some fought, others came and charged our men another way, and while they followed some, others followed them. The fight lasted the greatest part of the day, till they came to their towne. Some horses and men were wounded, but not to any hurt of their trauelling: for there was no wound that was dangerous. There was a great spoile made of the Indians. That day that the Gouernour departed from thence, the Indian that guided him said, that in *Nondacao* he had heard say, that the Indians of *Soacatino* had seene other Christians, whereof they all were very glad: thinking it might be true, and that they might haue entred into those parts by *Nueua Espanna;* and that if it were so, it was in their owne hand to goe out of *Florida*, if they found nothing of profit: for they feared they should lose themselues in some wildernes. This Indian led him two daies out of the way. The Gouernour commanded to torture him. He said, that the Cacique of *Nondacao*, his Lord, had commanded him to guide them so, because they were his enemies, and that hee was to doe as his Lord commanded him. The Gouernour commanded him to be cast to the dogs: and another guided him to *Soacatino*, whither hee came the day following. It was a verie poore Countrie: there was great want of Maiz in that place. Hee asked the Indians, whether they knew of any other Christians. They said, that a little from thence toward the South they heard they were. He trauelled 20. daies through a Countrie euill inhabited, where they suffered great scarcitie and trouble. For that little Maiz which the Indians had, they had hidden and buried in the woods, where the Christians, after they were well wearied with their trauell, at the

A towne.

Soacatino.

20. daies trauell toward the South.

the end of their iournie went to seeke by digging what they should eat. At last, comming to a Prouince that was called *Guasco*, they found Maiz, wherewith they loaded their horses, and the Indians that they had. From thence they went to another towne called *Naquiscoça*. The Indians said, they had no notice of any other Christians. The Gouernour commanded to torment them. They said, that they came first to another Lordship, which was called *Naçacahoz*, and from thence returned again to the West, from whence they came. The Gouernour came in two daies to *Naçacahoz:* Some women were taken there: among whom there was one, which said, that she had seene Christians, and had been taken by them, and had run away. The Gouernour sent a Captaine with 15. horsemen to the place where the woman said she had seene them, to see if there were any signe of horses, or any token of their being there. After they had gone three or foure leagues, the woman that guided them said, that all that she had told them was vntrue. And so they held all the rest that the Indians had said, of seeing Christians in the land of *Florida*. And, because the Countrie that way was poore of Maiz, and toward the West, there was no notice of any habitation, they returned to *Guasco*. The Indians told them there, that 10. daies iournie from thence toward the West, was a Riuer called *Daycao;* whither they went sometimes a hunting and killing of Deere: and that they had seene people on the other side, but knew not what habitation was there. There the Christians tooke such Maiz as they found and could carrie, and, going 10. daies iournie through a wildernesse, they came to the Riuer which the Indians had told them of. Ten horsemen, which the Gouernour had sent before, passed ouer the same, and went in a way that led to the Riuer, and lighted vpon a companie of Indians that dwelt in verie little cabins: who, assoone as they saw them, tooke themselues to flight, leauing that which they had; all which was nothing but miserie and pouertie. The Countrie was so poore, that among them all there was not found halfe a peck of Maiz. The horsemen tooke two Indians, and returned with them to the Riuer, where the Gouernour staied for them. He sought to learne of them what habitation was toward the West. There was none in the Camp that could vnderstand their language. The Gouernour assembled the Captaines and principall persons, to determine with their aduice what they should doe. And the most part said, that they

Guasco: here they found some Turkie stones, and mantles of cotton wooll. Chap. 35.

Naquiscoça.

Naçacahoz.

They returned to Guasco.

The Riuer of Daycao: which seemeth to be Rio del oro.

they thought it best to returne backe to *Rio grande*, or the Great Riuer of *Guachoya;* because that in *Nilco* and thereabout was store of Maiz: saying, that they would make pinaces that winter, and the next sommer passe down the Riuer to the seaward in them, and comming to the Sea they would goe along the coast to *Nueua Espanna*. For though it seemed a doubtfull thing and difficult, by that which they had already alleaged, yet it was the last remedie they had. For by land they could not goe for want of an Interpretour. And they held, that the countrie beyond the Riuer of *Daycao*, where they were, was that which *Cabeça de Vaca* mentioned in his relation that he passed *of the Indians, which liued like the Alarbes, hauing no setled place*, and fed vpon *Tunas* and rootes of the fields, and wilde beasts that they killed. Which if it were so, if they should enter into it and finde no victuals to passe the winter, they could not chuse but perish. For they were entred alreadie into the beginning of October: and if they staied any longer, they were not able to returne for raine and snowes, nor to sustaine themselues in so poore a countrey. The Gouernour (that desired long to see himselfe in a place where hee might sleepe his full sleep, rather then to conquer and gouerne a countrie where so many troubles presented themselues) presently returned back that same way that he came.

No trauelling by land without an interpretour.

Chap. XXXV.

How they returned to Nilco, *and came to* Minoya, *where they agreed to make ships to depart out of the land of* Florida.

When that which was determined was published in the Campe, there were many that were greatly grieued at it: for they held the Sea voyage as doubtfull, for the euill meanes they had, and of as great danger, as the trauelling by land: and they hoped to finde some rich countrie before they came to the land of the Christians, by that which *Cabeça de Vaca* had told the Emperour: and that was this; That after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, hee saw gold and siluer, and stones of great value. And they had not yet come where hee had been. For vntill that place hee alwaies trauelled by the Sea coast: and they trauelled farre within the land; and that going toward the West,

Gold, siluer and precious stones in Florida.

West, of necessitie they should come where hee had been. For he said, That in a certain place he trauelled many daies, and entred into the land toward the North. And in *Guasco* they had alreadie found some Turkie stones, and mantles of cotton wooll: which the Indians signified by signes that they had from the West: and that holding that course they should draw neere to the land of the Christians. But though they were much discontented with it, and it grieued many to goe backward, which would rather haue aduentured their liues and haue died in the land of *Florida*, then to haue gone poore out of it: yet were they not a sufficient part to hinder that which was determined, because the principall men agreed with the Gouernour. And afterward there was one that said, hee would put out one of his owne eyes, to put out another of *Luis de Moscoso;* because it would grieue him much to see him prosper: because aswell himself as others of his friends had crossed that which hee durst not haue done, seeing that within two daies he should leaue the gouernment. From *Daycao*, where now they were, to *Rio grande*, or the Great Riuer, was 150 leagues: which vnto that place they had gone Westward. And by the way as they returned backe they had much adoe to find Maiz to eate: for where they had passed, the countrey was destroyed: and some little Maiz that was left the Indians had hidden. The townes which in *Naguatex* they had burned (whereof it repented them) were repaired againe, and the houses full of Maiz. This countrie is well inhabited and plentifull. In that place are vessels made of clay, which differ very little from those of *Estremoz*, or *Montemor*. In *Chaguate* the Indians by commandement of the Cacique came peaceably, and said, that the Christian which remained there would not come. The Gouernour wrote vnto him, and sent him inke and paper that he might answere. The substance of the words of the letter was to declare vnto him his determination, which was, to goe out of the land of *Florida*, and to put him in remembrance that he was a Christian, that he was a Christian, that hee would not remaine in the subiection of Infidels, that hee pardoned him the fault which he had done in going away to the Indians, that hee should come vnto him: and if they did stay him, that hee would aduertise him thereof by writing. The Indian went with the letter, and came again without any more answere, then, on the backe side, his name and his seale, that they might know he was aliue. The Gouernour sent twelue horsemen to seeke him:

Turkie stones and mantles of cotton wooll found in Guasco.

150 leagues betweene the Riuer of Daycao, and Rio grande.

Naguatex.

Fine earthen vessels. Chaguate.

him: but he, which had his spies, so hid himselfe, that they could not find him. For want of Maiz the Gouernour could not stay any longer to seeke him. Hee departed from *Chaguete*, and passed the Riuer by *Aays;* going downe by it hee found a towne called *Chilano*, which as yet they had not seen. They came to *Nilco*, & found so little Maiz, as could not suffice till they made their ships; because the Christians, being in *Guachoya* in the seede time, the Indians for feare of them durst not come to sow the grounds of *Nilco:* and they knew not thereabout any other countrie where any Maiz was: and that was the most fruitfull soile that was thereaway, and where they had most hope to finde it. Euery one was confounded, and the most part thought it bad counsell to come backe from the Riuer of *Daycao*, and not to haue followed their fortune, going that way that went ouer land. For by Sea it seemed impossible to saue themselues, vnlesse God would worke a miracle for them: for there was neither Pilot, nor Sea-chart, neither did they know where the Riuer entred into the Sea, neither had they notice of it, neither had they any thing wherewith to make sailes, nor any store of Enequem, which is a grasse whereof they make Okam, which grew there: and that which they found they saued to calke the Pinaces withall, neither had they any thing to pitch them withall: neither could they make ships of such substance, but that any storme would put thē in great danger: and they feared much it would fall out with them, as it did with *Pamphilo de Naruaez*, which was cast away vpon that coast: And aboue all other it troubled them most, that they could finde no Maiz: for without it they could not bee sustained, nor could doe any thing that they had neede of. All of them were put to great confusion. Their chiefe remedy was to commit themselues to God, and to beseech him that he would direct them the way that they might saue their liues. And it pleased him of his goodnesse, that the Indians of *Nilco* came peaceablie, and told them, that two daies iourney from thence, neere vnto the Great Riuer, were two townes, whereof the Christians had no notice, and that the prouince was called *Minoya*, and was a fruitfull soile: that, whether at this present there was any Maiz or no, they knew not, because they had warre with them: but that they would be very glad with the fauour of the Christians to goe and spoyle them. The Gouernour sent a Captaine thither with horsemen and footmen, and the Indians of *Nilco* with him.

Aays.
Chilano.
Nilco.

Hee came to *Minoya*, and found two great townes seated in a plaine and open soile, halfe a league distant, one in sight of another, and in them he tooke

Minoya.
Two great townes.

tooke many Indians, and found great store of Maiz. Presently he lodged in one of them, and sent word to the Gouernour what hee had found: wherewith they were all exceeding glad. They departed from *Nilco* in the beginning of December; and all that way, and before from *Chilano*, they endured much trouble: for they passed through many waters, and many times it rained with a Northren winde, and was exceeding cold, so that they were in the open field with water ouer and vnderneath them: and when at the end of their daies iourney they found drie ground to rest vpon, they gaue great thanks to God. With this trouble almost all the Indians that serued them died. And after they were in *Minoya*, many Christians also died: and the most part were sicke of great and dangerous diseases, which had a spice of the lethargie. At this place died *Andrew de Vasconcelos*, and two Portugals of *Eluas*, which were very neere him: which were brethren, and by their surname called *Sotis*. The Christians lodged in one of the townes, which they liked best: which was fensed about, and distant a quarter of a league from the Great Riuer. The Maiz that was in the other towne was brought thither; and in all it was esteemed to bee 6000. hanegs or bushels. And there was the best timber to make ships, that they had seene in all the land of *Florida:* wherefore all of them gaue God great thankes for so singular a fauour, and hoped that that which they desired would take effect, which was, that they might safely bee conducted into the land of the Christians.

The beginning of December.

Raine with Northren wind exceeding cold.

The death of Andrew Vasconcelos.

Chap. XXXVI.

How there were seuen Brigandines builded, and how they departed from Minoya.

ASsoone as they came to *Minoya*, the Gouernor commanded them to gather all the chaines together, which euerie one had to lead Indians in; and to gather al the yron which they had for their prouision, and al the rest that was in the Camp: and to set vp a forge to make nailes, and commanded them to cut downe timber for the brigandines. And a Portugall of *Ceuta*, who hauing bin a prisoner in *Fez*, had learned to saw timber with a long saw, which for such purposes they had carried with them, did teach others, which helped him to saw timber. And

a *Genowis*, whom it pleased God to preserue (for without him they had neuer come out of the countrie: for there was neuer another that could make ships but hee) with foure or fiue other *Biscaine* carpenters, which hewed his plancks and other timbers, made the brigandines: And two calkers, the one of *Genua*, the other of *Sardinia* did calke them with the tow of an hearb like hempe, whereof before I haue made mention, which there is named Enequen. And because there was not enough of it, they calked them with the flaxe of the Countrie, and with the mantles, which they rauelled for that purpose. A cooper which they had among them fell sicke, and was at the point of death: and there was none other that had any skill in that trade: it pleased God to send him his health: And albeit he was verie weake, and could not labour; yet 15. daies before they departed, he made for euery brigandine two halfe hogs heads, which the mariners call quarterets, because foure of them hold a pipe of water. The Indians which dwelt two daies iournie aboue the Riuer in a Prouince called *Taguanate*, and likewise those of *Nilco* and *Guacoya*, and others their neighbours seeing the brigandines in making, thinking, because their places of refuge are in the water, that they were to goe to seeke them: and because the Gouernour demanded mantles of them, as necessarie for sailes, came many times, and brought many mantles, and great store of fish. And for certaine it seemed that God was willing to fauour them in so great necessitie, moouing the minds of the Indians to bring them: for to goe to take them, they were neuer able. For in the towne where they were, assoone as winter came in, they were so inclosed and compassed with water, y^{t} they could go no farther by land, then a league, & a league & an half. And if they would go father, they could carrie no horses, & without thē they were not able to fight with the Indians, because they were many: and so many for so many on foote they had the aduantage of them by water and by land, because they were more apt and lighter, and by reason of the disposition of the Countrie, which was according to their desire for the vse of their warre. They brought also some cords, and those which wanted for cables were made of the barkes of Mulberrie trees. They made stirrops of wood, & made ankers of their stirrops. In the moneth of March, when it had rained a moneth before, the Riuer grew so big, that it came to *Nilco*, which was nine leagues off: and on the other side, the Indians said, that it reached other

Enequen is an herbe like Hempe.

Flaxe of the countrie.

Taguanate two daies iourney aboue Minoya.

The great vse of horses.

Mulberrie trees.

The mightie increasing of the Riuer for two moneths

other nine leagues into the land. In the towne where the Christians were, which was somewhat high ground, where they could best goe, the water reached to the stirrops. They made certaine rafts of timber, and laid manie boughes vpon them, whereon they set their horses, and in the houses they did the like. But seeing that nothing preuailed, they went vp to the lofts: and if they went out of the houses, it was in canoes, or on horseback in those places where the ground was hiest. So they were two moneths, and could doe nothing, during which time the Riuer decreased not. The Indians ceased not to come vnto the brigantines as they were wont, and came in canoes. At that time the Gouernour feared they would set vpon him. Hee commanded his men to take an Indian secretly of those that came to the towne, and to stay him till the rest were gone: and they tooke one. The Gouernour commanded him to bee put to torture, to make him confesse, whether the Indians did practise any treason or no. Hee confessed that the Caciques of *Nilco*, *Guachoya*, & *Taguanate*, and others, which in al were about 20. Caciques, with a great number of people, determined to come vpon him; and that three daies before, they would send a great present of fish to colour their great treason and malice, and on the verie day they would send some Indians before with another present: And these with those which were our slaues, which were of their conspiracie also, should set the houses on fire, and first of all possesse themselues of the lances which stood at the doores of the houses; and the Caciques with all their men should bee neere the towne in ambush in the wood, and when the saw the fire kindled, should come, and make an end of the conquest. The Gouernour commanded the Indian to be kept in a chaine, and the selfe same day that he spake of, there came 30. Indians with fish. Hee commanded their right hands to be cut off, and sent them so backe to the Cacique of *Guachoya*, whose men they were. He sent him word, that he and the rest should come when they would, for he desired nothing more, and that hee should know, that they thought not any thing which he knew not before they thought of it. Hereupon they all were put in a very great feare: And the Caciques of *Nilco* and *Taguanate* came to excuse themselues: and a few daies after came he of *Guachoya*, and a principal Indian and his subiect, said, he knew by certaine information, That the Caciques of *Nilco* and *Taguanate* were agreed to come and make warre vpon the Christians. Assoone as ye Indians came from *Nilco*,

space, to wit, all March and Aprill.

The grand conspiracie of the Indians against the Christians.

Note well.

Thirtie Indians of the Cacique of Guachoya haue their right hands cut off.

Nilco, the Gouernour examined them, and they confessed it was true. Hee deliuered them presently to the principall man of *Guachoya*, which drew them out of the towne and killed them. Another day came some from *Taguanate*, and confessed it likewise. The Gouernour commanded their right hands and noses to be cut off, and sent them to the Cacique, wherewith they of *Guachoya* remained very well contented: and they came oftentimes with presents of mantles and fish, and hogs, which bred in the Countrie of some swine that were lost by the way the last yeere. Assoone as the waters were slaked, they perswaded the Gouernour to send to *Taguanate:* They came and brought canoes, wherein the footemen were conueied downe the Riuer, and a Captaine with horsemen went by land; and the Indians of *Guachoya*, which guided him, till they came to *Taguanate*, assaulted the towne, and took many men and women, and mantles, which with those that they had alreadie were sufficient to supplie their want. The brigandines being finished in the moneth of Iune, the Indians hauing told vs, That the Riuer increased but once a yeere, when the snowes did melt, in the time wherein I mentioned it had alreadie increased, being now in sommer, and hauing not rained a long time, it pleased God, that the flood came vp to the towne to seeke the brigandines, from whence they carried them by water to the Riuer. Which, if they had gone by land, had been in danger of breaking and splitting their keeles, and to bee all vndone; because that for want of iron, the spikes were short, and the planckes and timber were very weake. The Indians of *Minoya*, during the time that they were there, came to serue them (being driuen thereunto by necessity) that of the Maiz which they had taken from them, they would bestow some crummes vpon them. And because the Countrie was fertill, and the people vsed to feed of Maiz, and the Christians had gotten all from them that they had, and the people were many, they were not able to sustaine themselues. Those which came to the towne were so weake and feeble, that they had no flesh left on their bones: and many came and died neere the towne for pure hunger and weaknesse. The Gouernour commanded vpon grieuous punishments to giue them no Maiz. Yet, when they saw that the hogges wanted it not, and that they had yeelded themselues to serue them, & considering their miserie and wretchednes, hauing pity of thē, they gaue them part of the Maiz which they had. And when the time of their embarkment

The right hands and noses of traitours cut off.

Hogges in Florida.

Taguanate taken.

Iune.

The Riuer increaseth but once a yeere when the snowes doe melt in March and Aprill.

A miraculous acident.

embarkment came, there was not sufficient to serue their owne turnes. That which there was, they put into the brigandines, and into great canoes tied two and two together. They shipped 22. of the best horses, that were in the Camp, the rest they made dried flesh of; and dressed the hogges which they had in like manner. They departed from *Minoya* the second day of Iulie, 1543.

Chap. XXXVII.

As the Christians went downe the great Riuer on their voyage, the Indians of Quigalta *did set vpon them, and what was the successe thereof.*

THe day before they departed from *Minoya*, they determined to dismisse al the men & women of the Countrie, which they had detained as slaues to serue them, saue some hundred, little more or lesse, which the Gouernour embarked, and others whom it pleased him to permit. And because there were many men of qualitie, whom he could not deny that which he granted to others, he vsed a policy, saying, that they might serue them as long as they were in the Riuer, but when they came to the sea, they must send them away for want of water, because they had but few vessels. He told his friends in secret, that they should carrie theirs to *Nueua Espanna:* And all those whom hee bare no good will vnto (which were the greater number) ignorant of that which was hidden from them, which afterward time discouered, thinking it inhumanitie for so little time of seruice, in reward of the great seruice that they had done them, to carrie them with them, to leaue them slaues to other men out of their owne Countries; left fiue hundred men and women; among whom were many boies and girles, which spake & vnderstood the Spanish tongue. The most of them did nothing but weepe: which mooued great compassion; seeing that all of them with good will would haue become Christians, and were left in state of perdition. There went from *Minoya* 322 Spaniards in seuen brigandines, well made, saue that the plankes were thin, because the nailes were short, and were not pitched, nor had any decks to keep the water from comming in. In stead of decks they laid planks, whereon the mariners might runne to trim their sailes, and the people might refresh themselues aboue and below. The Gouernour

500. slaues left in the Countrie.

They saile down Rio Grande from Minoya 17. daies before they came to the mouth thereof.

uernour made his Captaines, and gaue to euery one his brigandine, and took their oth and their word, that they would obey him, vntill they came to the land of the Christians. The Gouernour tooke one of the brigandines for himself, which he best liked. The same day that they departed from *Minoya*, they passed by *Guachoya*, where the Indians tarried for them in canoes by the Riuer. And on the shore, they had made a great arbour with boughes: They desired him to come on shore; but he excused himselfe, and so went along: The Indians in their canoes accompanied him; and comming where an arme of the Riuer declined on the right hand, they said, that the Prouince of *Quigalta* was neere vnto that place, and importuned the Gouernour to set vpon him, and that they would aide him. And because they had said, that he dwelt three daies iournie downe the Riuer, the Gouernour supposed, that they had plotted some treason against him, and there left them; and went downe with the greatest force of the water. The current was very strong, and with the helpe of ores, they went very swiftly. The first day they landed in a wood on the left hand of the Riuer, and at night they withdrew themselues to the brigandines. The next day they came to a towne, where they went on shore, and the people that was in it durst not tarrie. A woman that they tooke there being examined, said, that that towne belonged to a Cacique named *Huasene*, subiect to *Quigalta*, and that *Quigalta* tarried for them below in the Riuer with many men. Certaine horsemen went thither, and found some houses, wherein was much Maiz. Immediately more of them went thither and tarried there one day, in which they did beate out, and tooke as much Maiz as they needed. While they were there, many Indians came from the nether part of the Riuer, and on the other side right against them somewhat carelessely set themselues in order to fight. The Gouernour sent in two canoes the crossebowmen that he had, and as many more as could goe in them. They ran away, and seeing the Spaniards could not ouertake them, they returned backe, and tooke courage; and comming neerer, making an outcrie, they threatned them: and assoone as they departed thence, they went after them, some in canoes, and some by land along the Riuer; and getting before, comming to a towne that stood by the Riuers side, they ioyned al together, making a shew that they would tarrie there. Euerie brigandine towed a canoe fastened to their sternes for their particular seruice. Presently there entred men into euerie one of them, which made the Indians to flie, and burned the towne.

The second day.

Huasene.

Another day.

A towne burned.

towne. The same day they presently landed in a great field, where the Indians durst not tarrie. The next day there were gathered together an hundred canoes, among which were some that carried 60. and 70. men, and the principall mens canoes had their tilts, and plumes of white and red feathers for their ensignes: and they came within two crossebow shot of the brigandines, and sent three Indians in a small canoe with a fained message to view the manner of the brigandines, and what weapons they had. And comming to the side of the Gouernours brigandine, one of the Indians entred, and said:

The third day.

A fleete of an hundred faire and great canoes.

That the Cacique of Quigalta *his Lord, sent him his commendations, and did let him vnderstand, that all that the Indians of* Guachoya *had told him concerning himselfe, was false, and that they had incensed him, because they were his enemies; that he was his seruant, and should find him so.*

The Gouernour answered him, that he beleeued all that he said was true, and willed him to tell him, that he esteemed his friendship very much. With this answer they returned to the place where the rest in their canoes were waiting for them, and from thence all of them fell downe, and came neere the Spaniards, shouting aloud, and threatning of them. The Gouernour sent *Iohn de Guzman*, which had been a Captaine of footemen in *Florida*, with 15. armed men in canoes to make them giue way. Assoone as the Indians saw them come towards them, they diuided themselues into two parts, and stood still till the Spaniards came nie them, and when they were come neere them, they ioyned together on both sides, taking *Iohn de Guzman* in the middest, and them that came first with him, and with great furie borded them: And as their canoes were bigger, and many of them leaped into the water to stay them, and to lay hold on the canoes of the Spaniards, and ouerwhelme them; so presently they ouerwhelmed them. The Christians fell into the water, and with the weight of their armour sunke downe to the bottome: and some few, that by swimming or holding by the canoe could haue saued themselues, with oares and staues, which they had, they strooke them on the head and made them sinke. When they of the brigandines saw the ouerthrow, though they went about to succour them, yet through the current of the Riuer they could not goe backe. Foure Spaniards fled to the brigandine that was neerest to the canoes; and only these escaped of those that came among the Indians. They were eleuen that died there: among whom *Iohn de Guzman* was one, and a sonne of *Don Carlos*, called *Iohn de Vargas:* the rest also were

Eleuen Spaniards drowned.

The death of

persons

Iohn de Guzman. persons of accoũt and men of great courage. Those that escaped by swimming, said, that they saw the Indians enter the canoe of *Iohn de Guzman* at the sterne of one of their canoes, and whether they carried him away dead or alive they could not certainly tell.

Chap. XXXVIII

Which declareth how they were pursued by the Indians.

THe Indians, seeing that they had gotten the victorie, tooke such courage, that they assaulted them in the brigandines, which they durst not doe before. They came first to that brigandine wherein *Calderon* went for Captaine, and was in the rereward: and at the first volie of arrowes they wounded 25 men. There were only foure armed men in this brigandine: these did stand at the brigandines side to defend it. Those that were vnarmed, seeing how they hurt them, left their oares and went vnder the deck: whereupon the brigandine began to crosse, and to goe where the current of the streame carried it. One of the armed men seeing this, without the commandement of the Captaine, made a footman to take an oare and stirre the brigandine, hee standing before him and defending him with his target. The Indians came no neerer then a bowshot, from from whence they offended and were not offended, receiuing no hurt: for in euery brigandine was but one crossebow, and those which wee had were very much out of order. So that the Christians did nothing else but stand for a butte to receiue their arrowes. Hauing left this brigandine they went to another, and fought with it halfe an houre; and so from one to another they fought with them all. The Christians had mattes to lay vnder them, which were double, and so close and strong, that no arrow went thorow them. And assoone as the Indians gaue them leisure, they fensed the brigandines with them. And the Indians seeing that they could not shoote leuell, shot their arrowes at randon vp into the aire, which fell into the brigandines, and hurt some of the men: and not therewith contented, they sought to get to them which were in the canoes with the horses. Those of the brigandines enuironed them to defend them, and tooke them among them. Thus seeing themselues much vexed by them.

25. Spaniards wounded.

The great vse of large targets.

Strong mats a good defence against arrowes.

them, and so wearied that they could no longer endure it, they determined to trauell all the night following, thinking to get beyond the countrie of *Quigalta*, and that they would leaue them: but when they thought least of it, supposing they had now left them, they heard very neere them so great outcries, that they made them deafe, and so they followed vs all that night, and the next day till noone, by which time we were come into the countrie of others, whom they desired to vse vs after the same manner; and so they did. The men of *Quigalta* returned home; and the other in fiftie canoes fought with vs a whole day and a night: and they entred one of the brigandines, that came in the rereward by the canoe which she had at her sterne, and tooke away a woman which they found in it, and afterward hurt some of the men of the brigandines. Those which came with the horses in the canoes, being wearie with rowing night and day, lingered behind; and presently the Indians came vpon them, and they of the brigandines tarried for them. The Gouernour resolued to goe on shore and to kill the horses, because of the slow way which they made because of them. Assoone as they saw a place conuenient for it, they went thither and killed the horses, and brought the flesh of them to drie it aboord. Foure or fiue of them remained on shore aliue: the Indians went vnto them, after the Spaniards were embarked. The horses were not acquainted with them, and began to neigh, and runne vp and downe, in such sort, that the Indians, for feare of them, leaped into the water: and getting into their canoes went after the brigandines, shooting cruelly at them. They followed vs that euening and the night following till the next day at tenne of the clocke, and then returned vp the Riuer. Presently from a small towne that stood vpon the Riuer came seuen canoes, and followed vs a little way downe the Riuer, shooting at vs: but seeing they were so few that they could doe vs but little harme, they returned to their towne. From thence forward, vntill they came to the Sea, they had no encounter. They sailed downe the Riuer seuenteene daies: which may be two hundred and fifty leagues iourney, little more or lesse: and neere vnto the Sea the Riuer is diuided into two armes; each of them is a league and an halfe broad.

Another Prouince.

Dried horse-flesh for food.

A smal towne.

They sailed 17. daies downe the Riuer, which is about 250. leagues.

Chap. XXXIX.

How they came vnto the sea: and what happened vnto them in all their voiage.

HAlfe a league before they came to the sea, they came to anker to rest themselues there about a day: for they were very weary with rowing and out of heart. For by the space of many daies they had eaten nothing but parched and sodden Maiz; which they had by allowance euery day an headpeece ful by strike for euery three mē. While they rode there at anker seuen canoes of Indians came to set vpō those, which they brought with them. The Gouernour commanded armed men to go aboord them, and to driue them farther off. They came also against them by land through a thick wood, and a moorish ground, and had staues with very sharp forked heads made of the bones of fishes, and fought verie valiantly with vs, which went out to encounter them. And the other that came in canoes with their arrowes staied for them that came against them, and at their comming both those that were on land, and those in the canoes wounded some of vs: And seeing vs come neere them, they turned their backs, and like swift horses among footemen gat away from vs; making some returnes, and reuniting themselues together, going not past a bow shot off: for in so retiring they shot, without receiuing any hurt of the Christians. For though they had some bowes, yet they could not vse them; and brake their armes with rowing to ouertake them. And the Indians easily in their compasse went with their canoes, staying and wheeling about as it had been in a skirmish, perceiuing that those that came against them could not offend them. And the more they stroue to come neere them, the more hurt they receiued. Assoone as they had driuen them farther off, they returned to the brigandines. They staied two daies there: And departed from thence vnto the place, where the arme of the Riuer entreth into the sea. They sounded in the Riuer neere vnto the Sea, and found 40. fathoms water. They staied there. And the Gouernour commanded al and singular persons to speake their minds touching their voiage, whether it were best to crosse ouer to *Nueua Espanna*, committing thēselues to the hie sea, or whether they should keepe along the coast. There were sundry opinions touching this matter: wherein *Iohn Danusco*, which presumed much, and tooke much vpon him in the knowledge

knowledge of nauigation, and matters of the sea, although hee had but little experience, mooued the Gouernour with his talke: and his opinion was seconded by some others. And they affirmed, that it was much better to passe by the hie sea, and crosse the gulfe, which was three of foure parts the lesser trauell, because in going along ye coast, they went a great way about, by reason of the compasse, which the land did make. *Iohn Danusco* said, that he had seene the seacard, and that from the place where they were, the coast ran East and West vnto *Rio de las Palmas;* and from *Rio de las Palmas* to *Nueua Espanna* from North to South: and therefore in sailing alwaies in sight of land would bee a great compassing about and spending of much time; & that they would be in great danger to be ouertaken with winter before they should get to the land of the Christians: and that in 10. or 12. daies space, hauing good weather, they might bee there in crossing ouer. The most part were against this opinion, and said, that it was more safe to go along the coast, though they staied the longer: because their ships were very weake and without decks, so that a very little storme was enough to cast them away: and if they should be hindred with calmes, or contrarie weather, through the small store of vessels which they had to carrie water in, they should likewise fall into great danger: and that although the ships were such as they might venture in them, yet hauing neither Pilot nor Seacard to guide themselues, it was no good counsell to crosse the gulfe. This opinion was confirmed by the greatest part: and they agreed to go along the coast. At the time wherein they sought to depart from thence, the cable of the anker of the Gouernours brigandine brake, and the anker remained in the Riuer. And albeit, they were neere the shore, yet it was so deepe, that the Diuers diuing many times could neuer find it: which caused great sadnes in the Gouernour, and in all those that went with him in his brigandine: But with a grindstone which they had, and certaine bridles which remained to some of the Gentlemen, and men of worship which had horses, they made a weight which serued in stead of an anker.

They landed the 30. of May, 1539. Chap. 7. they went foorth to sea Iuly 18. 1543.

The 18. of Iuly, they went foorth to sea with faire and prosperous weather for their voiage. And seeing that they were gone two or three leagues from the shore, the Captaines of the other brigandines ouertooke them, and asked the Gouernour, wherefore he did put off from the shore? and that if he would leaue the coast, he should say so; and he should not do it without the consent of all: and that if hee did otherwise, they would not follow him, but that euery one would doe what seemed

seemed best vnto himselfe. The Gouernour answered, that hee would doe nothing without their counsell, but that hee did beare off from the land to saile the better and safer by night; and that the next day when time serued, he would returne to the sight of land againe. They sailed with a reasonable good wind that day and the night following, and the next day till euening song, alwaies in fresh water; whereat they wondred much: for they were verie farre from land. But the force of the current of the Riuer is so great, and the coast there is so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entreth farre into the Sea. That euening on their right hand they saw certaine creekes, whither they went, and rested there that night: where *Iohn Danusco* with his reasons wonne them at last, that all consented and agreed to commit themselues to the maine Sea, alleaging, as he had done before, that it was a great aduantage, and that their voyage would be much shorter. They sailed two daies, and when they would haue come to sight of land they could not, for the winde blew from the shore. On the fourth day, seeing their fresh water began to faile, fearing necessitie and danger, they all complained of *Iohn Danusco*, and of the Gouernour that followed his counsell: and euery one of the Captaines said, that they would no more goe from the shore, though the Gouernour went whither he would. It pleased God that the winde changed though but a little: and at the end of foure daies after they had put to sea, being alreadie destitute of water, by force of rowing they got within sight of land, and with great trouble recouered it, in an open roade. That euening the winde came to the South, which on that coast is a crosse winde, and draue the brigandines against the shore, because it blew very hard, and the anchors were so weake, that they yeelded and began to bend. The Gouernour commanded all men to leape into the water, and going between them and the shore, and thrusting the brigandines into the Sea assoone as the waue was past, they saued them till the winde ceased.

Fresh water almost two daies sailing in the Sea.

The coast shallow.

Certaine creekes where they rested a night.

An open Roade.

Chap. XL.

How they lost one another by a storme, and afterward came together in a creeke.

IN the bay where they rode, after the tempest was past, they went on shore, and with mattockes, which they had, they digged certaine pits, which grew full of fresh water, where they filled all the cask, which they had. The next day they departed thence, and sailed two daies, and entred into a creeke like vnto a poole, fenced from the South winde, which then did blow, and was against them: and there they staied foure daies, not being able to get out: and when the Sea was calme they rowed out: they sailed that day, and toward euening the winde grew so strong that it draue them on the shore, and they were sorie that they had put foorth from the former harbour: for as soone as night approached a storme began to rise in the Sea, and the winde still waxed more and violent with a tempest. The brigandines lost one another: two of them, which bare more into the Sea, entred into an arme of the Sea, which pearced into the land two leagues beyond the place where the other were that night. The fiue which staied behinde, being alwaies a league, and halfe a league the one from the other, met together, without any knowledge the one of the other, in a wilde roade, where the winde and the waues droue them on shore: for their anchors did streighten and came home; and they could not rule their oares, putting seuen or eight men to euery oare, which rowed to seaward: and all the rest leaped into the water, and when the waue was past that draue the brigandine on shore, they thrust it againe into Sea with all the diligence and might that they had. Others, while another waue was in comming, with bowles laued out the water that came in ouerboord. While they were in this tempest in great feare of being cast away in that place, from midnight forward they endured an intollerable tormēt of an infinite swarme of Moskitoes which fell vpon them, which assoone as they had stung the flesh, it so infected it, as though they had bin venomous. In the morning the Sea was asswaged and the wind slaked, but not the Muskitoes: for ye sailes which were white seemed blacke with them in the morning. Those which rowed, vnlesse others kept them away

Fresh water is commonlie found by digging in the sands on the sea side.

An arme of the sea.

A wild roade.

A swarme of grieuous Moskitoes.

away, were not able to row. Hauing passed the feare & danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blowes which they gaue themselues to driue them away, one of them laughed at another. They met all together in the crook where the two brigandines were, which outwent their fellowes. There was found a skumme, which they call Copee, which the Sea casteth vp, and it is like pitch, wherewith in some places, where pitch is wanting, they pitch their ships: there they pitched their brigandines. They rested two daies, and then eftsoones proceeded on their voyage. They sailed two daies more, and landed in a Bay or arme of the Sea, where they staied two daies. The same day that they went from thence sixe men went vp in a canoe toward the head of it, and could not see the end of it. They put out from thence with a South winde, which was against them: but because it was little, and for the great desire they had to shorten their voyage, they put out to sea by force of oares, and for all that made very little way with great labour in two daies, and went vnder the lee of a small Island into an arme of the Sea, which compassed it about. While they were there, there fell out such weather, that they gaue God many thankes, that they found out such an harbour. There was great store of fish in that place, which they tooke with nets, which they had, and hookes. Heere a man cast an hooke and a line into the Sea, and tied the end of it to his arme, and a fish caught it, and drew him into the water vnto the necke: and it pleased God that hee remembred himselfe of a knife that he had, and cut the line with it. There they abode fourteene daies: and at the end of them it pleased God to send them faire weather, for which with great deuotion they appointed a procession, and went in procession along the strand, beseeching God to bring them to a land, where they might serue him in better sort.

A skumme of the sea like pitch, called Copee.

Another deep bay.

A small Island.

Great store of fish.

Fourteene daies abode in this place.

Chap. XLI.

How they came to the Riuer of Panuco *in* Nueua Espanna.

IN all the coast wheresouer they digged they found fresh water: there they filled their vessels; and the procession being ended, embarked themselues, and going alwaies in sight of the shore they sailed sixe daies. *Iohn Danusco* said that it would doe well to beare out to seaward: for he had seene the Seacard, and remembred that from *Rio de las Palmas* forward the coast did runne from North to South, and thitherto they had runne from East to West, and in his opinion, by his reckoning, *Rio de las Palmas* could not be farre off, from where they were. That same night they put to sea, and in the morning they saw Palme leaues floting, and the coast, which ranne North and South: from midday forward they saw great Mountaines, which vntill then they had not seene: for from this place to *Puerto de Spiritu Santo*, where they first landed in *Florida*, was a very plaine and low countrey: and therefore it cannot be descried, vnlesse a man come very neere it. By that which they saw, they thought that they had ouershot *Rio de Palmas* that night, which is 60 leagues from the Riuer of *Panuco*, which is in *Nueua Espanna*. They assembled all together, and some said it was not good to saile by night, lest they should ouershoot the Riuer of *Panuco:* and others said, it was not well to lose time while it was fauourable, and that it could not be so neere that they should passe it that night: and they agreed to take away halfe the sailes, and so saile all night. Two of the brigandines, which sailed that night with all their sailes, by breake of day had ouershot the Riuer of *Panuco* without seeing it. Of the fiue that came behind, the first that came vnto it was that wherein *Calderan* was Captaine. A quarter of a league before they came at it, and before they did see it, they saw the water muddie, and knew it to be fresh water: and comming right against the Riuer, they saw, where it entred into the Sea, that the water brake vpon a shold. And because there was no man there that knew it, they were in doubt whether they should goe in, or goe along, and they resolued to goe in: and before they came vnto the current, they

Six daies sailing.

Floting of Palme leaues.

Great mountaines.

Al the North-side of the Gulfe of Mexico is verie low land, saue in this one place.

they went close to the shore, and entred into the port: and assoone as they were come in, they saw Indian men and women apparelled like Spaniards: whom they asked in what countrey they were? They answered in Spanish, that it was the Riuer of *Panuco*, and that the towne of the Christians was 15 leagues vp within the land. The ioy that all of them receiued vpon these newes cannot sufficiently be expressed: for it seemed vnto them, that at that instant they were borne again. And many went on shore and kissed the ground, and kneeling on their knees, with lifting vp their hands and eyes to heauen, they all ceased not to giue God thankes. Those which came after, assoone as they saw *Calderan* come to an anchor with his brigandine in the Riuer, presently went thither, and came into the hauen. The other two brigandines which had ouershot the place, put to sea to returne backe to seeke the rest, and could not doe it, because the winde was contrarie and the Sea growne: they were afraid of being cast away, and recouering the shore they cast anchor. While they rode there a storme arose: and seeing that they could not abide there, much lesse endure at Sea, they resolued to runne on shore; and as the brigandines were but small, so did they draw but little water; and where they were it was a sandie coast. By which occasion the force of their sailes draue them on shore, without any hurt of them that were in them. As those that were in the port of *Panuco* at this time were in great ioy; so these felt a double griefe in their hearts: for they knew not what was become of their fellowes, nor in what countrey they were, and feared it was a countrey of Indian enemies. They landed two leagues below the port: and when they saw themselues out of the danger of the Sea, euery one tooke of that which he had, as much as he could carrie on his backe: and they trauelled vp into the countrey, and found Indians, which told them where their fellowes were; and gaue them good entertainment: wherewith their sadnes was turned into ioy, and they thanked God most humbly for their deliuerance out of so many dangers.

The Riuer of Panuco: the towne 15. leagues from the mouth of the Riuer.

Chap. XLII.

How they came to Panuco, *and how they were receiued of the inhabitants.*

FRom the time that they put out of *Rio Grande* to the sea, at their departure from *Florida*, vntil they arriued in the Riuer of *Panuco* were 52. daies. They came into the Riuer of *Panuco* the 10. of September, 1543. They went vp the Riuer with their brigandines. They trauelled foure daies; and because the wind was but little, and many times it serued them not, because of the many turnings which the Riuer maketh, and the great current, drawing them vp by towing, and that in many places; for this cause they made very little way, and with great labour: and seeing the execution of their desire to be deferred, which was to come among Christians, and to see the celebration of diuine seruice, which so long time they had not seene; they left the brigandines with the mariners, and went by land to *Panuco*. All of them were apparelled in Deeres skins tanned and died blacke, to wit, cotes, hose, and shooes. When they came to *Panuco*, presently they went to the Church to pray and giue God thankes, that so miraculously had saued them. The townesmen which before were aduertised by the Indians, and knew of their arriual, caried some of them to their houses, and entertained them, whom they knew, and had acquaintance of, or because they were their Countrimen. The Alcalde Mayor tooke the Gouernour home to his house: and commanded al the rest, assoone as they came, to be lodged 6. & 6. and 10. & 10. according to the habilitie of euery townesman. And all of them were prouided for by their hostes of many hennes and bread of Maiz, and fruites of the Countrie, which are such as be in the Isle of *Cuba*, whereof before I haue spoken. The towne of *Panuco* may containe aboue 70. families; the most of their houses are of lime and stone, and some made of timber, and all of them are thatched. It is a poore Countrie, and there is neither gold nor siluer in it: The inhabitants liue there in great abundance of victuals and seruants. The richest haue not aboue 500. crownes rent a yeere, and that is in cotten clothes, hennes, and Maiz, which the Indians their seruants doe giue them for tribute. There arriued there of those that came out

They arriued in the Riuer of Panuco, 1543. Septem. 10.

The description of Panuco.

of

311. Christians arriued at Panuco.

of *Florida*, three hundred and eleuen Christians. Presently the Alcalde Mayor sent one of the townsmen in post to aduertise the Viceroy, *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, which was resident in *Mexico*, that of ye people that went with *Don Ferdinando de Soto* to discouer and conquer *Florida*, three hundred and eleuen men were ariued there, that seeing they were imploied in his Maiesties seruice, he would take some order to prouide for them. Whereat the Viceroy, and all the inhabitants of *Mexico* wondred. For they thought they were miscarried, because they had trauelled so farre within the maine land of *Florida*, and had no newes of them for so long a time: and it seemed a wonderfull thing vnto them, how they could saue themselues so long among Infidels, without any fort, wherein they might fortifie themselues, and without any other succour at all. Presently the Viceroy sent a warrant, wherein hee commãded, that whithersoeuer they sent, they should giue them victuals, and as many Indians for their cariages as they needed: and where they would not furnish them, they might take those things that were necessarie perforce without incurring any danger of law. This warrant was so readilie obeyed, that by the way before they came to the townes, they came to receiue them with hennes, and victuals.

Of the fauour which they found at the hands of the Viceroy, and of the inhabitants of the Citie of Mexico.

FRom *Panuco* to the great Citie of *Temistitan Mexico* is 60. leagues; and other 60. from *Panuco* to the Port *de Vera Cruz*, where they take take shipping for *Spaine*, and those that come from *Spaine* do land to go for *Nueua Espanna*. These three townes stand in a triangle: to wit, *Vera Cruz*, to the South, *Panuco* to the North, and *Mexico* to the West, 60. leagues asunder. The Countrie is so inhabited with Indians, that from towne to towne, those which are farthest, are but a league, and halfe a league asunder. Some of them that came from *Florida* staied a moneth in *Panuco* to rest themselues, others fifteene daies, and euery one as long as he listed: for there was none that shewed a sower countenance to his guests, but rather gaue them any thing that they had, and seemed to be grieued when they took their leaue. Which was to be beleeued. For the victuals, which the Indians doe pay them for tribute, are more then they can spend: and in that towne is no commerce; and there dwelt but few Spaniards there, and they were glad of their companie. The Alcalde Mayor diuided all the

the Emperours clothes which he had (which there they pay him for his tribute) among those that would come to receiue them. Those which had shirts of maile left, were glad men: for they had a horse for one shirt of maile: Some horsed themselues: and such as could not (which were the greatest part) tooke their iournie on foote: in which they were well receiued of the Indians that were in the townes, and better serued, then they could haue been in their owne houses, though they had been well to liue. For if they asked one hen of an Indian, they brought them foure: and if they asked any of the Countrie fruit, though it were a league off, they ran presently for it. And if any Christian found himselfe euill at ease, they carried him in a chaire from one towne to another. In whatsoeuer towne they came, the Cacique, by an Indian which carried a rod of Iustice in his hand, whom they call Tapile, that is to say, a sergeant, commanded them to prouide victuals for them, and Indians to beare burdens of such things as they had, and such as were needfull to carrie them that were sicke. The Viceroy sent a Portugall 20. leagues from *Mexico*, with great store of sugar, raisons of the Sunne, and conserues, and other things fit for sicke folkes, for such as had neede of them: and had giuen order to cloth them all at the Emperours charges. And their approch being knowne by the citizens of *Mexico*, they went out of the towne to receiue them: and with great courtesie, requesting them in fauour to come to their houses, euery one carried such as hee met home with him, and clothed them euery one the best they could: so that he which had the meanest apparell, it cost aboue 30. ducats. As many as were willing to come to the Viceroyes house he commanded to be apparelled, and such as were persons of qualitie sate at his table: and there was a table in his house for as many of the meaner sort as would come to it: and he was presently informed, who euery one was, to shew him the courtesie that he deserued. Some of the Cōquerors did set both gentlemen and clownes at their owne table, and many times made the seruant sit cheeke by cheeke by his master: and chiefly the officers and men of base condition did so: for those which had better education did enquire who euery one was, and made difference of persons: but all did what they could with a good will: and euery one told them whom they had in their houses, that they should not trouble themselues, nor thinke themselues the worse, to take that which they gaue them: for they had bin in the like case, and had bin relieued of others, and that this was the custome of that countrey. God reward them all: and God grant, that those which it pleased him to deliuer

This is the manner of China, to carrie men in chaires.

deliver out of *Florida*, and to bring againe into Christendome, may serue him: and vnto those that died into that countrey, and vnto all that beleeue in him and confesse his holy faith, God for his mercie sake grant the kingdome of heauen. Amen.

Chap. XLIV.

Which declareth some diuersities and particularities of the land of Florida: and the fruites, and beasts, and fowles that are in that Countrie.

Port de Spiritu Santo is in 29. degrees ½ on the West side of Florida.

FRom the Port *de Spiritu Santo*, where they landed when they entred into *Florida*, to the Prouince of *Ocute*, which may bee 400. leagues, little more or lesse, is a verie plaine Countrie, and hath many lakes and thicke woods, and in some places they are of wild pinetrees; and is a weake soile: There is in it neither Mountaine nor hill. The Countrie of *Ocute* is more fat and fruitfull; it hath thinner woods, and very goodly medows vpon the Riuers. Frō *Ocute* to *Cutifachiqui* may may be 130. leagues: 80. leagues thereof are desert, and haue many groues of wild Pine trees. Through the wildernesse great Riuers doe passe. From *Cutifachiqui* to *Xuala*, may be 250. leagues: it is al an hilly Countrie. *Cutifachiqui* and *Xuala* stand both in plaine ground, hie, and haue goodly medows on the Riuers. From thence forward to to *Chiaha*, *Coça*, and *Talise*, is plaine ground, dry and fat, and very plentifull of Maiz. From *Xuala* to *Tascaluça* may be 250. leagues. From *Tascaluça* to *Rio Grande*, or ye Great Riuer, may be 300. leagues: the Countrie is low, and full of lakes. From *Rio Grande* forward, the Countrie is hier and more champion, and best peopled of all the land of *Florida*. And along this Riuer from *Aquixo* to *Pacaha*, and *Coligoa*, are 150. leagues: the Countrie is plaine, and the woods thinne, and in some places champion, very fruitfull and pleasant. From *Coligoa* to *Autiamque* are 250. leagues of hillie Countrie. From *Autiamque* to *Aguacay*, may be 230. leagues of plaine ground. From *Aguacay* to the Riuer of *Daycao* 120. leagues, all hillie Countrie.

Ocute.

Cutifachiqui.

Xuala.

Chiaha, Coça, and Talise.

Tascaluça.

Rio Grande.

Aquixo.

Coligoa.

Autiamque.

Aguacay.

From

From the Port *de Spiritu Santo* vnto *Apalache*, they trauelled from East to West, and Northwest. From *Cutifachiqui* to *Xuala* from South to North. From *Xuala* to *Coça* from East to West. From *Coça* to *Tasculaça*, and to *Rio Grande*, as far as the Prouinces of *Quizquiz* and *Aquixo* from East to West. From *Aquixo* to *Pacaha* to the North. From *Pacaha* to *Tulla* from East to West: and from *Tulla* to *Autiamque* from North to South, to the Prouince of *Guachoya* and *Daycao*. Pagina 72.

The bread which they eate in all the land of *Florida* is of Maiz, which is like course millet. And this Maiz is common in all the Islandes and West Indies from the Antiles forward. There are also in *Florida* great store of Walnuts, and Plummes, Mulberries, and Grapes. They sow and gather their Maiz euery one their seuerall crop. The fruits are common to all: for they grow abroad in the open fields in great abundance, without any neede of planting or dressing. Where there be Mountaines, there be chestnuts: they are somewhat smaller then the chestnuts of *Spaine*. Frō *Rio Grande* Westward, the Walnuts differ from those that grow more Eastward: for they are soft, and like vnto Acornes: And those which grow from *Rio Grande* to *Puerto del Spiritu Santo* for the most part are hard; and the trees and Walnuts in shew like those of *Spaine*. There is a fruit through all the Countrie which groweth on a plant like Ligoacan, which the Indians doe plant. The fruit is like vnto Peares Riall: it hath a verie good smell, and an excellent taste. There groweth another plant in the open field, which beareth a fruit like vnto strawberries, close to the ground, which hath a verie good taste. The Plummes are of two kindes, red and gray, of the making and bignesse of nuts, and haue three or foure stones in them. These are better then all the plummes of *Spaine*, and they make farre better Prunes of them. In the Grapes there is onelie want of dressing: for though they bee big, they haue a great kirnell. All other fruits are very perfect, and lesse hurtfull then those of *Spaine*.

Maiz.

Walnuts, Plummes, Mulberries, Grapes.

Chestnuts.

Soft Wlanuts Eastward from Rio Grande.

Hard Walnuts Westward from Rio Grande.

A Peare riall.

Strawberries.

Plummes of two kinds.

There are in *Florida* many Beares, and Lyons, Wolues, Deere, Dogges, Cattes, Marterns and Conies.

Beasts.

There be many wild Hennes as big as Turkies, Partridges small like those of *Africa*, Cranes,

Fowles.

Duckes,

Duckes, Pigeons, Thrushes, and Sparrowes. There are certaine Blacke birds bigger then Sparrows, and lesser then Stares. There are Gosse Hawkes, Falcons, Ierfalcons, and all Fowles of prey that are in *Spaine.*

The Indians are well proportioned. Those of the plaine Countries are taller of bodie, and better shapen, then those of the Mountaines. Those of the Inland haue greater store of Maiz, and commodities of the Countrie, then those that dwell vpon the sea coast. The Countrie along the sea coast is barren and poore: and the people more warlike. The coast runneth from *Puerto del Spiritu Santo* to *Apalache*, East and West; and from *Apalache* to *Rio de las Palmas* from East to West: from *Rio de las Palmas* vnto *Nueua Espanna* from North to South. It is a gentle coast, but it hath many sholdes, and great shelues of sand.

Deo gratias.

This Relation of the discouerie of *Florida* was printed in the house of *Andrew D. Burgos*, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infante.

It was finished the tenth of Februarie in the yeere
one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and seuen,
in the noble and most
loyall citie of
Euora.

FINIS.

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187
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Vol. 4
no. 2

A

RELATION

OF

A Discovery lately made on the Coast of

FLORIDA,

(From Lat. 31. to 33 Deg. 45 Min. North-Lat.)

By *William Hilton* Commander, and Commissioner with Capt. *Anthony Long*, and *Peter Fabian*, in the Ship *Adventure*, which set Sayl from *Spikes* Bay, *Aug.* 10. 1663. and was set forth by several Gentlemen and Merchants of the Island of *BARBADOES.*

Giving an account of the nature and temperature of the Soyl, the manners and disposition of the Natives, and whatsoever else is remarkable therein.

Together with

Proposals made by the Commissioners of the Lords Proprietors, to all such persons as shall become the first Setlers on the Rivers, Harbors, and Creeks there.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. C.* for *Simon Miller* at the Star neer the West-end of St. *Pauls*, 1664.

Licensed

JUNE 22. 1664.

Roger L'Estrange.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

VOL. IV.—No. 2.

A true Relation of a Voyage, upon discovery of part of the Coast of Florida, from the Lat. of 31 Deg. to 33 Deg. 45 m. North Lat. in the Ship *Adventure*, *William Hilton* Commander, and Commissioner with Captain *Anthony Long* and *Peter Fabian;* set forth by several Gentlemen and Merchants of the Island of *Barbadoes;* sailed from *Spikes* Bay, *Aug.* 10. 1663.

AFTER Sixteen days of fair weather, and prosperous windes, *Wednesday* the 26 instant, four of the clock in the Afternoon, God be thanked, we espied Land on the Coast of *Florida*, in the lat. of 32 deg. 30. min. being four Leagues or thereabouts to the Northwards of Saint *Ellens*, having run five hundred and fifty Leagues; and to the Westward of the Meridian of *Barbadoes*, three hundred thirty and one Leagues. This Evening and the Night following we lay off and on: *Thursday* the 27th instant, in the morning, we stood in with the Land, and coasted the Shoar to the Southward, Ankering at Nights, and sending our Boat out a Mornings, till we came into the lat. of 31 deg. but found no good harbour that way. On *Sunday* the 30th instant, we tacked, and stood Northward: and on *Wednesday* the second of *September*, we came to an Anchor in five fathoms at the mouth of a very large opening of three Leagues wide, or thereabouts, in the lat. of 32 deg. 30 min. and sent our Boat to sound the Channel. On *Thursday* the third, we entered the Harbour, and found that it was the River *Jordan*, and was but four Leagues or thereabouts N. E. from *Port Royal*, which by the *Spanyards* is called St. *Ellens:* within Land, both Rivers meet in one. We spent some time to sound the Chanels both without and within, and to search

the

the Rivers in several branches, and to view the Land. On *Saturday* the fifth of *September*, two *Indians* came on Board us from the N. E. shoar, whom we entertained courteously, and afterwards set them on shoar. On *Sunday* the sixth, several *Indians* came on Board us, and said they were of St. *Ellens;* being very bold and familiar; speaking many *Spanish* words, as, *Cappitan*, *Commarado*, and *Adues*. They know the use of Guns, and are as little startled at the firing of a Peece of Ordnance, as he that hath been used to them many years: they told us the nearest *Spanyards* were at St. *Augustins*, and several of them had been there, which as they said was but ten days journey; and that the *Spanyards* used to come to them at Saint *Ellens*, sometimes in Canoa's within Land, at other times in small Vessels by Sea, which the *Indians* describe to have but two Masts. They invited us to come to St. *Ellens* with our Ship, which they told us we might do within Land. *Munday* the 14 *September*, our Long-Boat went with twelve hands within Land to St. *Ellens*. On *Wednesday* the 16th, came five *Indians* on board us; one of them pointing to another, said, he was the Grandy Captain of *Edistow:* whereupon we took especial notice of him, and entertained him accordingly, giving him several Beads, & other trade that pleased him well: He invited us to bring up our Ship into a branch on the N. E. side, and told us of one Captain *Francisco*, and four more English that were in his custody on shoar; whereupon we shewed him store of all Trade, as Beads, Hoes, Hatchets and Bills, *&c.* and said, he should have all those things if he would bring the English on board us; wch he promised should be done the next day. Hereupon we wrote a few lines to the said *English*, fearing it to be a *Spanish* delusion to entrap us. In the dark of the same Evening came a Canoa with nine or ten *Indians* in her with their Bowes and Arrowes, and were close on board before we did discern them: We haled them, but they made us no answer, which increased our jealousie: So we commanded them on board, and disarmed them, detaining two of them prisoners, and sending away the rest to fetch the *English;* which if they brought, they should have theirs again. At length they delivered us a Note written with a coal, which seemed the more to continue our jealousie, because in all this time we had no news of our long-boat from St. *Ellens*, which we feared was surprized by the *Indians* and *Spanyards*. But to satisfie us that there were *English* on shoar, they sent us one man on board about twelve of the clock in the Night who related to us the truth of the matter, and told

us

us they were cast away some four or five leagues to the Northward of the place we then rode, on the 24th of *July* past, being thirteen persons that came on shoar, whereof three of them were kill'd by the *Indians*. On *Thursday* the 17th of *September* the Long-boat returned from St. *Ellens*, which presently we sent on shoar to fetch the other *English*, the *Indians* delivering us three more; and coming aboard themselves, we delivered them their two men. Then we demanded of the chief Commander where the rest of our *English* were: he answered, Five were carried to St. *Ellens*, three were killed by the *Stonohs*, and the other man we should have within two dayes. We replyed to him again, That we would keep him and two more of his chief men, till we had our *English* that were yet living; and promised them their liberty, with satisfaction for bringing us the *English*. Now to return to the businesse of our Design; the entertainment we had at S. *Ellens* put us in great fear of the *Indians* treachery; for we observed their continual gathering together, and at last began with stern-look'd countenances to speak roughly to us, and came to search our mens Bandileers and Pockets; yet inviting us to stay that night with them: but we made a sudden retreat to our Boat, which caused the *Indian* King to be in a great rage, speaking loud and angry to his men; the drift of which discourse we understood not. That which we noted there, was a fair house builded in the shape of a Dove-house, round, two hundred foot at least, compleatly covered with *Palmeta*-leaves, the wal-plate being twelve foot high, or thereabouts, & within lodging Rooms and Forms; two pillars at the entrance of a high Seat above all the rest: Also another house like a Sentinel-house, floored ten foot high with planks, fastned with Spikes and Nayls, standing upon substantial Posts, with several other small houses round about. Also we saw many planks, to the quantity of three thousand foot or thereabouts, with other Timber squared, and a Cross before the great house. Likewise we saw the Ruines of an old Fort, compassing more than half an acre of land within the Trenches, which we supposed to be *Charls*'s Fort, built, and so called by the *French* in 1562, *&c.* On *Monday*, *September* 21. one English youth was brought from St. *Ellens* aboard us by an *Indian*, who informed us that there were four more of their company at St. *Ellens*, but he could not tell whether the *Indians* would let them come to us: For saith he, Our Men told me, that they had lately seen a Frier and two *Spanyards* more at St. *Ellens*, who told them they would send Soldiers suddenly to fetch them away. This day we sayled up the

the River with our Ship to go through to St. *Ellens*. On *Tuesday* the 22 instant, three *Indians* came on board; one of them we sent with a Letter to the *English* Prisoners there. On *Wednesday* the 23d. we sent out Boat and Men to sound the Chanel, and finde out the most likely way to St. *Ellens* with our Ship by *Combeheh*. In the mean time came many Canoa's aboard us with Corn, Pumpions, and Venison, Deer-skins, and a sort of sweet-wood. One of our men looking into an *Indian* basket, found a piece of *Spanish* Rusk: it being new, we demanded of the *Indian* where he had it; who said, of the *Spaniards*. In the interim, while we were talking, came a Canoa with four *Indians* from St. *Ellens*, on standing up, and holding a paper in a cleft stick; they told us they had brought it from the *Spanish* Captain at St. *Ellens*. We demanded how many *Spaniards* were come thither; who said, Seven, and one *English-man:* We received their Letter writ in *Spanish*, but none of us could read it: We detained two of the chiefest *Indians*, one of them being the Kings Son of S. *Ellens*, and that kept one of the *English* prisoners; the other two we sent away with a Letter to the *Spaniard*, wherein we gave him to understand, that we understood not his letter; and told the *Indians*, when they brought the *English*, they should have their men again, with satisfaction for their pains. On *Thursday*, 24 instant, we sayling further up the River to go through, at last came to a place of fresh water, and Anchored there, sending our Boat ashoar with a Guard to get water. Towards night came the first *Indian* that we sent to St. *Ellens* with a letter to the *English*, who brought us another letter from the *Spaniards*, and an Answer of ours from the *English*, writ in the *Spaniards* letter. The *Spaniard* sent us a quarter of Venison, and a quarter of Pork, with a Complement, That he was sorry he had no more for us at that time. We returned him thanks, and sent him a Jug of Brandy; and withal, that we were sorry we understood not his letter. This night about twelve of the Clock we had a most violent gust of winde, but of no long continuance. On *Friday* 25 *September*, we weighed, and returned down the River six leagues, or thereabouts, because we perceived the *Indians* had gathered themselves in a Body from all parts thereabouts, and moved as the Ship did: and being informed by an *Indian* that the *Spaniards* would be there the next day; we took in Fire-wood, and continued there that night, at which time one of our *Indian* Prisoners made his escape by leaping over-board in the dark. On *Saturday* the 26. we weighed, and stood down to the Harbours mouth, and

stayed

stayed there till *Monday* the 28. In all which time came no one to us, though we stay'd in expectation of their coming continually; therefore put out to Sea, concluding their intentions not to be good. Being out of the River *Jordan*, we directed our course S. W. four leagues or thereabouts for *Port-Royal*, to sound the Chanel without from the poynts of the Harbour outwards; for we had sounded the Harbour within from the points inward when our Boat was at St. *Ellens:* And now being athwart the Harbours mouth, we sent our Boat with the Mate and others, who found the N. E. and E. N. E. side of the opening of *Port-Royal* to be Sholes and Breakers to the middle of the opening; and three leagues or thereabouts into the Sea, from the side aforesaid, is unsafe to meddle with: but the S. W. and W. side we found all bold steering in N. N. W. two or three miles from the S. W. shoar, sayling directly with the S. W. head-land of the entrance of *Port-Royal:* the said head-land is bluft, and seems steep, as though the trees hung over the water: But you must note, that if you keep so far from the S. W. side, that you stand in N. N. W. with the bluft head aforesaid, you shall go over the Outskirt of the E. N. E. sholing, and shall have but three or four fathom for the space of one league or thereabouts, and then you shall have six and seven fathoms all the way in: But if you borrow more on the S. W. side, till you have brought the S. W. head of the Entry to bear N. N. E. you shall have a fair large Chanel of six, seven, and eight fathoms all the way in, and then five, six, seven and eight fathoms within the Harbour, keeping the Chanel, and standing over to the Northward: we supposed that it flows here as at the River *Jordan*, because they are but four leagues asunder, and flows S. E. and N. W. seven foot and half, and sometimes eight foot perpendicular: the Mouth of *Port-Royal* lyes in 32 deg. 20 min. lat. Now as concerning the entrance of the River *Jordan*, lat. 32 deg. 30. min. or thereabouts, you shall see a range of Breakers right against the opening, two or three leagues off the S. W. Point; which you must leave to the Northward, and steer in with the said S. W. Point, giving a range of Breakers that runs from the said Point a small birth, and you shall have two, three, and four fathoms at low water; and when you come one mile from the Point aforesaid, steer over directly to the N. E. Point, and you shall shall have six or seven fathom all the way. VVithin the *N. W.* Point is good Anchoring: you shall have five fathoms fair aboard the shoar: and you shall have five, six, seven, and eight fathoms, sayling all along upon the River, ten leagues, and a large turning Chanel: It flows here *S. E.* and *N. W.*

seven

seven foot and a half, and eight foot at common Tydes. The River *Grandy*, or as the *Indians* call it *Edistow*, lyes six leagues or thereabouts from the River *Jordan*, and seems to be a very fair opening: but because the chief *Indian* of that Place was on board us, and the Countrey all in Arms, we not knowing how the winde might crosse us, it was not thought fit to stay there: But some of those *English* that had lived there, being Prisoners, say, that it is a very fair and goodly River, branching into several branches, and deep, and is fresh water at low Tide within two leagues of the Mouth; it seeming to us as we passed by, a good entrance large and wide, lat. 32 deg. 40 min. in or thereabouts. Now our understanding of the Land of *Port-Royal*, River *Jordan*, River *Grandie*, or *Edistow*, is as followeth: The Lands are laden with large tall Oaks, VValnut and Bayes, except facing on the Sea, it is most Pines tall and good: The Land generally, except where the Pines grow, is a good Soyl, covered with black Mold, in some places a foot, in some places half a foot, and in other places lesse, with Clay underneath mixed with Sand; and we think may produce any thing as well as most part of the Indies that we have seen. The *Indians* plant in the worst Land, because they cannot cut down the Timber in the best, and yet have plenty of Corn, Pumpions, Water-Mellons, Musk-mellons: although the Land be over-grown with weeds through their lazinesse, yet they have two or three crops of Corn a year, as the *Indians* themselves inform us. The Country abounds with Grapes, large Figs, and Peaches; the Woods with Deer, Conies, Turkeys, Quails, Curlues, Plovers, Teile, Herons; and as the *Indians* say, in Winter, with Swans, Geese, Cranes, Duck and Mallard, and innumerable of other water-Fowls, whose names we know not, which lie in the Rivers, Marshes, and on the Sands: Oysters in abundance, with great store of Muscles; A sort of fair Crabs, and a round Shel-fish called *Horse-feet;* The Rivers stored plentifully with Fish that we saw play and leap. There are great Marshes, but most as far as we saw little worth, except for a Root that grows in them the *Indians* make good Bread of. The Land we suppose is healthful; for the *English* that were cast away on that Coast in *July* last, were there most part of that time of year that is sickly in *Virginia*; and notwithstanding hard usage, and lying on the ground naked, yet had their perfect healths all the time. The Natives are very healthful; we saw many very Aged amongst them. The Ayr is clear and sweet, the Countrey very pleasant and delightful: And we could wish, that all they that want a happy settlement, of our *English* Nation, were well transported thither, *&c.*

FROM

FRom *Tuesday* the 29th of *September*, to *Friday* the second of *October*, we ranged along the shoar from the lat. 32 deg. 20 min. to the lat. 33 deg. 11 min. but could discern no Entrance for our Ship, after we had passed to the Northwards of 32 deg. 40 min. On *Saturday* the third instant, a violent storm came up, the winde between the North and the East; which Easterly windes and fowl weather continued till *Monday* the 12th. By reason of which storms and fowl weather, we were forced to get off to Sea to secure our selves and ship, and were horsed by reason of a strong Current, almost to Cape *Hatterasse* in lat. 35 deg. 30 min. On *Monday* the 12th aforesaid we came to an Anchor in seven fathom at *Cape Fair-Road*, and took the Meridian-Altitude of the Sun, and were in the lat. 33 deg. 43 min. the winde continuing still Easterly, and fowl weather till *Thursday* the 15th instant; and on *Friday* the 16th, the winde being at *N. W.* we weighed, and sailed up *Cape Fair-River*, some four or five leagues, and came to an Anchor in six or seven fathom; at which time several *Indians* came on Board, and brought us great store of Fresh-fish, large Mullets, young Bass, Shads, and several other sorts of very good well-tasted Fish. On *Saturday* the 17th, we went down to the Cape to see the English Cattel, but could not finde them, though we rounded the Cape: And having an *Indian* Guide with us, here we rode till the 24th instant; the winde being against us, we could not go up the River with our Ship; in which time we went on shoar, and viewed the land of those quarters. On *Saturday* we weighed, and sayled up the River some four leagues or thereabouts. *Sunday* the 25th, we weighed again, and towed up the River, it being calm, and got up some fourteen leagues from the Harbours mouth, where we mored our Ship. On *Monday* the 26 *October*, we went down with the Yoal to *Necoes*, an *Indian* Plantation, and viewed the Land there. On *Tuesday* the 27th, we rowed up the main River with our long-Boat and twelve men, some ten leagues or thereabouts. On *Wednesday* the 28th, we rowed up about eight or nine leagues more. *Thursday* the 29th was foul weather, of much rain and winde, which forced us to make Huts, and lye still. *Friday* the 30th, we proceeded up the main River, seven or eight leagues. *Saturday* the 31, we got up three or four leagues more, and came to a Tree that lay athwart

athwart the River: but because our Provisions were neer spent, we proceeded no further, but returned downward the remainder of that day; and on *Monday* the second of *November*, we came aboard our Ship. *Tuesday* the third, we lay still to refresh ourselves. On *Wednesday* the 4th, we went five or six leagues up the River to search a branch that ran out of the main River towards the *N. W.* In which branch we went up five or six leagues: not liking the Land, we returned on board that night about midnight, and called that place *Swampy-branch. Thursday* the fifth instant, we staid aboard; on *Friday* the 6th we went up *Greens* River, the mouth of it being against the place we rode with our Ship. On *Saturday* the 7th, we proceeded up the said River some fourteen or fifteen leagues in all, and found that it ended in several small branches; the Land for the most part being marshy and swamps, we returned towards our ship, and got aboard in the night: *Sunday* the 8th instant we lay still, and on *Monday* the 9th we went again up the main River, being well provided with Provisions and all things necessary, and proceeded upwards till *Thursday* noon 12th instant, at which time we came to a place where two Islands were in the middle of the River, and by reason of the crookednesse of the *River* at that place, several Trees lay athwart both branchs, which stopped up the passage of each branch, that we could proceed no further with our Boat; but we went up the River side by land some three or four miles, and found the River to enlarge it self: So we returned, leaving it as far as we could see up a long reach running N. E. we judging our selves from the Rivers mouth North near fifty leagues; we returned, viewing the Land on both sides the River, and found as good tracts of land, dry, well wooded, pleasant and delightful as we have seen any where in the world, with great burthen of Grasse on it, the land being very level, with steep banks on both sides the River, and in some places very high, the woods stor'd with abundance of Deer and Turkies every where; we never going on shoar, but saw of each also Partridges great store, Cranes abundance, Conies, which we saw in several places; we heard several Wolves howling in the woods, and saw where they had torn a Deer in pieces. Also in the River we saw great store of Ducks, Teile, VVidgeon, and in the woods great flocks of Parrakeeto's; the Timber that the woods afford for the most part consisting of Oaks of four or five sorts, all differing in leaves, but all bearing Akorns very good: we measured many of the Oaks in several places, which we found to be in bignesse some tvvo, some three, and others almost four fathoms; in height, before

you

you come to boughs or limbs, forty, fifty, sixty foot, and some more, and those Oaks very common in the upper parts of both Rivers; Also a very tall large Tree of great bignesse, which some do call *Cyprus*, the right name we know not, growing in Swamps. Likewise Walnut, Birch, Beech, Maple, Ash, Bay, Willough, Alder and Holly; and in the lowermost parts innumerable of Pines, tall and good for boards or masts, growing for the most part in barren sandy ground, but in some places up the River in good ground, being mixed amongst Oaks and other Timber. We saw several Mulberry-trees, multitudes of Grape-Vines, and some Grapes which we did eat of. VVe found a very large and good tract of Land on the N. W. side of the River, thin of Timber, except here and there a very great Oak, and full of Grasse, commonly as high as a mans middle, and in many places to his shoulders, where we saw many Deer and Turkies; also one Deer with very large horns, and great in body, therefore called it *Stag-Park:* it being a very pleasant and delightful place, we travelled in it several miles, but saw no end thereof. So we returned to our Boat, and proceeded down the River, and came to another place some twenty five leagues from the Rivers mouth on the same side, where found a place no lesse delightful than the former; and as far as we could judge, both Tracts came into one. This lower place we called *Rocky-point*, because we found many Rocks and Stones of several bignesse upon the Land, which is not common. We sent our Boat down the River before us; our selves travelling by Land many miles, were so much taken with the pleasantnesse of the Land, that travelling into the woods so far, we could not recover our Boat and company that night. On *Sunday* the morrow following we got to our Boat, and on *Monday* the 16th of *November*, we proceeded down to a place on the East-side of the River some twenty three leagues from the Harbours mouth, which we call'd *Turkie-Quarters*, because we killed several Turkies thereabouts. VVe viewed the Land there, and found some tracts of good Land, and high, facing upon the River about one mile inward, but backwards some two miles all Pine-land, but good pasture-ground: we returned to our Boat, and proceeded down some two or three leagues, where we had formerly viewed, and found it a tract of as good Land as any we have seen, with as good Timber on it. The banks of the River being high, therefore we called it *High-Land Point*. Having viewed that, we proceeded down the River, going on shoar in several places on both sides, it being generally large Marshes, and many of them dry, that they may more

more fitly be called Medows: the wood-land against them is for the most part Pine, and in some places as barren as ever we saw Land, but in other places good Pasture-ground: And on *Tuesday* the 17th instant, we got aboard our Ship, riding against the mouth of *Green's* River, where our men are providing wood, and fitting the Ship for the Sea: In the interim, we took some view of the Land on both sides of the River there, finding some good Land, but more bad, and the best not comparable to that above. *Friday* the 20th instant was foul weather, yet in the Afternoon we weighed, and went down the River some two leagues, and came to Anchor against the mouth of *Hilton*'s River, and took some view of the Land there on both sides, which appeared to us much like unto that at *Green*'s River. *Monday* 23. we went with our Long-boat well victualled and manned up *Hilton*'s River; and when we came three leagues or thereabouts up the said River, we found this and *Green*'s River to come into one, and so continued for four or five leagues, which causeth a great Island betwixt them. We proceeded still up the River, till they parted again, keeping up *Hilton*'s River on the Lar-board side, and followed the said River five or six leagues further, where we found another large branch of *Green*'s River to come into *Hilton*'s, which maketh another great Island. On the Star-board side going up, we proceeded stil up the River some four leagues, and returned, taking a view of the Land on both sides, and now judge our selves to be from our ship some eighteen leagues *W.* and by *W.* One league below this place came four *Indians* in a Canoa to us, and sold us several baskets of Akorns, which we satisfied for, and so left them; but one of them followed us on the shoar some two or three miles, till he came on the top of a high bank, facing on the *Riuer*, we rowing underneath it, the said *Indian* shot an Arrow at us, which missed one of our men very narrowly, and stuck in the upper edge of the Boat, which broke in pieces, leaving the head behind. Hereupon we presently made to the shoar, and went all up the bank except four to guide the Boat; we searched for the *Indian*, but could not finde him: At last we heard some sing further in the Woods, which we thought had been as a Chalenge to us to come and fight them. We went towards them with all speed, but before we came in sight of them, we heard two Guns go off from our Boat, whereupon we retreated with all speed to secure our Boat and Men: when we came to them, we found all well, & demanded the reason of their firing the Guns: they told us that an *Indian* came creeping on the Bank as they thought to shoot

at

at them, therefore shot at him a great distance with Swan-shot, but thought they did him no hurt, for they saw him run way. Presently after our return to the Boat, while we were thus talking, came two *Indians* to us with their Bows and Arrows, crying *Bonny, Bonny:* we took their Bows and Arrows from them, and gave them Beads, to their content. Then we led them by the hand to the Boat, and shewed them the Arrow-head sticking in her side, and related to them the businesse; which when they understood, both of them manifested much sorrow, and made us understand by signes, that they knew nothing of it: so we let them go, and marked a Tree on the top of the bank, calling the place *Mount-Skerry.* We looked up the River as far as we could discern, and saw that it widened it self, and came running directly down the Countrey: So we returned, and viewed the Land on both sides the River, finding the banks steep in some places, but very high in others. The banks sides are generally Clay, and as some of our company doth affirm, some Marle. The Land and Timber up this River is no way inferiour to the best in the other, which we call the main River: So far as we discovered, this seems as fair, if not fairer than the former, and we think runs further into the Countrey, because there is a strong Current comes down, and a great deal more drift-wood. But to return to the business of the Land and Timber: We saw several plats of Ground cleared by the *Indians* after their weak manner, compassed round with great Timber-Trees; which they are no ways able to fall, and so keep the Sun from their Corn-fields very much; yet nevertheless we saw as large Corn-stalks or bigger, than we have seen any where else: So we proceeded down the River, till we found the Canoa the *Indian* was in who shot at us. In the morning we went on shoar, and cut the same in pieces: the *Indians* perceiving us coming towards them, run away. We went to his Hut, and pulled it down, brake his pots, platters, and spoons, tore his Deer-skins and Mats in pieces, and took away a basket of Akorns: So we proceeded down the River two leagues, or thereabouts, and came to another place of *Indians,* bought Akorns and some Corn of them, and went downwards two leagues more: at last we espied an *Indian* peeping over a high bank: we held up a Gun at him; and calling to him, said, *Skerry:* presently several *Indians* appeared to us, making great signes of friendship, saying, *Bonny, Bonny,* and running before us, endeavouring to perswade us to come on shoar; but we answered them with stern countenances, and said, *Skerry,* taking up our guns, and threatning to shoot at them;

them; but they cryed still *Bonny*, *Bonny:* And when they saw they could not prevail, nor perswade us to come on shoar, two of them came off to us in a Canoa, one padling with a great Cane, the other with his hand; they came to us, and laid hold of our Boat, sweating and blowing, and told us it was *Bonny* on shoar, and at last perswaded us to go ashoar with them. As soon as we landed, several *Indians*, to the number of near forty lusty men, came to us, all in a great sweat, and told us *Bonny:* we shewed them the Arrow-head in the Boats-side, and a piece of the Canoa which we had cut in pieces: the chief man of them made a large Speech, and threw Beads into our Boat, which is a signe of great love and friendship; and made us to understand, when he heard of the Affront which we had received, it caused him to cry: and now he and his men were come to make peace with us, making signes to us that they would tye his Arms, and cut off his head that had done us that abuse; and for a further testimony of their love and good will towards us, they presented to us two very handsom proper young *Indian* women, the tallest that we have seen in this Countrey; which we supposed to be the Kings Daughters, or persons of some great account amongst them. These young women were ready to come into our Boat; one of them crouding in, was hardly perswaded to go out again. We presented to the King a Hatchet and several Beads, also Beads to the young women and to the chief men, and to the rest of the *Indians*, as far as our Beads would go: they promised us in four days to come on board our Ship, and so departed from us. When we left the place, which was presently, we called it *Mount-Bonny*, because we had there concluded a firm Peace. Proceeding down the River two or three leagues further, we came to a place where were nine or ten Canoa's all together; we went ashoar there, and found several *Indians*, but most of them were the same which had made Peace with us before: We made little stay there, but went directly down the River, and came to our Ship before day. *Thursday* the 26th of *November*, the winde being at South, we could not go down to the Rivers mouth: but on *Friday* the 27th, we weighed at the mouth of *Hilton's* River, and got down one league towards the Harbours mouth. On *Sunday* the 29th, we got down to *Crane-Island*, which is four leagues or thereabouts above the Entrance of the Harbours mouth. Now on *Tuesday* the first of *December*, we made a purchase of the River and land of *Cape-Fair*, of *Wattcoosa*, and such other *Indians* as appeared to us to be the chief of those parts: they brought us store of Fresh-fish aboard, as Mullets, Shads,

Shads, and other very good Fish: this River is all Fresh-water fit to drink. Some eight leagues within the mouth, the Tide runs up about thirty five leagues, but stops and riseth a great deal farther up; it flowes at the Harbours mouth S. E. and N. W. six foot at Neap-Tides, and eight foot at Spring-Tides: the Chanel on the Easter-side by the *Cape-shoar* is the best, and lyes close aboard the *Cape-land*, being three fathoms at High-water, in the shallowest place in the Chanel just at the Entrance; but as soon as you are past that place half a Cables length inward, you shall have six or seven fathoms, a fair turning Chanel into the River, and so continuing four or five leagues upwards; afterwards the Chanel is more difficult in some places six or seven fathoms, four or five, and in other places but nine or ten foot, especially where the River is broad. When the River comes to part, and grows narrow, there is all Chanel from side to side in most places; in some places you shall have five, six, or seven fathoms, but generally two or three, Sand and Oaze. We viewed the Cape-land, and judged it to be little worth, the Woods of it shrubby and low, the Land sandy and barren; in some places Grass and Rushes, and in other places nothing but clear sand: a place fitter to starve Cattel in our judgement, then to keep them alive; yet the *Indians*, as we understand, keep the *English* Cattle down there, and suffer them not to go off the said Cape, as we suppose, because the Countrey-*Indians* shall have no part with them, and as we think, are fallen out about them, who shall have the greatest share. They brought aboard our Ship very good and fat Beef several times, which they could afford very reasonable; also fat and very large Swine, good cheap penny-worths: but they may thank their friends of *New-England*, who brought their Hogs to so fair a Market. Some of the *Indians* brought very good Salt aboard us, and made signes, pointing to both sides of the Rivers mouth, that there was great store thereabouts. We saw up the River several good places for the setting up of Corn or Saw-mills. In that time as our businesse called us up and down the River and Branches, we kill'd of wild-fowl, four Swans, ten Geese, twenty nine Cranes, ten Turkies, forty Duck and Mallard, three dozen of Parrakeeto's, and six or seven dozen of other small Fowls, as Curlues and Plovers, *&c.*

Whereas

WHereas there was a Writing left in a Post at the Point of *Cape Fair* River, by those *New-England*-men that left Cattel with the *Indians* there, the Contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the Land about the said River, but also to the great discouragement of all those that should hereafter come into those Parts to settle: In Answer to that scandalous writing, We whose names are under-written do affirm, That we have seen facing on both sides of the River, and branches of *Cape-Fair* aforesaid, as good Land, and as well Timbred, as any we have seen in any other part of the world, sufficient to accommodate thousands of our *English* Nation, lying commodiously by the said River.

On *Friday* the 4th of *December*, the winde being fair, we put out to Sea, bound for *Barbadoes;* and on the 6th day of *January*, 166$\frac{3}{4}$, we came to Anchor in *Carlisle*-Bay; and after several known apparent dangers both by Sea and Land, have now brought us all in safety to our long-wish'd-for and much desired Port, to render an Accompt of our Discovery, the verity of which we aver.

Anthony Long.
William Hilton.
Peter Fabian.

A Copy of the *Spanyard's* first Letter.

I Am come to this Town of Infidel-*Indians*, to seek some *English*, which my Gouernour and Captain-General, *Don Alonso de Arangows, de Colis*, Cavallier, and Knight of the Orde̊r of St. *James*, for his Majesty, had notice that there was a Ship lost in that Port in which you are, that the men might not run any hazard of their lives, as those with me here have. *Don Adeleyers*, with the Governor of the Garison of S. *Augustine*, are gone to ransome and free the Subjects of the King your Master, *CHARLES* the Second: Wherefore I aduise you, that if these *Indians* (although Infidels and *Barbarians*) have not killed any of the Christians, and do require as a gift or courtesie for those four men, four Spades, and four Axes, some Knives, and some Beads, and the four *Indians* which you have there, you deliver them, and that for their sakes that shall sayl on this Coast: you may send a Boat, who when she comes athwart the Port of St. *Ellens*, may hoist an Ancient twice or thrice, and I will do the same. The shortnesse of the dispatch I desire, for I want provision for my Soldiers, and the way is large. Your Servant desires you would give me a speedy Answer; and what may be done in your service, I shall do very willingly: And if you have none that can interpret the *Spanish* Tongue, you may write in your own, for here are your Countrey-men that can understand it: but if you can, let it be in *Spanish*.

From the Capt. Alanso Argucles.

From St. Ellens *the* 22 *of* Septemb. 1663.

The

The Copïes of our Letters sent to the English and Spaniards at St. *Ellens*, with the Answer of Mr. *William Davis*, and the *Spaniards* also, here inclosed.

Loving Friends and Country-men,

WEe are come up the River with our Ship, and are resolved to come through by *Combibeh*, to St. *Ellens*, and to get you away by fair means, or otherways. If that will not do, we have five of your company already: and the Captain of *Edistow*, and one more are Prisoners with us, whom we intend to keep till we have rescued all the *English* Prisoners out of the hands of the *Indians*. Send us word by this Bearer what you know concerning the *Spanyards;* for the youth *Morgan* tells us, that the *Spanyards* are come with Soldiers to fetch you away. Fail not to inform us how things are. Nothing else at present, but remain

Your friend and Servant

WILL. HILTON.

From on Board the Adventure,
Septemb. 21. 1663.

AN

An Answer to the *Spanyards* Letter not understood.

Honoured Sir,

WHereas wee received a Letter from you, the Contents whereof we understand not, because none of us could read *Spanish:* Our businesse is to demand and receive the *English* Prisoners from the hands of the *Indians*, and then they shall have their *Indians* which we have detained on Board, with satisfaction for their pains. We understand not at present that we have any businesse with you. Not else at present, but remain

Your Friend and Servant in what I may,

WILL. HILTON.

From on Board the Adventure,
Septemb. 23. 1663.

To his honoured Friend the *Spanish*
Captain at St. *Ellens.*

AN

An Answer to Mr. *William Davis* his Lines written to us in the *Spanyard's* Letter, *Viz.*

Mr. *William Davis*,

WEe received your Lines in the *Spanish* Letter, but hear nothing of your coming to us. Let your Keepers send you, and that without delay; for you may assure them, That we will be gone, and carry the *Indians* away with us, except they send the *English* suddenly on Board, and then they shall have their *Indians* upon our receipt of the *English*. Not else at present, but thank the *Spanish* Captain for the Pork and Venison he sent us. Remain

Your loving Friend

WILL. HILTON.

From on Board the Adventure,
September 24. 1663.

To Mr. *William Davis* at St. *Ellens*.

SIR,

SIR,

WEe have received your second Letter, and give you no Answer, for the Reason mentioned in our former Letter to you. Please to inform the *Indians*, That if they bring not the *English* Prisoners on Board us without further delay, we are resolved to carry their *Indians* we have on Board away: But if they will bring the *English*, they shall have theirs, with satisfaction. Also we thank you for your Venison and Pork. Not else at present, but remain

SIR,

Your Friend and Servant in what I may

WILL. HILTON.

From on Board the Adventure
Septemb. 24. 1663.

To his Honoured Friend, the *Spanish*
Captain at St. *Ellens.*

A Copy of the *Spanyard's* second Letter.

MY Governour and Capt. General, as soon as he had News that a Ship, by Nation *English*, was lost in that Port in which you now are, sent me with Soldiers of the Garison of St. *Augustine* in *Florida*, as they have at other times done, to free them from death; for which cause I came to this Port of St. *Ellens*, where I found all these *Indians* in a fright, fearing that you will do them some mischief: So having found four men of those that were lost, I thought good to advise you, that you might carry them in your company, giving some gifts to those *Indians* which they desire; which is, four Spades, four Axes, some Knives, and some Beads. This they desire, not as payment, but onely as an acknowledgment of a kindness for having saved their lives; which they have always done as Naturals who have given their obedience to the King our Master. And they do also desire you to let go those four *Indians* which are there: You may send a Boat when you discover the Points of St. *Ellens;* may hoist an Ancient two or three times, and I will do the same. I desire your Answer may be sodain; for I am scarce of Provisions, and the way is somewhat long: and if you have no body who understands *Spanish*, you may write in *English*, for here are your Countreymen who will interpret it.

By the Captain Alanso Arguiles.

From St. Ellens, *Septemb.* 23. 1663.

Proposals

Proposals made to all such Persons as shall undertake to become the first Setlers on Rivers, Harbours, or Creeks, whose Mouth or Entrance is Southwards or Westwards of Cape St. *Romana* in the Province of *Carolina*, and execute the same at their own hazard and charge of Transportation, Ammunition, and Provision, as is hereafter expressed, &c.

I.

IMprimis, *It is agreed and consented to by us* Thomas Mudyford, *and* Peter Colleton, *Esquires, who are impowered by the Lords Proprietors to treat in their behalf; That in consideration of the good service which Captain* Anthony Long, *Captain* William Hilton, *and Mr.* Peter Fabian *have done in making so clear a Discovery on that Coast, They shall each of them enjoy to them and their Heirs for ever one thousand Acres of Land apiece upon the said River, Harbour, or Creeks, on such places as they shall desire, not taken up before.*

II.

Item, *To Master* Pyam Blowers, *and Master* John Hancock, *five hundred Acres apiece, in manner as aforesaid.*

III.

Item, *To all the Sea-men and Adventurers in the said Ship, one hundred Acres apiece in manner as aforesaid.*

IV.

Item, *To every person that hath subscribed and paid, or hath subscribed and shall pay within two moneths next after the Date*

Date hereof, unto the Treasurer appointed by the Committee for defraying the Charge of the late Discovery, and towards the publique Stock, five hundred Acres of Land, besides what they are otherwayes to receive and enioy each for every thousand pounds of Sugar, and so for greater or lesser quantity proportionably, to possesse and enjoy the same in manner as aforesaid; the said Adventurers having promised, That the severall and respective Persons above-intended, shall within five years next ensuing, have one Person white or black, young or old, transported at their Charge as aforesaid, on that or some other parcel of Land in the Province, for every hundred of Acres of Land that is or shall be due to them for their adventures as aforesaid: But when once taken up, to settle the same within one year after it is once taken up, or lose the Land.

V

Item, *To every Person that goes, or sends an Agent at his or their own cost with the first Ship or Fleet, or within six weeks next after the first Ship or Fleet that shall be set out from this Island (none to be accompted as first Setlers but such as do send in the first Fleet) Armed with a good Fire-lock, ten pounds of Powder, and twenty pounds of Bullet, or Lead, and Victualled for six moneths, shall have one hundred Acres of Land, and the like quantity of Acres for every Man-servant that he carrieth so armed and provided, to the person at whose charge they shall be transported as aforesaid.*

VI.

Item, *To every person that shall second the first undertakers, that is to say, shall go within two months next after those that are accompted as first Setlers, armed and provided as aforesaid, seventy Acres of Land, and seventy Acres for every Man-servant that he or they shall carry or send Armed and provided as aforesaid.*

VII.

Item, *To every person provided as aforesaid, that shall go within two years after the first undertakers, fifty Acres of Land, and as much to him or them for every Man-servant he or they shall carry or send, armed and provided as aforesaid.*

VIII.

VIII.

Item, *To every Free-woman above the age of twelve years, that shall go, or be carried thither within the first five years, forty Acres of Land.*

IX.

Item, *To all Male-Children above the age of fourteen years, the same quantity that is allowed to Free-men, and on the same Conditions.*

X.

Item, *The Lords Proprietors will grant unto every Parish one hundred Acres of Land for the Church and other publique uses.*

XI.

Item, *To every person that hath subscribed, and shall pay to the above-mentioned Discovery, who shall go or send an Agent within the first five years next after the first Setlers, forty Acres of Land; and as much to them for every Man-servant they shall carry or send within that time armed and provided as aforesaid, and the like quantity for all others so transporting themselves or servants within the first three years, who are not Subscribers.*

XII.

Item, *To every Man-servant that shall go with the first undertakers, fifty Acres of Land; and to such as go with the second Adventurers thirty Acres, and for all other servants that shall go within the first five years, twenty Acres, and for every Woman-servant ten Acres, to become due at the Expiration of the first Term of their servitude in that Countrey.*

XIII.

Item, *To the Owner of every Negro-Man or Slave, brought thither to settle within the first year, twenty acres; and for every Woman-Negro or Slave, ten acres of Land; and all Men-Negro's, or slaves after that time, and within the first five years,*

years, ten acres, and for every Women-Negro or slave, five acres.

XIV.

Item, *That all the before-mentioned parcels of Land given, or to be given, allotted or granted to any person or persons whatsoever, shall be held and enjoyed to them, their Heirs and Assigns for ever, in free and common Soccage, according to the Tenure of* East-Greenwich *within the County of* Kent, *within the Kingdom of* England (*and not in* Capite, *or by* Knights-service) *paying as a fine once for all to the Lords Proprietors, or their Agents impowered to receive the same, one half-peny* per acre *for every Acre of Land that is or shall be taken up as aforesaid, or the value of the said half-peny* per Acre, *when the person who is to receive it shall receive his Deed or Copy of Record for his Land so taken up; and in lieu of all, and all manner of Rents, Services, Fines, Taxes and Impositions whatsoever, one ear of* Indian *Corn for every hundred acres of Land so taken up, at a certain time and place prescribed, if lawfully demanded.*

XV.

Item, *It is further agreed, That every person shall or may take up their Land, or any part thereof, where they please, in any place not before taken up:* Provided *they do therein submit to such Method as the Governour and Council for the time being shall judge most safe and convenient.*

XVI.

Item, *That the Lords Proprietors shall grant to the Free-Holders the Priviledge of choosing an annual Assembly, wherein by the consent of the said Lords, or their Delegates, they shall be impowered to make Lawes, and them confirm, publish, and abrogate, as in the great Charter is expressed; and that the Assembly may lawfully, without the consent of the Governour, complain to the said Lords of such Grievances as lye upon the People.*

XVII.

Item, *That forasmuch as the Lords Proprietors or their Delegates may not be at all times there present, to consent to such*

such Lawes as are or shall be thought necessary; In such Case all Lawes and Orders made by the Governour, Council and Assembly, shall be in force untill the Denyall thereof by the Lords Proprietors shall be to them signified under their Hands in Writing.

XVIII.

Item, *That the said Free-Holders shall have the freedome of Trade, Immunity of Customes, and Liberty of Conscience, and all other Priviledges made good unto them as amply and as fully as is at large expressed in the great Charter granted to the said Lords Proprietors from His Majesty.*

FINIS.

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187
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Vol. 4
no. 3

NEW-ENGLANDS

JONAS

Cast up at

LONDON:

OR,

A RELATION of the Proceedings of the Court at *Boston* in *New-England* against divers honest and godly persons, for Petitioning for Government in the Common-wealth, according to the Lawes of *England*, and for admittance of themselves and children to the Sacraments in their Churches; and in case that should not be granted, for leave to have Ministers and Church-government according to the best Reformation of *England* and *Scotland*.

Together with a Confutation of some Reports of a fained Miracle upon the foresaid Petition, being thrown over-board at Sea; As also a breif Answer to some passages in a late Book (entituled *Hypocrisie unmasked*) set out by Mr. *Winslowe*, concerning the Independent Churches holding communion with the Reformed Churches.

By Major *John Childe*

London, Printed for *T. R.* and *E. M.* 1647.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 3.

The Preface.

Courteous Reader,

THE occasion of Printing this following Relation, are the sufferings that not only my Brother *Robert Child* Doctor of Physick, with some Gentlemen and others have suffered in *New-England* in their persons and estates by Fines and imprisonments there, but here in *England* in their repute by false reports and fained Miracles invented and spread on purpose by some lately come from thence, and fomented by some others here to colour their unjust proceedings.

First, they give out of my Brother and others, that they desire a Toleration of all Religions.

Secondly, that they are troublesome persons, and against all government both in Church and Commonwealth.

Thirdly, that some of them are come from thence to Petition the Parliament for that purpose.

4ly. that their Petition brought from thence to be presented to the Parliam. (which they had named *Jonas*) in a Ship called the *Supply*, being in a storme neer *Silly*, out of horror of conscience, the Petition was torne and thrown over-board, and that then the storm

storm immediately ceased, and they miraculously saved.

Now for satisfaction, I present to the Reader these following particulars.

First, the Petition of the greater part of the Inhabitants of *Hingham* and the proceedings therein.

Secondly, a Petition of Doctor *Child* and others delivered to the generall Court at *Boston* with some passages thereupon.

Thirdly, the Capital Laws of the Massachusets Bay, with the Free-mans Oath as they are printed there by themselves.

Fourthly, a Relation of that story of *Jonas* verbatim, as it was delivered to me in writing by a Gentleman that was then a passenger in the Ship.

The

The Petition of the greater part of the Inhabitants of *Hingham*, as it was taken out of the Records of the Court at *Boston*.

To the Honoured, the Generall Court, *consisting of the Magistrates and Deputies of the Country now assembled in Court at* Boston: *The humble Petition of the greater part of the Inhabitants of the Township of* Hingham.

WHereas there hath fallen out some agitations amongst us concerning the choice of our chief Military Officers, which by Order of the Court we have power to choose (as we conceive) So it is that we did elect, and present to the Generall Court for their confirmation, Mr. *Bozoune Allin* for our Chieftain: but the Court not having time to finish that busines at that time, some other things and overtures have happened since, whereby it hath so fallen out that some of us have been compelled to appeare before some of the Magistrates, and to give Bonds for appearance at a Quarter-Court which is to be holden after this Generall Court; and some for not giving Bond to answer there, are committed to prison, and remain there at present; the matters of accusation (as we conceive) is for certain words spoken by some, concerning the liberty and power of the Generall Court, and our own liberty granted to us by the said Courts, and to the Country in generall; and also it doth concern the Liberty of an English free-borne Member of that State, and further it hath occasioned such disturbance and schisme in our Church, and trouble to some of our Members for witnessing against a Delinquent: whereby the power of the Ordinances of Jesus Christ in his Church is slighted, and the free passage thereof stopped, to the endangering of the liberty of the Churches amongst us, if timely remedy be not by your Wisdoms provided. Now seeing the matters in hand doth concern the generall liberty of the whole Country, and the peace of the Churches,

Churches, and glory of God, as we are ready upon the hearing of the Court to make it appeare; We humbly sue to this honoured Court to be pleased to grant us an honourable and free hearing, and that we may have liberty to plead our common Liberties in this Court, together with the liberties of the Churches of Christ maintained. *And we shall ever pray for your peace and prosperity long to continue.*

For which Petition being fined 100. l. and the Marshal sent to *Hingham* to levy the said Fine: Mr. *Hubbard* the Minister of that town being one of them that was fined, the Marshal coming to his house to levy part thereof, produced this effect as followeth taken out of their Records.

THE RELATION.

THe 18. of the first Moneth, 1645. the Marshall going to gather 100. l. in Fines of divers Inhabitants of *Hingham*, as they were set by the Generall Court, in the 3. or 4. moneth past; came to Mr. *Peter Hubbard*, who desiring to see his Warrant, which the Marshall shewing him, upon a sight of it *Mr. Hubbard* said the Warrant was insufficient, being not sent out in his Majesties name, he being sworne to the Crown of *England;* and said that they had sent into *England* unto his Friends the busines, and expected shortly an answer and advice from thence: And that our Government here was not more then a Corporation in *England*, and that we had not power to put men to death by vertue of the Patent, nor to do some other things we did; and that for himself, he had neither horn nor hoofe of his own, nor any thing wherewith to buy his children cloaths, And he wished that the Magistrates would take some course that the Ministers might be better provided for, and he wondered by what order or rule the Ministers were deprived of their Tythes: but if he must pay it, he would pay it in Books, but that he knew not for what they were fined, unlesse it were for Petitioning; and if they were so waspish they might not be Petitioned, then he could not tell what to say, (about thirty or forty being present.) And further, that he had seriously considered what they had done, and he could not see any

any thing that they had done amisse, for which they should be Fined.

Increase Nowel, Secret.

THE TRIAL BY THE COVRT.

The names of the Jury-men at the Quarter-Court, the 2. of the 4. Moneth, 1646.

Tho. Marshal	*Tho. Bartlet*	*Charles Chedwick*
Tho. Boutle	*Edward Pason*	*Richard Goode*
John Clough	*Edward Breckl*	*Fra. Smith.*
Edward Dykes	*John Button*	*Edward Clapp.*

The Returne of this Jury.

WE do find, that Mr. *Peter Hubbard* of *Hingham*, being a Free-man of this Jurisdiction, and having taken the Oath of fidelity thereunto: seeming notwithstanding to be evil-affected to the Government here-established; In and upon the 18. day of the first Moneth last past, at *Hingham* aforesaid, in the presence of about thirty persons, did utter divers speeches which are upon record, tending to sedition and contempt of the said Government, contrary to the law of God, and peace and welfare of the Country.

Upon which Return of the Jury, the Court fined him Twenty pounds, and bound him in Forty pounds to be of good behaviour and to appeare at next Quarter-Court; and Mr. *Peck* bound himself in twenty pounds, for the good behaviour and appearance of Mr. *Peter Hubbard* at the next Quarter-Court.

Increase Nowel, Secret.

The Court at this Triall was kept by these persons—— Mr. *Winthrop* Governour, Mr. *Dudley* Deputy-governour, Mr. *Pelham*, Mr. *Flint*, Mr. *Hibbins*, Mr. *Nowel*, Mr. *Bellingham*, Mr. *Broadstreet*. Only Mr. *Bellingham* and Mr. *Broadstreet* required their Dissent to be recorded.

To

To the Worshipfull, the GOVERNOUR, the Deputy-governour, and the rest of the Assistants of the *Massachusets Bay* in *New-England*, together with the Deputies of the generall Court now assembled in *Boston*.

The Remonstrance and humble Petition of us whose Names are here under-written, in the behalf of our selves and divers within this Jurisdiction.

HUmbly sheweth, That we cannot but with all thankfulnesse acknowledge your indefatigable pains, continuall care, and constant vigilancie, which (by the blessing of the Almighty) hath procured unto this Wildernesse the much desired fruits of Peace and Plenty; while our native Land, yea the Christian world is sharply afflicted with the devouring Sword, and the sad consequents of Intestine wars. And further, That you whom the Lord hath placed at the helm of these Plantations, and endowed with eminent gifts fit for such honourable callings, are best able to foresee the clouds which hang over our heads, the storms and tempests which threaten this poor Handfull here planted; and timously to amend them. Notwithstanding, those who are under decks, being at present unfit for higher imployments, may perceive those Leaks which will inevitably sink this weak and ill compacted Vessell, if not by your Wisdoms opportunely prevented.

We therefore in the behalf of our selves and divers of our Countrymen, laying our hands on our breasts, and seriously considering, That the hand of our good God who through his goodnesse hath safely brought us and ours through the great Ocean, and planted us here, seems not now to be with us, nay rather against us, blasting all our designs, though contrived with much deliberation, undertaken with great care, and proceeding with more then ordinary probability of succesfull events; by which many of good estates are brought to the brinks of extreme poverty; yea, at this time laying His just hand upon our families, taking many away to himself, striking others with unwonted malignant sicknesses and noysome shamefull diseases: Have thought it convenient,

convenient, with all respectivenesse, to present these our sincere requests and Remonstrance to this honoured Court, hoping we have found out the speciall Leaks, which concurring with the many and great Sins of this place, (which our Consciences know, and our Brethren of *England* are not ignorant of) are the speciall causes of the Lords turning his face from us, leaving us to our selves, and consequently to strife, contention, unfaithfulnesse, idlenesse, and other lamentable failings, not blessing us in any of our endeavours, so as to give us any great hopes of Staple-commodities, and consequently of comfortable subsistence; though we to the utmost of our powers these many years, even to the exhausting of our estates and spirits, have endeavoured the same: but contrariwise all things grow worse and worse, even to the threatning (in our apprehensions) of no lesse then finall ruine. Not doubting but you will receive these our Requests and Remonstrance with the same candor of mind, which we, not aiming at novelty and disturbance, but at the glory of God, our allegiance to the State of *England*, and good of these poor Plantations, (if our hearts deceive us not) present them unto you; though for want of skill and other necessary helps roughly drawn up; and hope that you will be more diligent in amending, then we in the searching out the causes of these our present calamities, &c. Not to trouble you (who are imployed in the most serious affaires of these Plantations) with many words, wee shall briefly referre them to these Heads——

1. Whereas this place hath been planted by the incouragements (next under God) of Letters Patents given and granted by His Majesty of *England* to the Inhabitants hereof, with many priviledges and immunities, *viz.* Incorporation into a Company, liberty of choosing Governours, setling Government, making Laws not repugnant to the Laws of England, power of administring the Oath of Allegiance to all, &c. as by the said Letters Patents more largely appeareth. Notwithstanding we cannot according to our judgements cleerly discern a setled form of Government according to the Fundamentall lawes of *England;* which may seem strange to our Country-men, yea to the whole World, especially considering we are all *English.* Neither do we so understand or perceive our own Lawes or Liberties, or any Body of Lawes here so established, as that thereby there may be a sure and comfortable enjoyment of our Lives, Liberties and Estates, according to our due Naturall rights, as Free-born subjects of the English nation. By which

many

many inconveniences flow into these Plantations, *viz.* Jealousies of introducing Arbitrary Government, (which many are prone to believe) construing the procrastination of such setled Lawes, to proceed from an overgreedy spirit of Arbitrary power (which it may be is their weaknesse) such proceedings being most detestable to our English Nation, and to all good men, and at present a chief cause of the intestine War in our dear Country. Further it gives cause to many, to think themselves hardly dealt with, others too much favoured, and the scale of Justice too much bowed and unequally ballanced: From whence also proceedeth feares and jealousies of illegall Commitments, unjust Imprisonments, Taxes, Rates, Customes, Levies, of ungrounded and undoing Assesments, unjustifiable Presses, undue Fines, unmeasurable Expences and Charges, of unconceivable dangers through a Negative or destructive Vote unduly placed, or not well regulated; in a word, of a Non-certainty of all things we enjoy, whether lives, liberties or estates; as also of undue Oaths, being subject to exposition according to the will of him or them that gives them, and not according to a due and unbowed rule of Law, which is the true Interpreter of all Oaths to all men, whether Judge, or Judged.

Wherefore our humble desire and request is, That you would be pleased to consider of our present condition, and upon what foundation we stand; and unanimously concurre to establish the Fundamentall and wholsome Lawes of our native Country, and such others as are no way repugnant to them, unto which all of us are most accustomed, and we suppose them best agreeable to our English tempers, and your selves obliged thereunto by the Generall Charter, and your Oaths of Allegiance: neither can we tell whether the Lord hath blest many in these Parts with such eminent Politicall gifts, so as to contrive better Lawes and Customes, than the Wisest of our Nation have with great consideration composed, and by many hundred years experience have found most equall and just; which have procured to the Nation much honour and renown amongst strangers, and long peace and tranquility amongst themselves. And for the more strict and due observation and execution of the said Lawes by all Ministers of Justice, that there may be a setled Rule for them to walk by in cases of Judicature, from which if they swerve, there may be some Power setled, according to the Lawes of *England*, that may call them to account for their Delinquencie, which may be a good means to prevent divers unnecessary Appeals into *England*.

2.

2. Whereas there are many thousands in these Plantations of the English Nation free-born, quiet peaceable men, righteous in their dealings, forward with hand, heart and purse to advance the publike good, known friends to the honourable and victorious Houses of Parliament, lovers of the Nation, &c. Who are debarred from all Civil imployment (without any just cause that we know) not being permitted to beare the least office (though it cannot be denied but some are well qualified.) No not so much as to have any Vote in choosing Magistrates, Captains, or other Civil or Military Officers; notwithstanding they have here expended their youth, born the burthen of the day, wasted much of their estates for the subsistence of these poor Plantations, paid all assesments, taxes, rates, at least equal, if not exceeding others: Yea, when the late War was denounced against the *Naraganset Indians*, without their consent; their goods were seised on for the service, themselves and servants especially forced and imprest to serve in that war, to the hazarding of all things most neer and dear unto them. Whence issue forth many great inconveniences, secret discontents, murmurings, rents in the Plantations, discouragements in their callings, unsetlednesse of minde, strife, contention, (and the Lord only knows to what a flame in time it may kindle) also jealousies of too much unwarranted power and dominion on the one side, and of perpetuall slavery and bondage to them and their posterity on the other, and which is intolerable, even by them who ought to love and respect them as brethren, &c.

We therefore desire, that Civil liberty and freedome be forthwith granted to all truly *English*, equall to the rest of their Country-men, as in all Plantations is accustomed to be done, and as all Free-borne enjoy in our native Country; we hoping here in some things to enjoy greater liberties then elswhere, counting it no small losse of liberty to be as it were banished from our native home, and enforced to lay our bones in a strange wildernesse. Without imposing any Oaths or Covenants on them, which we suppose cannot be warranted by the Letters Patents, and seem not to concurre with the Oath of Allegiance formerly enforced on all, and later Covenants lately imposed on many here present by the honourable Houses of Parliament; or at least to detract from our native Country, and Laws, (which by some are stiled Foraign, and this Place termed rather a Free State, then a Colony or Corporation of *England.)* All of us being very willing to take such Oaths and Covenants, as are expressions of our desires of advancing the glory of God and

and good of this place, of our duties to the State of *England* and love to our Nation, being composed according to the laws and customes of other Corporations of *England*. But all of us are exceedingly unwilling, by any policies whatsoever, to be rent from our Native country, though far distant from it; valuing our free Denizations, the Immunities and Priviledges which we and our posterity do, and we hope shall alwayes enjoy, above the greatest Honours of this Country not cemented to the State of *England;* and glory to be accounted though but as Rushes of that Land, and yet that we may continue to write, that we and ours are *English*. Or at least we intreat, that the Bodies of us and ours (English subjects possessing here on priviledges) may not be imprest, nor Goods forcibly taken away; lest we not knowing the justnesse of the war, may be ignorantly and unwillingly inforced upon our own destructions. And that all Assesments, Taxes, Impositions, (which are many and grievous) if Civil liberty be not granted) may be taken off, that in all things we may be Strangers: otherwise we suppose our selves in a worse case here, and lesse free, then the Natives amongst whom we live, or any Aliens. Further, that none of the English nation (who at this time are too forward to be gone, and very backward to come hither) be banished, unlesse they break the known Lawes of *England* in so high a manner, as to deserve so high a punishment. And that those few that come over, may settle here without having two Magistrates hands, which sometime not being possible to obtain, hath procured a kind of banishment to some, who might have been serviceable to this place, as they have been to the State of *England*, &c.

3. Whereas there are divers sober, righteous, and godly men, eminent for knowledge, and other gracious gifts of the Holy Spirit, no ways scandalous in their lives and conversations, Members of the Churches of *England* (in all Ages famous for piety and learning) not dissenting from the late and best Reformation of *England*, *Scotland*, &c. Yet they and their posterity are detained from the Seals of the Covenant of Free-grace, because (as it is supposed) they will not take these Churches Covenants, for which as yet they see no light in Gods word, neither can they cleerly perceive what they are, every Church having their Covenant differing from anothers, at least in words, yea some Churches sometime adding, sometimes detracting, calling it sometime the Covenant of Grace, sometime a Branch of it, sometime a Profession of the Free-Covenant,

&c

&c. Notwithstanding they are compelled, under a severe Fine, every Lords day to appeare at the Congregation, and notice is taken of such who stay not till Baptisme be administered to other mens children, though denied to their own; and in some places forced to contribute to the maintenance of those Ministers, who vouchsafe not to take them into their Flock, though desirous of the Ordinances of God, &c. yet they are not accounted so much as Brethren, nor publikely so called; nor is Christian vigilancie (commanded to all) any way exercised to them. Whence (as we conceive) abound an ocean of inconveniences; Dishonour to God and his Ordinances, little profit by the Ministery, increase of Anabaptism, and of those that totally contemn all Ordinances as vain, fading of Christian graces, decrease of Brotherly love, Heresies, Schisms, &c. The whole body of the Members of the Churches of *England*, like sheep scattered in the wildernesse without a shepherd, in a forlorne sad condition. We therefore humbly intreat you, in whose hands it is to help, and whose judicious eyes discern these great inconveniences; for the glory of God, and the comfort of your Brethren and Countrymen, to give liberty to the Members of the Churches of *England* not scandalous in their lives and conversations (as Members of those Churches) to be taken into your Congregations, and to enjoy with you all those liberties and ordinances Christ hath purchased for them, and into whose Name they are baptized; That the Lord may be one, and his Name one amongst us in this place; That the Seals of the Covenant may be applied to them and their posterity; as we conceive they ought to be, till inconveniences hereby be found prejudiciall to the Churches, or Colonie (which we hope shall never be.) Not doubting but the same Christian favour will be shewed to all the Members of these Churches, when they shall retire to our deare native Country, (if their conversations be righteous and holy); Or otherwise to grant liberty to settle themselves here in a Church-way according to the best Reformations of *England* and *Scotland*. If not, we and they shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, who we hope will take our sad conditions into their serious considerations, to provide able Ministers for us, (this place being not so well provided as to spare any); Or else out of their charity (many estates being wasted) to transport us to some other place, where we may live like Christians, and not be accounted burthens, but serviceable both to Church and State.

These

These things granted, by the blessing of God to us in Christ, we hope to see the now contemned Ordinances of God, highly prized; the Gospel much darkned, break forth as the sun at noon-day; Christian charity & brotherly love almost frozen, wax warm; Zeal and holy emulation, more fervent; Jealousies of Arbitrary Government, the bane of all Commonwealths, quite banished; The wicked, if any such be found, in their courses disheartned; The righteous actors, in their wayes, encouraged; Secret discontents fretting like cankers, remedied; Merchandizing, shipping, by speciall Providence wasted, speedily increased; Mines undertaken with more cheerfulnesse, Fishing with more forwardnesse; Husbandry, now withering, forthwith flourishing; Villages and Plantations, much deserted, presently more populous; All mechanicall Trades, the great enrichers of all Commonwealths, bravely going on; Staple-commodities, the life of States, presently raised; Our almost lost credit regained; Our brethren of *England's* just indignation, and therefore as from a pest flying from us, turned to imbraces; The honourable Houses of Parliament, Patrons of Piety, under their wings, in these dangerous times, with all alacrity shrowding us; The Priviledges and Immunities which we and ours enjoy in our native Land, more firmly setled; Foraign enemies daily threatning, totally discouraged; Unsetled men now abounding, firmely planted, that the prosperity of *England* may not be the ruine of this Plantation, but the contrary; Hands, hearts, and purses now straightned, freely opened for publick and honorable services; Strife and contention now rife, abated; Taxes and sesses, lightned; The burthens of the State, but pleasure. To conclude, all businesses in Church and Common wealth which for many years have seemed to goe backward, beyound our desert, yea expectation, the good hand of our God going along with us, succesfully thriving.

And shall alwayes pray the Almighty the only wise God, to guide you with his wisedome, strengthen you with his power, in all your undertakings, that all may be to his glory, and good of his people; and that he would blesse your Wisdomes with the blessings of peace, plenty, and long dayes, &c.

Robert Child, Tho. Fowle, Samuel Maverick, Thomas Burton, David Yale, John Smith, John Dand.

This Petition was presented to the Generall Court held at *Boston*, *May* 19, 1646.

A Relation of the effects this Petition produced.

THough this Petition of Dr. *Child* was in a peaceable way presented, only by two of the Subscribers; yet it produced these effects, and thus it wrought——

First, the Elders, (not all, some few being silent) in their Congregations publikely using severall Expressions, but to one and the self-same end; as, That it was a seditions Petition full of malignancie, subvertive both to Church and Commonwealth in their foundations; Some calling those that so Petitioned, or comparing them to Sons of *Belial*, *Judasses*, Sons of *Corah* with sundry appellations of that nature, with some such applications, which seemed not to arise from a Gospel spirit; usually ekeing out their Sermons in large and defamatory declamations both against their Persons and Petition, yea sometimes a whole Sermon, and that not very short neither, being spent in enlarged sentences to denote the destructivenesse thereof to Church and Commonwealth; yea publikely exhorting Authority to lay hold upon those Petitioners, which the same night they did.

Nor were the Magistrates in the mean season altogether silent, but spake in the same key; yea, One publikely in open Court gave charge to the Jury to take notice of such a Petition, and of such as were that way affected, for they were both Presentable and punishable by their Law; for he said it was a wicked Petition, full of malignancie, subverting the very foundations both of Church and Commonwealth, or words to that effect; And how far it reached, he knew not, pointing (as was apprehended) at a Capital Law there made, here reprinted.

Now at the next sitting of the General Court, six of the seven that Petitioned, were sent for by the Marshall to come to the Court, where they were charged *ore tenus*, with great offences contained in their Petition and Remonstrance, against the Court and Government; and that such of them as were bound out of the Jurisdiction, should enter into Bond with security, to stand and abide the Judgement of the Court, and the rest were confined, and charged to attend the Court to the same end. The Petitioners desired to have their Charge in writing, which was then denied; and some added, That was but a trick of them that they might carry it and shew it in *England*:

They

They replied, if the offences were contained in the Petition, they then must needs be such as concerned Government; and that the Parliament, now sitting in *England*, were competent Judges, and could best discern such errors; and therefore they did appeal to that High Court, and did tender sufficient Securitie therefore. For which two of them were presently committed, and forced thereby to give Bond to stand to the Order of that Court therein. And the Cause afterwards came to Hearing, notwithstanding they did appeal to the high Court of Parliament, and would have given Security; they were Fined, as appears by this their censure. And since, two of them, Dr. *Child* and another, had their Trunks and Studies broke up, and their Papers taken away, and imprisoned close prisoners, and are in danger of their lives by reason of that Capitall Law here recited.

BY THE COURT:

In the Yeares, 1641. 1642.

Capital Lawes, established within the Jurisdiction of

MASSACHUSETTS.

IF any man, after legall conviction, shall have or worship any other god, but the Lord God, he shall be put to death. *Deut.* 13. 6, &c. and 17. 2, &c. *Exod.* 22. 20.

2. IF any man or woman be a Witch, (that is) hath, or consulteth with a Familiar spirit, they shall be put to death. *Exod.* 22. 18. *Lev.* 20. 27. *Deut.* 18. 10, 11.

3. IF any person shall blaspheme the Name of God the Father, Son, or Holy Ghost, with direct, expresse, presumptuous, or high-handed blasphemy, or shall curse God in the like manner, he shall be put to death. *Lev.* 24. 15, 16.

4. IF any person shall commit any wilfull murther, which is Man-slaughter, committed upon premeditate malice, hatred or cruelty, not in a mans necessary and just defence, nor by meer

meer casualty against his will, he shall be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 12, 13, 14. *Num.* 35. 30, 31.

5. IF any person slayeth another suddenly in his anger, or cruelty of passion, he shall be put to death. *Num.* 35. 20, 21. *Lev.* 24. 17.

6. IF any person shall slay another through guile, either by poysonings, or other such devilish practice, he shall be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 14.

7. IF a man or woman shall lie with any beast or bruit creature, by carnall copulation, they shall surely be put to death, and the beast shall be slain and buried. *Lev.* 20. 15, 16.

8. IF a man lieth with mankinde, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed abomination, they both shall surely be put to death. *Lev.* 20. 13.

9. JF any person committeth adultery with a married or espoused wife, the Adulterer and Adulteresse shall surely be put to death. *Lev.* 20. 10. & 18. 20. *Deut.* 22. 23, 24.

10. JF any man shall unlawfully have carnall copulation with any woman child under ten years old, either with or without her consent, he shall be put to death.

11. JF any man shall forcibly and without consent ravish any maid, or woman that is lawfully married or contracted, he shall be put to death. *Deut.* 22. 25, &c.

12. JF any man shall ravish any maid or single woman, (committing carnall copulation with her by force, against her will) that is above the age of ten years; he shall be either punished with death, or with some other grievous punishment, according to circumstances, at the discretion of the Jvdges: and this Law to continue till the Court take further order.

13. JF any man stealeth a man, or man-kinde, he shall surely be put to death. *Exod.* 21. 16.

14. JF any man rise up by false witnesse, wittingly, and of purpose to take away any mans life, he shall be put to death. *Deut.* 19. 16, 18, 19.

15. JF any man shall conspire or attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publike rebellion against our Common-wealth, or shall endeavour to surprise any Town or Towns, Fort or Forts therein; or shall treacherously or perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of Polity or Government fundamentally, he shall be put to death. *Num.* 16. 2 *Sam.* 3. & 18. & 20. *Per exemplar.* Incre. Nowel, *Secret.*

The

THE OATH OF A FREE-MAN.

I *(A. B.)* being by Gods providence, an Inhabitant, and Freeman, within the Jurisdiction of this Commonwealth; do freely acknowledge my self to be subject to the Government thereof: And therefore do here swear by the great and dreadful Name of the Ever-living God, that *I* will be true and faithfull to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance & support thereunto, with my person and estate, as in equity *I* am bound; and will also truly endeavour to maintain and preserve all the liberties and priviledges thereof, submitting my self to the wholesome Lawes & Orders made and established by the same. And further, that *I* will not plot or practice any evill against it, or consent to any that shall so do; but will timely discover and reveal the same to lawfull Authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof.

Moreover, *I* doe solemnly bind my self in the sight of God, that when *I* shal be called to give my voyce touching any such matter of this State, in which Freemen are to deal, *I* will give my vote and suffrage as *I* shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the publike weal of the body, without respect of persons, or favour of any man. So help me God in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Concerning the throwing the Petition over-board as a Jonas, *it was as followeth.*

WHen the first ship that came this Year 1646. from *New-England*, was almost ready to come from thence; Mr. *Cotton*, in his Thursday-Lecture at *Boston*, preached out of that Scripture, *Cant.* 2. 15. *Take us the little Foxes, &c.* In his Uses took occasion to say, *That if any shall carry any Writings, Complaints against the people of GOD in that Country, it would be as* Jonas *in the ship,* with many words to perswade from such Complaints in *England,* saying that they should

should seek for remedy of those things that were amisse, in that place, & *tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in Askelon.* He also advised the Ship-Master, that if storms did arise, to search if they had not in any chest or Trunk any such *Jonas* aboard, which if you find (said he) I do not advise you to throw the Persons over-board, but the Writings; or words to that effect.

Whereupon, having great * storms (as could not be otherwise expected) some of the Passengers remembring Mr. *Cottons* Sermon, it seems were much affected with what he had said; and a woman amongst them came up from between the Decks about midnight, or after, in a distracted passionate manner, to Mr. *William Vassall* who lay in the great Cabin, but for the present was in the Sterage-door-way looking abroad: she earnestly desired him, if there were any *Jonas* in the ship, that as Mr. *Cotton* had directed, it might be thrown over-board, with many broken expressions to that purpose. He asked her why she came to him? and she said, because it was thought that he had some Writings against the people of God: but he answered her, He had nothing but a Petition to the Parliament that they might enjoy the liberty of English subjects, and that could be no *Jonas;* and that if the best of *New-Englands* friends could shew him any evil in that, he would not prefer it. After this she went into the great Cabin to Mr. *Tho. Fowle* in like distracted manner; who told her he had nothing but the Copy of the Petition which himself and others had presented to the Court at *Boston;* and shewed, and read it to her, and then told her, That if she and others thought that to be the Cause of the storm, she and they might do what they would with it; but he professed that he saw no evil in it, neither was his Conscience troubled with it. So she took it and carried it between Decks to them from whom she came, and they agreed to throw it over-board, and it was thrown over-board: but the storm did not leave us upon the throwing of this Paper over-board, as it is reported; for they had many great storms after that; much lesse was the great and wonderfull deliverance which by Gods mercy he gave unto them from shipwrack and drowning at the Isles of *Silly*, upon the throwing of that Writing over-board; for that was thrown over long before, at least 14 dayes. Also the error is the more in this, That the report is that it was the petition to the *Parliament* that was thrown over-board; and it was only a Copy of a Petition to their own Court

* *In the winter-season all passages from N. England are tempestuous.*

Court at *Boston*, and the Petition to the Parliament was still in the ship, together with another Copy of that which was thrown over-board, and other Writings of that nature, some of which are printed in this book, and were as well saved as their lives and other goods, and are here in *London* to be seen and made use of in convenient time.

POST-SCRIPT.

THere is a book lately set forth by Mr. *Edward Winslow* of *New England*, against *Samuel Gorton*, intituled [*Hypocrisie unmasked*] in which there is a deep and subtle Plot against the Lawes of *England*, and Liberties of English Subjects, and the Gentlemen that are now suffering in *New-England.* This man being a principall opposer of the Lawes of *England*, in *New-England;* One who is usually in place of Government in *New-Plimouth* there. Now in *N. England* there are many several Governments distinct and independent one from and on the other, and none of them have, ever since they came into that Country, governed by the Lawes of *England*, but by an Arbitrary government of their own, nor indeed can they endure the Laws of *Eng.* This *New Plimouth*, where M. *Winslow* is a Magistrate, was the first Plantation in *New-England;* and as the rest that came after them thither, followed them in their Church-ways, so they follow them in their Arbitrary government. And now he is come over hither, being sent as an Agent for the rest, that he may get strength from the Parliament here, to maintain what they have begun, & made so great a progresse in. They have made a Law, that it shall be death for any there to attempt the alteration and subversion of their Frame of Polity or Government, as it is apparent by those Lawes in Print set forth by themselves, the Copy whereof is in *pag.* 15. of this Book set forth; and also proceeded to the Fining and Imprisoning of some well-affected English, whom they fear will complain of this their Arbitrary government, that so none may dare to seek for a remedy from the Parliament. We have cause heartily to pray, That (as Mr. *Baily* sets forth in his book of *Disswasive from the Errors of the times*) as from *New-England* came Independencie of Churches hither, which hath spread over all parts here; that from

from thence also (in time) Arbitrary Government in the Commonwealth may not come hither.

Now if any man ask how 'tis evident there is such a Plot laid down in that Book? I answer, (to be very briefe) I shall give the Reader this light into this designe. In his Epistle before the book which he dedicates to the Honourable Commissioners for Forraign Plantations, he makes five Requests to them, the fourth of which is, That *they will take into consideration, how destructive it will be to their Plantations, and proceedings there,* (which saith he are growing into a Nation) *to answer to complaints here.* See and observe (Reader) how he seeks to stop all Appeals from all their unjust Sentences, whatsoever they may be contrary to the Lawes of *England.* Secondly, he would make their Honours to be the Instruments to stop the Currant of the greatest Liberty of English subjects there; he would engage the Parliament in it; and what a desperate businesse this would prove, every wise man may easily see: For being begun at this Plantation, by the same rule others might seek it should extend to all other Plantations, and then why not to *Ireland?* and why shall not example, custome, and fair pretences bring it into *Wales* and *Cornwal*, so over *England?* And by the way (Reader) mark his great boasting that they are *growing into a Nation;* high conceits of a Nation breeds high thoughts of themselves, which makes them usually term themselves a *State*, cal the people there *Subjects*, unitne four Governments together without any authority from the King and Parliament, and then term themselves the United Colonies, are publikely prayed for by that title; not giving forth their Warrants in his Majesties name, no not in time of his most peaceable government, neither taking the Oath of Allegiance before they take upon them their Government, nor ever giving it to any of his Majesties subjects, &c. Now (Reader) observe their policie, they take the advantage of promoting this designe, by beginning to write against *Gorton*, a man whom they know is notorious for heresie, that so behind him they may creep and get a shot at a better game, may beget a good opinion in the Honorable Commissioners by writing against such a evill man; as also that they may wash away the opinion that good men heretofore have had of them, that they are Separatists and Schismaticks, Mr. *Winslow* their Agent insinuates severall things of the good agreement & communion that the Independents in New-England hold with Presbyterians and the Reformed Churches, of which he had discoursed with

some

some godly Presbyterians since his comming over into England, and saith he was earnestly requested by some of the Presbyterian party to publish to the world as much, *pag.* 97. and thereupon tells a long story of the Church of *New-Plymouth* belonging to Mr. *Robinson* of *Leyden*, holding communion with French and Dutch churches, yea tendring it to the *Scots*; as also (*pag.* 93.) how the rest of the Churches in New-England do suffer Presbyterians, and have offered all liberty and priviledges to Presbyterians, *p.* 99. 100. But for answer, I say there is a great deal of fallacie in this discourse, and the contrary is too well known and daily practised among the Independents both there and here, not admitting the most godly men into communion among them, not to the acts wherein they hold communion stands properly; keeping Communion with them in Word and Prayer, which they admit to their *Indians* too. And let them instance, if they can, among many hundreds, yea some thousands of Independents that have come from New-England and Holland, that have come to the Lords supper in our Churches, or done any act among us, in which they hold Church-communion properly stands? 2. Rather then Mr. *Winslow* will fail of his purpose, he will make the world believe that the Reformed Churches are as much Separatists as themselves are, by describing them with the same description that the Separatists describe themselves, *p.* 96. That *they are a People distinct from the World, and gathered into a holy Communion* (he should have said Covenant, which is his sense) *and not National churches*, and that the *sixth person is not of the Church* (meaning amongst them) which falshood of his he boldly affirms, thinking that many will believe because he saith it, but the contrary is well known to those that know them; for in *Holland* they refuse not to baptize any of their Countrymens children who bring them to be baptized, else would their unbaptized be seen amongst them as well as they are to be seen in *New-England;* besides tis well known the Church of *Scotland* holds themselves a National church, and hath a National Assembly, and so the Church of *Holland* and *France* hold themselves National churches against the Independents. 3. As to the great love he insinuates they of *New-England* bear to Presbyterian churches, by the example of profering certain Scots a *Plantation amongst them, where they should share with them in their lands, and enjoy their liberty of Presbyterial government*, p. 100. I answer, that passage is strange, and I can hardly believe it, that they who denied so many godly

Ministers

Ministers well known to them, Mr. *Ball*, Mr. *Rathband*, &c. English men, the liberty of enjoying Presbyteriall government, should grant it to strangers of the Scotish nation. Now that they denied them, is apparent; besides Mr. *Rathband* and other Ministers testimonies (now with God) and Mr. *Ash* of the Assembly and others testifying so much, themselves in Print, in the book intituled *Church-government and Church-covenant disclussed*, in ans. to the 31 quest. p. 83, 84. confesse it, and give reason of their denial. But if it be true there were any such promise to the *Scots* (which I much question) I am confident they had some design of their own in it, some worldly end or other; as namely, That in those dangerous times, when it was likely that the times in *England* would soon be so bad that they could not be supplied of necessaries from *England*, they might then be supplied from *Scotland* with clothes, leather, & other commodities; which Plot a very dull States-man might easily have contrived. 4. As for that he says, that Mr. *Noyce*, Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Hubard*, have their liberties in *New-England*, who yet are Presbyterian; I answer, the Church of the two first was founded the Church way of the *Independent* manner, which is not anew constituted, though they in their judgments are somewhat different, and still they hold many Independent principles, as may be seen by Mr. *Noyse's* Book lately printed, though some Presbyterian principles. 5. For Mr. *Hubard*, dares Mr. *Winslow* says that Mr. *Hubard* was not punished neither directly nor indirectly, for baptizing some children whose parents were not members of their Churches, and that his sharp fines & disgracefull being bound to the good behaviour, had no influence from the baptism of those children? 6. Can any man think that the despitefull passages vented in Pulpits against the Church of *England* there, by some of their chief Elders, calling England *Egypt* & *Babylon*, and saying, that out of their Church-waies we cannot go to Heaven, denying the Seales of the Covenant to some, because they would not confesse that there was no way of God lawfull to govern the Church by, but the Independent way; and for no other cause as it is ready to be proved, when ever Mr. *VVinslow* or any other Independents will desire a meeting, in *London*, before indifferent Judges; and much more then I will here relate) is a sign of love to the Presbyterian brethren, and of keeping communion with them. 7. Concerning the offer that Mr. *VVinslow* saith was made not long before he came away, by the Court, to certain discontented persons demanding liberty for Presbyterial

Presbyterial government, that it was freely & openly tendred to them ; this is strange news to us here, for we hear not one word of that offer from those Petitioners, although here are letters from some of them dated since M. *VVinslows* comming from thence, that relates that Dr. *Child* & others of them remained still in prison, save that D. *Child* hath the liberty to be confined to M. *Leders* house upon security of 800.l. bond being given for his abiding there. For a conclusion of this Postscript, I shall desire the Reader by all that hath been said, to observe how Independents are all of a peece, for subtilitie, desines, fallacies, both in *New-England* and in *Old.*

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Vol. 4
no. 4

A NARRATIVE

Of a New and Unusual

AMERICAN

Imprisonment

Of Two

PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS:

And Prosecution of

Mr. **Francis Makemie**

One of them, for Preaching one SERMON at the City of *NEW-YORK*.

By a Learner of Law, and Lover of Liberty.

Printed for the Publisher. 1707.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 4.

An Epistle to the

READER.

Ingenuous Reader,

YOU have here a Specimen of the Cloggs & Fetters with which the Liberty of *Dissenters* are intangled at *New-York* and *Jersey-Governments* beyond any places in Her *Majesties Dominions;* And when the Conditions, and Impositions required, are as heavy, and uneasy to be bore; and as great a *Scruple of Conscience*, as the grounds of their Separation and Dissent, it is next to no Liberty at all.

And what the Consequences of such practices, if persisted in, will prove to such a Place, where *Dissenters* are above twenty to one, for one Church-man, and where men and money are so much wanting, for the defence of *New-York*, both by Sea and Land, which not many years, (by demands of men and money from the Neighbouring Colonies on the Continent) was represented, as their only Barrier and Frontier, I leave to thinking men, and considering Politicians to answer; besides the difficulties and discouragements laid in the way of snch as would Import themselves, and the ready and shortest way to promote Deserters from those Provinces.

I cannot omit a true, and *strange Story*, I lately heard of, that during the Imprisonment of these two *Gentlemen*, either to find out a *Crime*, none being specifyed in the *Mittimus*, or to aggravate their imaginary fault: An Order was given to Major *Sandford* of *East-Jersey*, to put sundry persons upon Examination, and their Oaths, to discover what Discourse they had with sundry of their friends, at the House of Mr. *Jasper Crane* in *New-York*-Town in *East-Jersey*, where Mr. *Samuel Melyen*, Mr. *Crane*, and another, gave their Depositions before Major *Sandford*, but found nothing to their purpose: Tho the practice is not to be outdone, yea, scarce paralelled by *Spanish Inquisition;* for no men are safe in their most private Conversations, if most intimate Friends can be compelled upon Oath, to betray one anothers Secrets. If this is agreeable to *English Constitution* and Priviledges, I confess, we have been hitherto in the Dark.

Preaching

An Epistle to the READER.

Preaching in a Private House was a *Crime*, and Preaching since, after being declared *Not Guilty* by a Legal Tryal, in a Publick Church, allowed by Law to the *French*, is since resented as a *greater*, by that Unchristian Clamour, made soon after, by some *High-flown* Spark's pretended *Sons* of the *Church*, who with a great deal of unbounded fury declared, If such things were allowed, their Church was ruined: Which is a language of the same nature of those *High-Flyers* in *England*, who were declared by a Vote of the House of Lords, Enemies to the QUEEN and Government, for suggesting, the Church of *England* was in danger, from the *Liberty*, or *Toleration* of *Dissenters*.

Tho' Preaching a Sermon, and Printing it as the cause of Imprisonment, be reputed a Libel, to justifie opening of Letters, and seizing Books, without restoration or satisfaction. I hope it will be no crime, for *Losers* to *speak*, in telling the World, what we have suffered on sundry accounts; not only by Imprisonment, and the exorbitant expensive prosecution; and besides great loss of time, many diminitive reproaches upon our Reputations, by a *Set of men*, who could reach by their *Short Horns* to no higher degree of Persecution: And all this for Preaching one Sermon, without obtaining a License, which they could not, *in terminis* submit to, neither can nor dare in Conscience do to this day.

And even for such as have this new moulded License, it is a *Crime* to Preach in another place then is expressed in said Licence, or for any to Preach in their Pulpits: if a People wants a Minister, they must have a Licence to call one, whither from *New-England* or *Europe*, a License to admit Ministers to attend any Ordination, and limited for number, and tyed up from exercising their Ministry without Licence, tho' in a transient manner, which has drove some out of the Government, and deterred others from coming thereunto; which informs all, what *Liberty of Conscience* Dissenters do enjoy.

Mr. *Makemie* since the *Tryal*, narrowly escaped a second Prosecution, for Preaching another Sermon: as some say, with a new Charge of being the Author of the *Jersey* Paper called, *FORGET* and *FORGIVE;* which is so groundless a Charge, in which his accusers cannot believe themselves, while the Authors smile at the mistake, and other men are suffering Imprisonment on account of said Paper, and will appear to have been composed before Mr. *Makemie* came into these Parts.

This *Narrative* consists chiefly of these parts for matter. (1.) Their

Their Precepts for their Apprehending, and Commitment. (2.) Sundry Petitions. (3.) The Interlocutory Conference, promoted and extorted from Mr. *Makemie*. (4.) Copies of Records, attested by Mr. Secretary. (5.) The Pleadings of the Defendant and Lawyers, with some Intermixt Animadversions, and Glosses upon those as the Text. If the Publisher is mistaken in his sense of things, he is under the Correction of all Judicious, Impartial, and Unprejudiced Persons, whom he readily submits unto.

If any want Information concerning the Sufferings of other Dissenters, both in their Persons, Estates, and Religious Liberties; I Recommend to the Body of Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, and *New-Town* on *Long-Island*, and *Bedford* in *West Chester*; the former affraid to Petition, tho' one of them has a Minister by a *during-Pleasure* Licence: And the late Petition of *Bedford*, for Calling a Minister, is not yet answered, until an Abdicated *Scotch Jacobite* Parson, obtruded upon them, that insults intollerably over them, is consulted with. And how consistent such things are even with the *Liberty of Conscience*, enjoined and commanded to be allowed by the Queens Instructions produced in Court, and to be found in this Narrative, I leave to every Reader to determine.

So I bid you farewel.

A *Particular Narrative* of the Imprisonment of two *Non-conformist Ministers;* and *Prosecution* or *Tryal* of one of them, for Preaching a SERMON in the City of *New-York.*

THERE is nothing more common in *Europe*, then Publishing and Printing most Tryals, especially such as afford any thing remarkable, either from the *Merit of the Cause*, or *Manner of Prosecution.* And there being something *Singular* and *Extraordinary*, in sundry respects, in the *Cause* now before us; we cannot, we dare not, be silent at this juncture, but bound to let both *Europe* and *America* know, the first Prosecution of this nature, that ever was in *America;* which we hope, from the *Merit of the Cause*, *manner of Proceeding*, and *unsuccessfulness*, shall never be drawn into *President*, in our quiet and peaceable Wilderness.

And tho' there was a disappointment, in taking an exact Copy of every thing offered at the Tryal, and so no accurate, or strictly *Formal Tryal*, can be expected, especially from One who is no Lawyer; but only a brief *Narrative* and Genuine *History* of the several steps of suffering, by the Confinement of *Francis Makemie*, and *John Hampton*, *Presbyterian Ministers*, for Preaching two Sermons in the Government of *New-York*, without *Licence* being first obtained of Lord *Cornbury*, for so doing; the *former* upon the earnest request of certain persons in the City of *York*, Preached a Sermon at the House of *William Jackson*, in *Pearl*-street, on the 20th day of *January*, 1706, 7. in as *publick a manner* as possible, with open doors; which Sermon is since Printed; which he was necessitated to do, seeing Lord *Cornbury* opposed his Preaching in the *Dutch* Church; and the *latter* Preached a *Sermon* on the same day in a Publick Meeting-House, offered to Record by the Inhabitants of *New-Town* upon *Long-Island.*

And Mr. *Makemie* remained at *York* City all *Monday*, and a part of *Tuesday* the 22d of *January*, and Travelled that day to *New-Town* on *Long-Island*, where according to publick appointment

pointment on the Lords-Day, he was designed to Preach on *Wednesday* following; And was no sooner arrived there, but both were *Apprehended* by *Thomas Cardale, High-Sheriff*, and *Stephen Luff*, Under-Sheriff of *Queens-County*, by a *Warrant*, Signed by Lord *Cornbury*, as followeth.

> WHEREAS *I am informed, that one* Mackennan, *and one* Hampton, *two Presbyterian Preachers, who lately came to this City, have taken upon them to Preach in a Private House, without having obtained* My Licence *for so doing, which is directly contrary to the* known Laws *of* England; *and being likewise informed, that they are gone into* Long-Island, *with intent there spread to spread their* Pernicious Doctrine *and* Principles, *to the great disturbance of the Church by* Law Established, *and of the* Government *of this* Province. *You are therefore hereby Required and Commanded, to take into your Custody the Bodies of the said* Mackennan *and* Hampton, *and them to bring with all convenient speed before me, at* Fort-Anne *in* New-York. And for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant: Given under my Hand, at *Fort Anne* this 21st day of *January*, 1706, 7.
>
> *Cornbury.*

To *Thomas Cardale* Esqr. High-Sheriff of *Queens-*
County on *Long-Island*, or his Deputy.

A true Copy Examined *per*
Thomas Cardale.

AND being late when Apprehended they were *Prisoners upon Parole*, at the Houses of two Neighbours for that night, and next day, instead of carrying them to Fort-*Anne*, according to the directions of said *Precept*, they were carried by said Sheriffs to *Jamaica*, seven or eight miles out of their direct way to *York*, and there detained all that day & night; as if they were to be carried about in *Triumph* to be *insulted* over, as *Exemplary Criminals*, and put to further Charge. The 23d day about Noon, they were carried to Fort-*Anne* in *York*: and after sundry hours attendance, appeared before Lord *Cornbury* in the Council-Chamber, about three or 4 of the Clock, who charged them with taking upon them to Preach in his Government without his Licence.

And

And in regard the *Interlocutory Conference* upon that Occasion, which continued for some time, has been misrepresented by sundry hands, and is a seasonable & suitable preliminary to the ensuing Tryal: It is judged expedient to publish as much thereof, as was very soon committed unto Writing, as followeth.

Lord Cornbury. *How dare you take upon you to Preach in my Government, without my Licence?*

Mr. Makemie. We have Liberty from an *Act of Parliament*, made the First Year of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which gave us Liberty, with which Law we have complied.

Ld. C. *None shall Preach in my Government without my Licence?*

F. M. If the *Law* for *Liberty*, my Lord, had directed us to any particular persons in Authority for Licence, we would readily have observed the same; but we cannot find any directions in said *Act of Parliament*, therefore could not take notice thereof.

Ld. C. *That Law does not extend to the* American *Plantations, but only to* England.

F. M. My Lord, I humbly conceive, it is not a *limited* nor *local* Act, and am well assured, it extends to other Plantations of the Queens Dominions, which is evident from *Certificates* from *Courts of Record* of *Virginia*, and *Maryland*, certifying we have complied with said Law.

Both *Certificates* were produced and read by Lord *Cornbury*, who was pleased to say, these Certificates extended not to *New-York*.

Ld. C. *I know it is* local *and* limited, *for I was at making thereof.*

F. M. Your Excellency might be at making thereof, but we are well assured, there is no such *limiting clause* therein, as is in *Local Acts*, and desire the Law may be produced to determine this point.

Ld. C. *Turning to Mr. Attorney, Mr.* Bekely, *who was present, ask'd him,* Is it not so, Mr. Attorney?

Mr. Attorney. *Yes, it is* Local *my Lord, and producing an Argument for it,* further said, *that all the* Pænal Laws *were* Local, *and* limited, *and did not extend to the Plantations, and the* Act of Toleration *being made to take off the edge of the* Pænal Laws; *therefore the* Act of Toleration *does not extend to any Plantations?*

F. M. I desire the Law may be produced; for I am *morally* perswaded

perswaded, there is no *limitation* or *restriction* in the Law to *England*, *Wales*, and *Berwick on Tweed;* for it extends to sundry Plantations of the Queens Dominions, as *Barbadoes*, *Virginia*, and *Maryland;* which was evident from the Certificates produced, which we could not have obtained, if the Act of Parliament had not extended to the Plantations.

And Mr. *Makemie* further said, that he presumed *New-York* was a part of Her Majesties Dominions also; and that sundry Ministers on the East-end of *Long-Island*, had complied with said Law, and *qualifyed* themselves at Court, by complying with the directions of said Law, and have no *Licence* from your Lordship.

Ld. C. *Yes*, New-York *is of Her Majesties Dominions; but the* Act of Toleration *does not extend to the Plantations by its own* intrinsick vertue, *or any* intention *of the* Legislators, *but only by her Majesties* Royal Instructions *signifyed unto me, and that is from Her* Prerogative *and* Clemency. *And the Courts which have qualifyed those men, are in error, and I shall check them for it.*

F. M. If the Law extends to the Plantations any manner of way, whether by the Queens *Prerogative*, *Clemency*, or otherwise, our Certificates were a demonstration we had complied therewith.

Ld. C. *These Certificates only were for* Virginia *and* Maryland; *they did not extend to* New-York.

F. M. We presume my Lord, our Certificates do extend as far as the Law extends; for we are directed by the *Act of Parliament*, to qualifie our selves in the places where we live, which we have done; and the same law directs us to take *Certificates* of our *qualification*, which we have accordingly done; and these Certificates are not to Certify to such as behold us taking our Qualification, being performed in the face of the Country, at a publick Court; but our Certificates must be to satisfie others abroad in the World, who saw it not, nor heard any thing of it, otherwise it were needless. And that Law which obliges us to take a Certificate, must allow said Certificate to have a credit and reputation in Her *Majesties Dominions*, otherwise it is to no purpose.

Ld. C. *That act of Parliament was made against* Strowling Preachers, *and you are* such, *and* shall not Preach in my Government.

F. M. There is not one word, my Lord, mentioned in any part of the Law, against *Travelling* or *Strowling Preachers*, as Your Excellency is pleased to call them; and we are to judge that

that to be the true end of the Law, which is specifyed in the *Preamble* thereof, which is for the *satisfaction* of *Scrupulous Consciences*, and *Uniting* the Subjects of *England*, in interest and affection. And it is well known my Lord, to all, that Quakers, who also have Liberty by this Law, have few or no *fixed Teachers*, but chiefly taught by such as *Travel;* and it is known to all such are sent forth by the *Yearly Meeting* at *London*, and Travel and Teach over the Plantations, and are not molested.

Ld. C. *I have troubled some of them, and will trouble them more.*

F. M. We hear my Lord, one of them was Prosecuted at *Jamaica*, but it was not for *Travelling* or *Teaching*, but for *particulars* in Teaching, for which he suffered.

Ld. C. *You shall not spread your* Pernicious Doctrines *here?*

F. M. As to our *Doctrines*, my Lord, we have our *Confession of Faith*, which is known to the Christian World, and I challenge all the Clergy of *York* to show us any false or pernicious Doctrines therein; Yea, with those exceptions specifyed in the Law, we are able to make it appear, they are in all *Doctrinal Articles* of Faith agreeable to the Established Doctrines of the Church of *England.*

Ld. C. *There is one thing wanting in your Certificates, and that is Signing the Articles of the Church of* England.

F. M. That is the Clerks omission, my Lord, for which we are no way accountable, by not being full and more particular; but if we had not complyed with the whole Law, in all the parts thereof, we should not have had Certificates pursuant to said Act of Parliament. And Your Lordship may be assured, we have done nothing in complying with said Law, but what we are still ready to perform, if your Lordship require it, and that ten times over: And as to the *Articles* of *Religion*, I have a Copy in my Pocket, and am ready at all times to Sign, with *those exceptions* specifyed in the Law.

Ld. C. *You Preached in a* Private House, *not certifyed according to Act of Parliament.*

F. M. There were endeavours used for my Preaching in a more publick place, and (tho' without my knowledge) your Lordships permission was demanded for my Preaching in the *Dutch* Church; and being denied, we were under a necessity, of assembling for Publick Worship in a Private House, which we did, in as *publick* a *manner* as possible, with *open doors:* And we are directed to certify the same to the next Quarter Sesssions,

Sessions, which cannot be done, until the Quarter Sessions come in course; for the Law binds no man to impossibilities; and if we do not certifie to the next Quarter Sessions, we shall be culpable, but not till then: For it is evident, my Lord, that this Act of Parliament was made, and passed the Royal Assent, *May 24th.* And it being some time before the Quarter Sessions came in course, and all Ministers in *England* continued to Preach, without one days cessation or forbearance; and we hope the practice of *England*, should be a president for *America.*

Ld. C. *None shall Preach in my Government, without my Licence, as the Queen has signifyed to me, by her Royal Instructions.*

F. M. Whatever direction the Queens Instructions may be to Your Lordship, they can be no Rule or Law to us, nor any particular persons who never saw, and perhaps never shall see them: for Promulgation is the life of the Law.

Ld. C. *You must give Bond and Security for your good Behaviour, and also Bond and Security to Preach no more in my Government?*

F. M. As to our Behaviour, tho' we have no way broke it, endeavouring always so to live, *as to keep a Conscience void of offence, towards God and Man:* Yet if his Lordship required it, we would give Security for our Behaviour; but to give Bond and Security to Preach no more in Your Excellency's Government, if invited and desired by any people, we neither can, nor dare do.

Ld. C. *Then you must go to Goal?*

F. M. We are neither ashamed, nor affraid of what we have done; and we have complied, and are ready still to comply with the Act of Parliament, which we hope will protect us at last: And it will be unaccountable to *England*, to hear, that *Jews*, who openly blaspheme the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and disown the whole Christian Religion; *Quakers* who disown the Fundamental Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and both Sacraments; *Lutherans*, and all others, are tolerated in Your Lordships Government: and only we, who have complied, and are still ready to comply with the Act of Toleration, and are nearest to, and likest the Church of *England* of any Dissenters, should be hindered, and that only in the Government of *New-York*, and the *Jersies.* This will appear strange indeed.

Ld. C. *You must blame the Queen for that?*

F. M. We do not, neither have we any reason to blame Her Majesty, for She molests none, neither countenances or encourages any who do; and has given frequent assurances, and of late

late in Her Gracious Speech to Her Parliament, *That she would inviolably maintain the Toleration.*

While Lord *Cornbury* was writing Precepts for discharging us from the custody of *Cardale*, High Sheriff of *Queens County* in *Long-Island*, and another for our Commitment in *York;* Mr. *John Hampton* demanded a Licence of Lord *Cornbury*, but he absolutely denied it.

And before finishing of said Mittimus, for their Commitment, Mr. *Francis Makemie* moved, that it was highly necessary before their Commitment, the Law should be produced, to determine that point, whether it is local and limited, or not: And it is not to be doubted, but Mr. Attorney was soon able to produce the Law: And he further offered to pay Mr. Attorney for a Copy of that Paragraph, in which the limiting Clause is, if any. But every thing relating hereunto was declined and disregarded.

Ld. C. *You Sir, Know Law.*

F. M. I do not my Lord, pretend to know Law, but I pretend to know this particular Law, having had sundry disputes thereon. The Mittimus being finished, they were committed to the Custody of *Ebenezer Wilson*, High Sheriff of *York* City and County, and carried to his Dwelling-House, as the place of their Confinement; and after sundry demands, they had upon the 25th day, the following Copy of the Precept, for their Commitment.

(Seal) *YOU are hereby Required and Commanded to take into your Custody, the Bodies of* Francis *Makemie* and John Hampton, *and them safely keep till further Orders; and for so doing, this shall be your Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal, this* 23*d. day of* January, 1706, 7.

Cornbury.

To Ebenezer Wilson, *Esqr. High-Sheriff of* New-York.

A true Copy, Ebenezer Wilson.

There are sundry things observable in this Warrant of Commitment, which is not usual in Warrants granted in *England.* 1. That it is Granted and Signed by the Supream Authority, and not by any Sworn Officers, appointed and authorized by Law, for Commitment of Offenders: And the Supream Authority of *England*, have not put any such power into practice, without

without a Special Act of Parliament, impowring them so to do; and that only upon necessity and emergent occasions. 2. Here is no mention of the Queens Name, or Authority, which must be acknowledged a novelty not easily understood. 3. There is not the least shadow of a crime, or suspicion of a crime alleaged, which is but a slender cause of Commitment. 4. This Mittimus is erroneous in Conclusion, which should be, until they are delivered by due course of Law, and not until further Order, which is condemned by Law and Lawyers as insufficient.

And finding themselves Imprisoned, and put under an unlimited Confinement, they addressed Lord *Cornbury*, by the following Humble Petition, presented to his Lordship, by the Hands of *Ebenezer Wilson*, High Sheriff.

> To His Excellency *Edward* Viscount *Cornbury*, Captain General, and Governour in Chief, of the Province of *New-York*, *New-Jerseys*, and all the Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*, and Admiral of the same. The Humble Petition of *Francis Makemie*, and *John Hampton*.

Most Humbly Sheweth,

THat *whereas Your Excellency has been pleased to Commit us to Prison, by a Precept, wherein there is no crime alleadged; we Your Lordships most humble Petitioners and Prisoners, most humbly pray, we may be admitted to know our Crime. And Your Excellency's most humble Petitioners & Prisoners further pray, as we are Strangers on our Journey to* New-England, *above four hundred miles from our Habitations, we may be allowed a speedy Tryal, according to Law, which we humbly conceive, to be the undoubted right and priviledge of every* English *Subject. And Your Excellency's most humble Petitioners, and afflicted Prisoners, shall, as in duty bound always pray.*

Francis Makemie.
John Hampton.

To which Petition, after sundry days, they received the following verbal answer, by the Sheriff who presented the former Petition. 1. Ld. *Cornbury* did admire they should Petition to know their Crime, he having so oft told them. 2. If they take the right way, they may have a Tryal. And tho' they signified their

their desire, both to the Sheriff and Mr. Attorney, to know what that right way was; yet could learn nothing; therefore resolved to arm themselves with patience, until they could obtain a *Writ of Habeas Corpus* from the Honourable *Roger Mompesson* Esqr. Chief Justice, who lived in another Government, and could Sign no such Writ, until he came into the Government of *New-York;* & thereby to bring our selves to a Tryal, or discharged according to due course of Law. In the mean time, the *Quarter Sessions* for the City and County of *New-York*, coming in course; and being still absolute strangers to the Constitution of *New-York;* and being ready to manifest their readiness in complying with the Act of Toleration in all things: They address'd Lord *Cornbury* by the following Petition.

> To His Excellency, *Edward* Viscount *Cornbury*, Captain General & Governour in Chief, of the Province of *New-York*, *New-Jerseys*, and all the Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*, and Admiral of the same. The Humble Petition of *Francis Makemie*, and *John Hampton.*

Most Humbly Sheweth.

THat *whereas Your Lordship is pleased not to allow our Certificates from Courts of Record in* Virginia *and* Maryland, *to reach to Your Excellency's Government; Therefore we being Your Lordships Prisoners, must humbly pray we may be admitted in the Custody of the Sheriff, to apply our selves to the Quarter-Sessions, that we may there offer our selves to qualification, as the Law directs, which we are again ready to do; we being resolved to reside in Your Lordships Government: And we Your Excellency's most humble Petitioners, and afflicted Prisoners, as in duty bound, shall always pray.*

And this being rejected, with severe threatnings against the Messengers, for presenting a Petition without signing; they resolve to trouble his Excellency with no more Petitions, and being called the Petition of *Francis Makemie*, and *John Hampton*, and writ by the hand of one of them, and not acquainted with that practice of Signing all Petitions; it was manifest it came from them, and no other person. Next we addressed our selves to the Quarter-Sessions then Sitting the 5th day of *February*, by the following Petition, to the same purpose.

To

To the Worshipful Justices of the Peace, now Sitting in the Quarter-Sessions, for the City and County of *New-York.* The Humble Petition of *Francis Makemie*, and *John Hampton.*

Humbly Sheweth,

THat *whereas your Petitioners, are Protestant Ministers dissenting from the Church of* England, *who have Certificates from Courts of Record, of* Virginia *and* Maryland; *certifying, we have taken the Oaths, and performed all such qualifications, as are required in an Act of Toleration, made in the first year of the Reign of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *for liberty of their Majesties Protestant and Dissenting Subjects; which Certificates his Excellency Lord* Cornbury *is not pleased to allow of, to extend to his Government.*

We therefore your Worships humble Petitioners pray, we may be admitted to appear in the Custody of the Sheriff, at the Bar of your Court, to qualifie our selves again, according to the particular directions of said Act of Parliament, which in obedience to the Law, we are always ready to do: And your Worships humble Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall always pray.

Francis Makemie.
John Hampton.

This Petition being presented, was viewed and handed about, but never allowed a reading in open Court; and Mr. Attorney laying hold thereon, was putting it into his Pocket, asserting it to be a Libel against Ld. *Cornbury*, and told the Justices, it was none of their business to administer the Qualifications, or to this effect.

At the same time, a Certificate in writing was presented by two Inhabitants, for certifying the Dwelling-House of *William Jackson*, where Mr. *Makemie* had Preached, desiring the same to be put upon Record: And tho' the Court had these things under consideration for two days, and put the presenters of those Papers to the trouble of a second appearance, & to bring with them Law, for the Courts direction, all was rejected; tho' they had not long before Recorded a Quaker Meeting-House, certifyed by two men, to the same Court, upon the same Act of Parliament. But for the information of all; whatever offers are made to any proper Court for qualification, where the Act Toleration takes place, is a legal qualification in the eye of the Law, tho' the Courts reject, and take no notice thereof.

And

And at length, some days before *March* Term, soon after the arrival of the Chief Justice, *Roger Mompesson* Esqr. the Prisoners by their Lawyer, Mr. *Reigniere* presented to the Chief Justice, the following Petition, at his Chamber.

To the Honourable *Roger Mompesson* Esq. Chief Justice of this Her Majesties Province of *New-York.*

May it please your Honour,

WE *the Subscribers being Prisoners detained in the Custody of the Sheriff of the City of* New-York, *by virtue of a Warrant, whereof a true Copy is hereunto annexed; Do most humbly request your Honour, to award and grant us Her Majesties Writ of* Habeas Corpus, *to be directed to the said Sheriff, that we may be thereby brought before your Honour, or some other Judge, in order to our Enlargement, according to Law. We are your Honours most humble Servants.*

Francis Makemie.
John Hampton.

And after a due consideration of the Statutes in this case provided, the following Writ of *Habeas Corpus* was granted, and the Prisoners were not without hopes to be discharged without Bail, there being no crime nor suspicion of crime, specifyed in our Warrant of Commitment.

'ANNE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the 'Faith, &c. To the Sheriff of our City of *New-York:* 'Greeting. We Command you, that the Bodies of '*Francis Makemie* and *John Hampton*, in our Prison, 'under your Custody detained, [as it is said] under safe 'and secure conduct, together with the day, and cause 'of their Caption and detention, by whatsoever names, 'the same *Francis* and *John*, may be reputed in the 'same, you have before our trusty and well-beloved '*Roger Mompesson* Esq. our Chief Justice of our Su-'preme Court of Judicature of our Province of *New-'York*, at his Chamber, Situate in *Queens-street*, in the 'City of *New-York*, immediately after the receiving of 'this Writ, to do, and receive all and singular those 'things which our said Chief Justice, of him, shall then 'and there consider in this behalf; and have you then 'and there this Writ. Witness *Roger Mompessen* Esqr.

our

'our Chief Justice at *New-York*, this eighth day of
'*March*, in the sixth Year of our Reign. *Clark*,
'*Octavo die Martij infra Script. Allo.*
per me, Roger Mompessen.

The Execution of this Writ appears in the Schedule hereunto annexed. *Ebenezer Wilson*, Sheriff.
A true Copy. *George Clarke.*

This Writ being put into the Sheriffs Hands on *Saturday*, was not executed till *Monday*, in the Afternoon, at which time the Sheriff told them, he had another Mittimus put into his hands, wherein a supposed crime was specifyed, and only to be detained, until discharged by due course of Law; and so were obliged to provide Securities: And as our Confinement was by the former Mittimus, by a new Mittimus, our Imprisonment was implicity adjudged and owned to be false Imprisonment for six weeks and four days; & the Sheriff in the presence of Dr. *John Johnstone*, Mr. *Regniere*, and Mr. *William Jackson*, refused to Execute the foresaid Writ, until they had paid him twelve pieces of Eight, for their Commitment, and as much more for the Return of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus;* denying also Receipts for said money when paid.

They were conducted the immediate day, before the Supream Court, and upon their *new Mittimus*, contained in the following Return, were obliged to enter *Recognizance*, with two Securities, Doctor *John Johnstone*, and Mr. *William Jackson*, for their appearance next day, at the Supream Court, and bound not to depart, without the Courts leave.

The Return is as followeth.

'I *Ebenezer Wilson* Esqr. Sheriff of the City and
'County aforesaid, to *Roger Mompessen* Esqr. Chief
'Justice of the Supream Court of Judicature, of the
'Province of *New-York*, at the time and place in the
'Writ to this Schedule annexed specifyed, do most
'humbly certifie, that before the coming of that Writ
'to me directed; the within named *Francis Makemie*
'and *John Hampton*, were committed unto the Goal
'and Prison of our Lady the Queen of the City of
'*New-York*, under my Custody, by virtue of a certain
'Warrant, under the Hand and Seal of *Edward* Viscount *Cornbury*, Captain General, and Governour in
Chief

'Chief of the Province of *New-York;* bearing date, 'the three and twentieth day of *January* last past; the 'tenour of which Warrant followeth in these words, '*viz.* You are hereby required and commanded, to 'take into your Custody, the Bodies of *Francis Make-* 'mie & *John Hampton*, and them safely keep, till further 'Orders; and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient 'Warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal, this three 'and twentieth day of *January*, 1706, 7. *Cornbury.* 'To *Ebenezer Wilson* Esqr. High Sheriff of the City 'and County of *New-York.* And I do further Certifie, 'that before the coming of said Writ to me directed, 'that the said *Francis Makemie* and *John Hampton*, 'were committed afterwards by another Warrant, under 'the Hand and Seal of his said Excellency, *Edward* 'Viscount *Cornbury*, Governour aforesaid; bearing date 'the eighth day of *March* instant, unto the Goal & Pri- 'son aforesaid, under my Custody; the tenour of which 'Warrant also followeth in these words, (*viz.*) *New-York.* 'ss. You are hereby required & commanded to take into 'your Custody, the Bodies of *Francis Makemie* & *John* '*Hampton*, pretended dissenting Protestant Ministers, 'for Preaching in this Province, without qualifying 'themselves according to an Act of Parliament, made 'at *Westminster*, in the first year of the Reign of our 'late Soveraign Lord and Lady, King *William*, and 'Queen *Mary;* and also without my Licence first 'obtained; and them safely to keep, till they shall be 'discharged, by due course of Law; and for so doing, 'this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given under my 'Hand and Seal, this eighth day of *March*, *An. Dom.* '1706. *Cornbury.* To *Ebenezer Wilson* Esqr. High 'Sheriff of the City and County of *New-York.* And 'this is the cause of the taking and detaining the Bodies 'of the aforesaid *Francis Makemie*, and *John Hamp-* 'ton; yet the Bodies of them the said *Francis Make-* 'mie, and *John Hampton*, before the said *Roger Mom-* 'pessen, Esqr. Chief Justice as aforesaid, at the time 'and place in the Writ aforesaid, specifyed, I have 'ready, as it is in the said Writ commanded me.

A True Copy. *George Clarke.*

It is observable, the second Warrant is still granted, and signed by the Supream Authority, and without mentioning the Queens

Queens Name or Authority: And the supposed Crime specifyed is double; as 1. Preaching in *New-York* Government, without complying with the qualifications of an Act of Parliament, made the first year of King *William* & Queen *Mary:* Whereas Ld. *Cornbury* had read in *January*, their Certificates both from *Virginia* and *Maryland*, certifying their qualification according to said Act of Parliament. 2. Preaching without Licence being first obtained of Lord *Cornbury;* whereby it is plain, that complying with the Law, is not sufficient without a Licence: And from what goes before, it is undeniable, they were qualifyed, and had complyed with the Law, even in *New-York* Government, before the date of this last Warrant, and that was by tendering themselves, not only to his Excellency, but also to the Quarter Sessions, for qualification; which is all that any Dissenter can do, and all the Law requires of them to be done: And such as had Licence, are not yet qualifyed according to said Act of Parliament. For taking the Oaths only before Ld. *Cornbury*, and taking them before a Court, are not the same. But having related all the antecedents to the Tryal, we are now arrived at the Tryal or Prosecution at the Supream Court in *March* Term.

Supream Court, *March* the first *Tuesday*, 1706, 7.

Province of *New-York*.

Present *Roger Mompesson*, Esqr. Chief Justice.
Robert Millward, *Thomas Wenham*, Esqrs. Justices.

The Court being called formally, and the Docquet called over, *Francis Makemie*, and *John Hampton* made their appearance, and answered to their Names, according to the tenour of their Recognizance.

The Defendants Recognizance ordered to be filed, and the Defendants Appearance Entered.

At the Attorney Generals motion, it is ordered, that the Defendants be continued on their Recognizance, and that they attend the last day of the Term.

The Pannel of the Grand Jurors.

William Merrit.	*Elias Boudmot.*
William Anderson.	*Nathaniel Mastin.*
Robert Lurting.	*Francis Vincent.*
Lawrence Reed.	*Lewis Carree.*

Daniel

{ *Daniel Cromline.* *Lancaster Symes.* }
{ *Richard Sacket.* *Adrian Hogland.* }

{ *Beverle Lathom.* *Charles Wooley.*
Johannis Hogland. *Peter Ryckman.*
Benjamin Winroop. *Paul Drolet.* *Johannis Burger.*
Abraham Jeanneau. *William Provoost.* }

A true Copy. *Geo. Clarke.*

Mr. *Reignere*, Attorney for the Defendant, moved, that the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, with all proceedings thereon, at the Chief Justice his Chamber, might be Entered upon Record.

Mr. Attorney for the Queen, replied, it was not matter of Record being obtained not in open Court, but at the Chief Justice his Chamber, and returned to the same place, therefore was not matter of Record; so was put off for that time.

Wednesday the Second Day of the Term.

The Honourable, *Roger Mompesson*, Chief Justice, finding the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and former proceedings thereon, was matter of Record, gave in the following Memorandum to the Court to be Entered.

Supream Court.
New-York. ss.

Memorandum, That at the Supream Court of this Province, held at the City of *New-York*, the second *Tuesday* in *March*, in the Sixth Year of Her Majesties Reign; *Roger Mompesson* Esqr. Chief Justice of this Province, delivered unto the said Supream Court, a certain Record, the tenour whereof followeth in these words.

New-York. ss. To the Supream Court of the Province of *New-York.*

'I *Roger Mompesson*; Chief Justice of the said Court, do 'hereby Certifie, That upon the eighth day of *March* in- 'stant; That upon a Petition, Signed by *Francis Makemie*, and '*John Hampton*, then delivered unto me: I granted and allow- 'ed the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* hereunto annexed; which being 'returned unto me, at my Chamber, in the said City of *New-* '*York*, by *Ebenezer Wilson* Esqr. Sheriff of the said City & 'County of *New-York*, the tenth day of this instant Month of '*March*, with the Bodies of the said *Francis Makemie*, and '*John Hampton*, together with the Causes of their Commit- 'ment hereunto annexed; whereupon I did at the day and 'place last mentioned, discharge the said *Francis Makemie*,

and

'and *John Hampton*, from their several Imprisonments, taking 'the several Recognizances hereunto annexed.

Roger Mompesson.

New-York. ss. MEmorandum, *On the* 10*th day of* March, *in the Sixth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lady* ANNE, *by the Grace of God, of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defender of the Faith*, &c. *Came before me,* Roger Mompesson *Esqr. Chief Justice of* New-York, Francis Makemie *of* &c. John Johnstone, *of the Province of* New-Jersey, *Gent. and* William Jackson, *of the City of* New-York, *Cordwainer, and acknowledged themselves severally to be Indebted to Our Soveraign Lady the Queen, as follows*, viz. *the said* Francis Makemie, *in the Sum of* Forty Pounds, *Currant Money of this Province; and the said* John Johnstone & William Jackson, *in* Twenty Pounds *like Money each, to be levied on their Goods and Chattels, Lands & Tenements, if failure be made in the Condition Endorsed.*

Roger Mompesson.

THE Condition of the within written Recogniscance is such, That if the said *Francis Makemie* do personally appear before Her Majesties Justices of the Supream Court of Judicature, to be held for this Province at the City of *New-York*, on the morrow of this Day, being *Tuesday* the Eleventh Day of *March* instant; there to answer all such matters and things as shall be objected against him, and shall not Depart without leave of the said Court, then the said Recogniscance to be void.

Vera Copia. George Clarke.

The Grand Jury being called and Sworn the first day of the Term; and tho' there was little besides this matter given to them in Charge, yet after sundry debates, several Meetings and Adjournments, found the following Presentment against *Francis Makemie;* the Queens Attorney, for Reasons best known to himself, gave nothing to the Grand Jury against *John Hampton*, who was dropt out of the Prosecution; tho' both equally guilty of the same Crime, of Preaching a Sermon in the Government of *New-York*, and suffered equally by Imprisonment; from which both were Relieved by the former Writ of *Habeas Corpus.*

And

And to such as knew the Grand Jury, when called and sworn, they plainly appeared to be Chosen on purpose to find the Presentment, for some of them had never been upon a Grand Jury, others not for sundry years, and sundry of them Justices of the Peace, who at the Quarter Sessions had so far prejudged them and their Cause, as they refused to allow their Petition a publick reading, or take the least notice of the Certification of a House offered to Record at the same time, by two of the Inhabitants of *York*, and one of them threatened as to his Trade and Business, as appearing to countenance such a design: Yet with hard strugling, twelve was influenced, and the two last who made up the number, were persons of Dissenting Congregations from the Established Church of *England*, and their Teachers as liable to be prosecuted, as those Gentlemen, and as guilty of the same, or like Presentment. One *Daniel Cromline*, a *French* Refugee, dragoon'd out of *France* for the same Protestant Religion and Perswasion, and *Adrian Hogland*, of the *Dutch* Congregation, whose Minister has yet no Licence, being a new made Lieutenant to a Troop: After four of Mr. *Makemie*'s Hearers, Capt. *John Thoobolds*, Mr. *John Vanhorn*, Mr. *Anthony Young*, and *Harris*, Coachman to Lord *Cornbury*, being Subpæna'd, gave Evidence upon Oath, they heard no unsound Doctrine, nor any thing against the Government; and one of the Evidences delivered to the Jury, the Act of Assembly of *New-York*, for *Liberty of Conscience to all, except Papists*, and shewed to them Mr. *Makemie*'s Certificate from a Court of Record from *Virginia*, of his compliance with the Qualifications of the Act of Toleration; they notwithstanding at length consented to find the Indictment; whose Votes were, on *Friday* in the Afternoon, taken in a new and unusual method, as they came in one by one from Dinner.

Fryday the First Term.

The Grand Jury find the following Bill, which is ordered to be filed.

Of the Term of March, *in the Sixth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lady* ANNE, *over* England, &c. *Queen.*

City of New-York.

'THe Jurors for our Soveraign Lady the Queen, upon their 'Oath do Present, That *Francis Makemie*, late of the Pro-'vince of *Virginia*, Gent. pretending himself to be a Protes-

'tant

'tant Dissenting Minister and Preacher, and contemning and 'endeavouring to subvert the Supremacy, Jurisdiction and Au- 'thority of our now Lady the Queen, in Ecclesiastical affairs, 'the two and twentieth day of *January*, in the Fifth Year of 'the Reign of our Soveraign Lady *ANNE*, over *England*, '*&c.* Queen, at the City of *New-York*, aforesaid [to wit] at the 'Southward of the said City, did privately and unlawfully, take 'upon him to Preach and Teach, and did Preach and Teach 'diverse of Her Majesties Liege Subjects, within the said City '[to wit] at the Dwelling-House of one *William Jackson*, 'situate in the Ward aforesaid, privately and unlawfully, then 'and there meet, and assembled together, to above the number 'of five persons at one time, under the pretence of Divine 'Worship, without any leave or Licence by him, the said '*Francis*, first had, and obtained, according to Law for the 'same, in great derogation of the Royal Authority and Prero- 'gative of our Lady the Queen, and to the evil Example of all 'others, in the like case offending against the Peace of our Lady, 'the Queen, Her Crown and Dignity. And the Jurors afore- 'said, upon their Oath aforesaid, do further present, That the 'said *Francis Makemie* afterwards [to wit] the aforesaid two 'and twentieth day of *January* in the year aforesaid, at the 'City and Ward aforesaid, at the aforesaid Dwelling-house of 'the said *William Jackson*, did privately and unlawfully assem- 'ble, and gather together diverse of Her Majesties Subjects un- 'known, did then, and there voluntarily, and unlawfully, use 'other Rites, Ceremonies, Form and Manner of Divine Wor- 'ship, then what are contained in a certain Book of Common- 'Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and of other 'Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, against the 'Form of the Statute in that case made and provided, and 'against the Peace of our said Lady the Queen, Her Crown 'and Dignity. And the Jurors aforesaid, do further present, 'that the said *Francis Makemie* afterwards [to wit] the two 'and twentieth day of *January*, in the fifth Year aforesaid, be- 'ing then, and now is a person, not qualifyed by Law to Preach, 'Teach and Officiate in any Congregation or Assembly for Re- 'ligious Worship at the City aforesaid [to wit] at the Southward 'of the said City, at the aforesaid Dwelling-house, of the said '*William Jackson*, situate in the said Ward, did take upon him 'to Preach, Teach and Officiate, & then and there did Preach, 'Teach and officiate, in a Congregation, Assembly, Con- 'venticle & Meeting not permitted, or allowed by Law, 'under colour or excuse of Religion, in other manner then ac-

'cording

'cording to the Liturgy, and practice of the Church of *Eng-*
'*land, &c.* At which Conventicle, Meeting and Assembly,
'were five persons or more Assembled together, against the
'Form of the Statute, in that case made and provided against
'the Peace of our Lady the Queen, Her Crown and Dig-
'nity, *&c.*

A true Copy. *George Clark*, Secr.

Here is a Presentment for Preaching a Sermon at *York*, highly aggravated into a Cumulative Crime, and thereby the Grand-Jury, led into no small mistake, in point of time; for it is said to be Preached on the two and twentieth day of January; whereas it was preached on the twentieth of *January:* for these two Ministers were Lord *Cornbury*'s Prisoners, apprehended on *Long-Island*, on the two and twentieth day instant, by a Warrant, dated the one and twentieth day: Which error was cause enough in point of Law, for overthrowing the whole Presentment, which was so delayed and put off to the last day of the Court, that a Tryal could not be obtained that Court: Therefore Mr. *Reignere*, the Defendants Council made a motion, that the Defendants appearance be put upon Record, and it was ordered the Defendant be continued on his Recognizance, until the next Term: Mr. *Makemie* being the only person prosecuted, returns for *Virginia*, and returns again before *June* Term, the third of said Month.

Tuesday, the third day of *June*, 1707.

Province of
New-York. Present *Roger Mempesson* Esqr. Chief Justice.
Robert Milward, *Thomas Wenham* } Esqrs. Justices.

The first day of the Term.
The Defendants Appearance is entered, and he is ordered to be continued on his Recognizance.
The Defendant ordered to plead to morrow.

Wednesday, June 4th.

The Defendant pleads not Guilty of any Crime, by Preaching a Sermon at *York.*

The Attorney General for the Queen moves to know, if they would allow a Copy of the Queens Instructions to the Governour, Signed by his Excellency, to be brought into Court, in

in Evidence at the Tryal, seeing his Excellency, who had the Originals, was then in the *Jerseys.*

The Defendant replied, they could admit of no Copies, seeing there was time enough to have produced the Original; or Mr. Attorney might have compared the Copy with the Original, and might have been able to give his Affidavit to the truth of said Copy; but perceiving if that Copy was not allowed of, the Queens Attorney would put off the Tryal till another time.

Therefore Mr. Attorney General for the Queen, & Mr. *William Nicoll* for the Defendant, agrees, that the Copy of such Instructions from Her Majesty to the Governour, as shall be produced by the Attorney General, and Signed by the Governour, shall be admitted on Tryal, to be the same in Evidence, as if the Original Instructions were produced. *F. M.* Defendant moved, that if allowed in Evidence, he might have a Copy of said Instructions; and further declared, he could not but wonder, of what Service these Instructions which were no Law, could do to Mr. Attorney, seeing the Presentment run upon Statutes and Acts of Parliament, and they expected to have a Tryal before a Court, who were Judges of Law, and not of private Instructions.

Friday, June 6th. 1707.

The Petty Jury called, whose names follow according to the Pannill, and twelve of them Sworn to try the matter in issue, and the Defendant told the Court, he was under great disadvantage, being a Stranger, and knew neither names nor faces; And tho' he knew he had not liberty in that cause, of peremptory objections against any, without showing sufficient ground of exception; but he was informed of one, Mr. *Elias Neau*, who had in discourse to Mr. *Anthony Toung*, prejudged the Cause, by condemning him for Preaching a Sermon, and justifyed Lord *Cornbury*'s proceedings against him; which being proved by the Deposition of said *Young*, was approved of by the Judge, as a good objection in Law. The Defendant further adds, he was amazed to find one who was so lately dragooned out of *France*, for his Religion, and delivered out of the Galleys, so soon prove a Persecuter of the same Religion, for Preaching a Sermon in this City.

The Jurors being Sworn, you may take their Names following.

John Shepherd Foreman	*Andrew Lauron*
Thomas Ives	*Humphrey Perkins*
	Joseph

Joseph Wright	*William Horswell*
Thomas Woorden	*Thomas Carrell.*
Joseph Robinson	*Thomas Baynex.*
Bartholomew Larouex	*Charles Cromline.*

Mr. Attorney produced a Copy of the Queens Instructions, Signed by Lord *Cornbury*, and allowed of by both parties in Evidence, as if the Original were present, and tho' a Copy was denied again and again to the Defendant, yet by a Copy of Instructions from King *William* to a former Governour, the same Instructions were found, in the same words; and as they were in two Paragraphs in the produced Copy, so they were found at a great distance from one another in the former Copy, supposed to be agreeable to the Original, and to be two distinct and vastly different Instructions; one of them relating to the Dissenters, the other relating to the Ministers of the Church of *England*, as may plainly appear from the Instructions themselves in the following words.

> *And you are to permit a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons* (except Papists) *so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of it, not giving offence or scandal to the Government.*
>
> *You are not to permit any Minister coming from* England, *to Preach in your Government, without a Certificate, from the Right Reverend, the Bishop of* London: *Nor any other Minister, coming from any other part or place, without first obtaining leave from you, our Governour.*

Mr. Attorney Orders four of Mr. *Makemies* Hearers to be called, Cap. *John Thoobolds*, Mr. *John Vanhorn*, Mr. *William Jackson*, and Mr. *Anthony Young*, who answered to their Names.

The Defendant perceiving they were summoned and called, to give their Evidence to the matter of Fact; told the Court, that the Swearing of these four Gentlemen as Evidences, would but give a needless trouble, and take up the Courts time; and he would own the matter of fact as to his Preaching, and more than these Gentlemen could declare upon Oath; for he had done nothing therein, that he was ashamed or afraid of, but would answer and own it, not only before this Bar, but before the *Tribunal of Gods Final Judgment.* And so Mr. Attorney proposed, and Mr. *Makemie* answered the following Questions, or to the same purpose.

Mr.

Mr. Attorney. *You own, that you Preached a Sermon, and Baptized a Child at Mr.* William Jacksons.

F. M. Yes, I did.

Mr. Attor. *How many Hearers had you?*

F. M. I have other work to do, Mr. Attorney, then to number my Auditory, when I am about to Preach to them.

Mr. Attor. *Was there above five hearing you?*

F. M. Yes, and five to that.

Mr. Attor. *Did you use the Rites and Ceremonies enjoined by, and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, by the Church of* England?

F. M. No, I never did, nor ever will, until I am better satisfied in my Conscience.

Mr. Attor. *Did you ask leave, or acquaint my Lord* Cornbury *with your Preaching at* York, *when you dined with him at the Fort?*

F. M. I did not know of my Preaching at *York*, when I dined with his Excellency, no, not for some days after: For when we came to *York*, we had not the least intention, or design of Preaching there; but stopt at *York*, purely to pay our respects to the Governour, which we did; but being afterwards called, and invited to Preach, as I was a Minister of the Gospel, I durst not deny Preaching, nor I hope ever shall, where it is wanting and desired.

Mr. Attor. *Did you acquaint my Lord* Cornbury *with the place of your Preaching?*

F. M. As soon as I determined to Preach, leave was asked, tho' not by me; for it was the peoples business, and not mine, to provide a place for me to Preach in: And I would have been admitted to Preach in the *Dutch* Church, but they were affraid of offending Lord *Cornbury;* and Mr. *Anthony Young* went to the Governour, to have his leave, or permission for my Preaching in the *Dutch* Church; tho' all this was done, without so much as my knowledge: But my Lord opposing and denying it, I was under a necessity of Preaching where I did, in a private House, tho' in a publick manner with open doors. Mr. Attorney in pleading, first read over the Indictment which the Grand Jury found, and endeavoured to prove the several parts thereof, by giving a large and full account of sundry Statutes of K. *Henry* the 8th, asserting and establishing the Supremacy of the King over all Ecclesiastical Persons and Affairs, in his Dominion of *England.* And from thence asserted the Queens Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and over Ecclesiastick persons; which Supremacy was by a Delegation lodged in his Excellency

Excellency our Governour, which he is sworn to exercise; and this is signified to him by Her Majesties Instructions, which were read in Court. Then he proceeded to produce, and read as much as was necessary, of those Statutes of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *Charles* the Second, *For Uniformity of Worship according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England; *and the Pœnal Laws against Conventicles:* And enlarging his pleadings on these points; he turns to the Gentlemen of the Jury, and says, the matter of fact is plainly confessed by the Defendant, and I have proved it to be repugnant to the Queens Instructions, and sundry Acts of Parliament of *England:* Therefore did not doubt, but the Jury would find for the Queen, and against the Defendant.

Mr. *Ja. Reignere*, Attorney for the Defendant, pleads against Mr. Attorney for the Queen, as followeth: The Indictment charges three distinct and separate facts as Crimes against the Defendant.

1. That he, a pretended Protestant Minister, endeavouring to subvert the Queens Supremacy, Jurisdiction and Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs; did privately and unlawfully Preach and Teach, at *William Jacksons* House, diverse Subjects, privately and unlawfully, to above five in number, without Licence had according to Law, in derogation to the Royal Authority and Prerogative, to the evil example, & *cont. Par.*

2. That he did assemble diverse unknown, and unvoluntarily, and unlawfully use any other Rites and Forms of Worship, then are in the Common-Prayer and Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England: Cont. Form. Stat.*

3. That being not qualifyed by Law to Preach and Teach in a Congregation or Meeting not allowed by Law, in other manner then according to the practice of the Church of *England;* at which Meeting were five persons, or more assembled, *Cont. Form. Stat.*

As to the Indictment, *ut supra*, that the Defendant did not Preach privately, nor the persons assemble privately, *i. e.* with doors lockt, barr'd or bolted; nay, it appears by the Evidence, and agreed to the contrary by Mr. Attorney General: that the people met unlawfully, must appear by the violation of some known Law or Statute, in force here, by which such Meeting and Preaching is forbidden; that is to say, the Preaching above five.

I take this Colony, as a Dominion of *England*, to be governed by, and subject to these three sorts of Laws: 1. The Common

mon Law of *England.* 2. The express Statutes mentioning the Plantations, and such other as are for publick good (as the Chief Justice was pleased to say in this Court, in the Case depending between *Smith* and *Davis*). 3. By the Laws of this Colony, and those are to be as near as may be agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of *England;* and the Judges of this Court (I dare say) will examine and determine no fact, but according to the mode and rule of some of those Laws.

That Preaching without Licence, and assembling above five is a Crime at Common Law, I never read, and it is not alleadged to be against any Statute; it must be an offence against some Law of this Province, which as yet I never saw, and desire I may now see it; and if such does not appear, then undoubtedly *where there is no Law, there can be no transgression.*

As to what is offered by Mr. Attorney, that the Queen, as Supream Head of the Church of *England,* hath power to make Ordinances, and punish for breach thereof; that this power is delegated to the Governour, who is bound by Oath to Execute them.

Supposing and admitting all this; yet nothing like an Ordinance appears: for the Instructions produced by Mr. Attorney cannot have the force of a Law or Ordinance, especially against persons to whom they were never communicated; what they may be to those to whom they were given, who alone hath the Custody of them, and conceals them from publick view.

As to the two Articles in the Indictment; *Cont. Form. Stat.*

Now there are diverse Statutes made in *England,* which enjoin a due observance of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England,* as the 1st of *Eliz. C.* 2*d.* 2. *Eliz.* C. 1. Twenty pound a month for not going to Church; 29 *Eliz. C.* 6. the same 3 *James, C.* 4, *&* 5. But all these were pointed and levelled at Romish Recusants only, tho' sometimes misconstrued to extend to others; also 35 *Eliz. C.* 1. forbidding all Meeting & Conventicles, under penalties of abjuration & publick submission, did the 16 *Car.* 2d. now expired, and the 22 *Car.* 2. but all restricted to *England, Wales,* and *Berwick* on *Tweed;* but if they had not, as they are positive and additional, they shall be confined strictly to place and words; then the practice of all the Colonies and Plantations, and the Laws made in some of them, for the Establishment of the Church of *England,* but no such Establishment here; but on the contrary, a Law formerly made in this Province, and in Print, allowing Liberty of Conscience, which I here insert in the following words.

The

The last Clause of an Act of Assembly, made in the Government of *New-York*, declaring the Rights, and Priviledges of the Subject.

That no person or persons, which profess faith in God, by Jesus Christ, his only Son, shall at any time be any way molested, punished, disturbed, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference in opinion, or matter of Religious Concernment, who do not under that pretence disturb the civil peace of the Province, &c. *And that all and every such person and persons, may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely have, and fully enjoy, his or their opinion, perswasion and judgment, in matters of Conscience and Religion, throughout all this Province; and freely meet at convenient places, within this Province; and there Worship according to their respective perswasions, without being hindred or molested, they behaving themselves peaceably, quietly, modestly and religiously; and not using their Liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury, or outward disturbance of others.* Always provided, *that nothing herein mentioned or contained, shall extend or give liberty to any persons of the* Romish *Religion, to exercise their manner of Worship, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of Their Majesty's Kingdom of* England.

And tho' Mr. Attorney endeavouring to invalidate this, by denying this Law to be in force, yet could not prove this Law abolished.

And by one of the Instructions, which Mr. Attorney produced, *in totidem verbis*, is the same, that has been given to former Governours of this Province, Liberty of Conscience is directed to be allowed.

As to the Third Article in the Indictment, that seems to refer to the first of *William* and *Mary*, of Toleration; but as we say, the Pænal Statutes did not extend hither, so is there no occasion of Toleration. The Laws and Statutes of *England* by their own force, extend equally to all Plantations of *England* alike; and if these Pænal Laws did extend to the Plantations, the Crown of *England*, would never Tolerate the Governments of *Boston*, *Rhode-Island*, *Connecticut*, and others; who in their Church-Discipline are so far from Conforming to the Church of *England*, that they have Set up and Established another sort of Church-Discipline universally among them; but notwithstanding this, they are allowed the liberty they always used in their Church without molestation, and were so allowed in the very time when these Pænal Laws were in force in *England*; but now since by the late Act of Toleration, it was thought by the

the wise and experienced Legislators of *England*, to be for the *Publick Good*, to repeal these Laws, even there, for which place only they were made, and to allow Liberty of Conscience; I hope it will never be thought, that those Pænal Statutes, so repealed, are, or can be for the *Publick Good* here, and as such extended hither. Wherefore, forasmuch, as neither by the Common Law of *England*, nor by any Law of this Province produced, or even alleadged by Mr. Attorney, such Preaching or Meeting, doth appear unlawful (but on the contrary, an express Law of this Province doth allow it, as hath been shewen) and that the Pænal Laws and Statutes of *England* against Dissenters, can by no reasonable construction, be extended hither, I humbly conceive my Client is not guilty of any offence against Law, and hope the Jury will acquit him accordingly.

Mr. *William Nicol*, Attorney for the Defendant, pleads in the next place, as followeth.

Mr. Attorney has been entertaining us with some History from the Reign of K. *Henry* 8. And it is fit we should entertain him with some History also, more ancient, and from better Authors, and that is from the Acts of the Apostles; for we do find, that Teaching, or Preaching, or Speaking in it self, or by the Common Law, was never found a Crime; for the Apostle *Paul* Preached a very new Doctrine to the *Athenians*, which was an ancient Commonwealth, and was not Condemned or Imprisoned for it, but they were curious to hear again, *Act.* 17. concerning the new Doctrine of the Resurrection; but we find, when the same Apostle began to insist on any Doctrine which tended to infringe the gain of the Silver Smiths, who *Act.* 18. made Shrines for *Diana*, the Goddess of the *Ephesians*, they were enraged, and made an uproar against him, rushing into the Theatre; but it was no Crime, either in *Corinth* or *Athens*, where no man was hurt by the Doctrine itself, neither was obstructed by, nor any offence to the Civil Government.

And it is plain, it was no offence at Common Law, but was made so by the old Statutes of 5 *Rich.* 2. *Cap.* 5. 2 *Hen.* 4 *Cap.* 15. 2 *Hen.* 5. But all these Statutes being repealed by 1 *Ed.* 6. and by Acts of *Eliz.* it was still no transgression, but remains as it was, no crime at Common Law.

And the four Statutes against Conventicles in *Ch.* 2. are all local, and in express words, limited to *England*, *Wales*, and *Berwick* on *Tweed*, so have no relation, to, nor reach to any of the Plantations.

And this is further manifest, from the Constitution of the Plantations,

Plantations, being as it were settled by National Consent, for those whose thoughts in Religious Affairs could not square with the Publick Establishment in Church Government, Discipline and Ceremonies, as *New-England* for Independants and Presbyterians, *Rhode-Island* and *New-Jerseys*, and we may add *New-York*, for the several sorts of Dissenters in general; *Pensilvania* and *Maryland*, for Quakers & Papists in particular.

And this being the first that was prosecuted in this nature in the Plantations, is made the more remarkable, so long after the news of those harsh Statutes of *Ch.* 2. have been cut by the Statute of 1. *William* & *Mary*.

And it is already evidently proved, that the Acts of Assembly of *New-York*, allow Liberty of Conscience, with freedom of Publick Worship, to all but Papists.

What was offered on the other side, by Mr. Attorney, as being against the Queens Prerogative in Ecclesiastical Affairs, was foreign, and not at all to the purpose; for all the Statutes relating to that matter, being to assert the Queens Empire, and Jurisdiction over Ecclesiastical Persons, as well as Lay-men, in opposition to the Claim and Usurpation of the See of *Rome*, to exempt the Clergy, or Church-men, from the Civil and Secular Power.

And as to the Queens Instructions, they are not, neither can have the force of a Law; besides that, these two Instructions produced in Court, are no way against us, but rather for us.

Mr. *David Jamison*, Attorney for the Defendant, appears next to plead in the following manner.

Mr. *Reignere*, and Mr. *Nicol*, Attorneys on the same side, having offered so many and large Arguments, have left but little room for new matter to be offered, without enumerating what was offered upon the three heads of the Indictment.

As to the first, which was Preaching and Teaching without Licence, against the Queens Supremacy and Prerogative in Ecclesiastical Affairs. We did not come here to oppose, or call in question the Queens Prerogative or Supremacy: but were willing to pay all due respect & deference thereunto; but we cannot see, that these Instructions from the Queen to my Lord *Cornbury*, of which Mr. Attorney has produced a Copy, and which he alleadges to be the Law we have broken by Preaching, contrary to the Queens Instructions, which are not a Law to any body else, but to his Lordship, who is directed by them, and is accountable to the Queen, if he do not observe them. Her Instructions are private directions to himself, and can be no Law to others: Promulgation is that which gives the finishing stroke

stroke to a Law. Nor do I see how his Lordship should become guilty of breach of Oath, as Mr. Attorney was pleased to offer, by not ordering the prosecution of this Gentleman, for Preaching without his Licence; altho' he be Sworn to obey and observe his Instructions, because the very Instructions produced, give Liberty of Conscience to Protestant Dissenters, and are in two distinct Paragraphs; the first seems to me wholly to agree with our Act of Assembly of this Province, is to the same purpose, and very near the same words; the other Paragraph is negative: *You are not to permit any Minister coming from* England, *to Preach in your Government, without a Certificate from the Right Reverend, the Bishop of* London; *nor any other Minister coming from any other Part, or Place, without first obtaining leave from you our Governour.* And a Dissenting Minister Preaching here without the Governours knowledge, could be no breach of his Oath, because it was done without his knowledge, and consequently without his permission.

To the Second, as to the Statutes of *Eliz.* and *Charles* 2. against Conventicles, they were limited and local Acts or Statutes, and could not any way reach these Plantations; for here in *New-York* we have no Established Religion for the whole Province. On the East-end of *Nassaw*, or *Long-Island*, were, and always have been Independant Ministers, the *French* had their own way and Ministers, and the *Dutch* in like manner; the very *Jews* and *Quakers* have the free Exercise of their Religion; and there is not one Form of Worship Established for the whole Province. The 16th. as well as 22 of K. *Charles* 2. are limited to the Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and therefore the using of any other Form of Worship in this Province, then what is contained in the Common-Prayer, cannot be a Breach of those Statutes. Then again the 16 of *Ch.* 2. for suppressing Conventicles, makes the third default Banishment, for seven years into the Plantations (*New-England* and *Virginia* excepted;) And how can it be supposed, that the Plantations the places to which the defaulters were to be Banished, can be understood to be comprehended within the meaning and penalty of that Statute; that did continue in force, for little more time than four years. The other of the 22*d.* did supply its room, and had much more mild penalties.

As to the third, which is that he Preached without being qualifyed, that is laid against the Act of Toleration. I did offer, that this Statute likewise was not, nor is in force in the Plantations

Plantations generally, especially in this Province, altho' there be no locality expressly mentioned therein, and that for these Reasons. The title and whole design of it is Toleration; now Toleration is an exception from some restraint; and since the Pænal Laws are not of force here by consequence, neither is the Act of Toleration of force, here is no Established Church for the whole Province; from which we should be tolerated. We have had Liberty of Conscience another way, and by an Act of Assembly, which was made in the beginning of the Reign of K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, during the Government of Col. *Fletcher*, not yet formally repealed. Then again consider the Preamble of the Act of Toleration, to the end that all our Protestant Subjects, may be united in inferest and affection; the wisdom of the Nation did at that time combine, to put an end to all Persecution on the score of Religion. Our Assembly was much of the same mind, designing to prevent it, and so are all good men: when we did set about erecting a Church of *England* Congregation in this Town, and obtained a Charter for the same, of Governour *Fletcher;* altho' we were desirous to have the National Worship amongst us, yet was it the care of these Members, who promoted it, to get such Clauses inserted in it, as should secure the Liberty of the *Dutch* and *French* Congregations from our Successors; and in an Act of Assembly made since, for its encouragement, the like care and precaution was had; which are still to be seen.

This Province has not been much more than forty years in the possession of the Crown of *England*, and is made up chiefly of Foreigners, and Dissenters; and Persecution would not only tend to the disuniting us all, in interest and affection, but depopulate and weaken our Strength, and discourage all such Adventurers for the future. Therefore as this Prosecution is the first of this nature or sort, ever was in this Province, so I hope it will be the last.

The Defendant prayed, he might have liberty to speak for himself, which was granted; and he pleaded in his own defence, the following Arguments, which I publish in his own words.

F. M. I am amazed to find Mr. Attorney so much changed in his opinion; for when I was before my Lord *Cornbury*, who told us, the Act of Toleration was limited and local, and extended not to the Plantations: And Mr. Attorney being pleased to confirm it, by asserting the same thing, and went a little further, by producing an Argument to strengthen his opinion, That the Pænal Laws of *England*, did not extend to the Plantations,

tations, and the Act of Toleration was made to take off the edge of the Pænal Laws; Therefore the Toleration does not extend hither; but we find soon after by an Indictment, both the Pænal Laws and Toleration reaches hither, and all their penalties too.

The Honourable Chief Justice, *Roger Mompesson* Esqr. interrupted the Defendant, by saying: Gentlemen, *Do not trouble the Court with what discourse passed between you, before my Lord, or at any other time, but speak to the point.*

F. M. May it please your Honour, I hope to make it appear, it is to the point; and what was Mr. Attorneys argument then, is now mine: For whatever opinion I was of, while an absolute Stranger to *New-York*, and its Constitution; yet since I have have informed my self thorowly with the Constitution of this place, I am intirely of Mr. Attorneys opinion, and hope he will be of the same still.

And as to the Indictment, to return to the particulars thereof; and first, I am charged with contemning, and endeavouring to Subvert the Supremacy of the Queen in Ecclesiastical Affairs. As to the Queens Supremacy about Ecclesiastical persons and things, we allow and believe, She has as large a Supremacy, as in the Word of God is allowed to any Christian Kings and Princes in the World; and our Confession of Faith, which will compare with any in the World, and is universally known to the Christian World, is very full in that matter; a part whereof is judged necessary to be inserted here, for the information of many.

Chapter 23. Concerning the Civil Magistrate.

1. *GOd the Supream Lord and King of all the World, hath Ordained Civil Magistrates to be under him, over the People, for his own Glory, and the Publick Good; and to this end hath armed them with the power of the Sword, for the defence and encouragement of them that do well, and for the punishment of evil-doers.*

3. *The Civil Magistrate may not assume to himself the Administration of Word and Sacraments, or the power of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; yet he hath Authority, and it is his duty to take order, that Unity and Peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and intire; that all Blasphemies and Heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in Worship and Discipline, prevented and reformed; and all the Ordinances of God may be settled; for the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call Synods to be present at them,*

them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them, be according to the Mind of God.

4. *It is the duty of People to Pray for Magistrates, to honour their Persons, to obey their lawful Commands, and to be subject to their Authority, for Conscience sake: Infidelity or difference in Religion, doth not make void the Magistrates just and legal Authority, nor free the people from their due Obedience to him; from which Ecclesiastical Persons are not exempted: much less hath the Pope any power or Jurisdiction over them, in their Dominions, or over any of their people, and least of all to deprive them of their Dominions or Lives, if he shall judge them to be Hereticks, or upon any pretence whatsoever.*

And in all which Mr. Attorney has offered concerning the Queens Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, I cannot learn one argument, or one word, from all the quoted Statutes, that Preaching a Sermon, is the least contempt, or overthrow of the Supremacy. And I hope it is not now unknown to any, that the Oath of Supremacy, has been abolished by a Law, ever since the Rovolution, and consequently the Subject must be delivered from some obligation thereby: and how far this will be constructed to extend, I leave to the Judges to determine.

And as to my Preaching without Licence first obtained from Lord *Cornbury*, which is asserted to be against Law; I cannot hear from any Law yet produced, that Ld. *Cornbury* has any power or directions to grant a Licence to any Dissenters, or that any of them are under any obligation, to take Licence from his Lordship, before they Preach, or after. Mr. Attorney pretends no Law, unless he concludes the Queens Instructions to be a Law, or have the force of a Law: That they have no force of a Law, has been abundantly proved already; neither am I any way culpable even from the Queens Instructions, which are produced in Court; for they consisting of two parts, or rather two distinct Instructions, not relating at all to the same persons: *In the first*, his Excellency is required to permit a Liberty of Conscience to all persons except Papists. And this is the Liberty is allowed to Dissenters and which we claim, by virtue of this Instruction: and here is no Licence mentioned and required; for permission is a negative act, and implies no more but this; you shall so allow it, as not to hinder, molest or disquiet them, but rather protect them in it: And Papists being particularly expressed, it cannot be applied to the Church of *England;* therefore Dissenters are intended by this

this Instruction, and no other; and if this permission is granted us, according to the express words thereof, we desire no more. And it cannot be esteemed by any, that imprisoning and punishing of us at such a rate, for Preaching one Sermon, is a permitting us Liberty of Conscience. *The other* distinct *Paragraph*, or rather, the other Instruction, which tho' joined together in this Copy, are at a considerable distance from one another in the Original; as we really found it so, in a Copy of Instructions to a former Governour: And as the former concerns Dissenters, so this is intended for the Clergy of the Church of *England;* for the words of the Instruction, as you have it above, are these: *You are not to permit any Minister coming from* England, *to Preach in your Government, without a Certificate from the Right Reverend, the Bishop of* London, *nor any other Minister coming from any other part or place, without first obtaining leave of you, our Governour.* Here is another Instruction, which should not be produced or improved against Dissenters; for all mankind, and those of the meanest capacity must conclude and determine, that this concerns only the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who by their Constitution, are under strict obligations to take Licence, or Certificate from their Ordinary, and such as come to the Plantations, acknowledge the Bishop of *London* as such; and no Dissenter, either in *England*, or any where else in the Queens Dominion, ever took, or ever was under any obligation to take any Licence from the Queens or Kings of *England*, or any other Person or Persons whatsoever; until a method & practice has of late been erected, and forced into practice at *New-York:* For if our Liberty either depended on a Licence or Certificate from the Bishops of *England*, or the Governours of *America*, we should soon be deprived of our Liberty of Conscience, secured to us by Law, and repeated Resolutions of our present Soveraign, and Gracious Queen, inviolably to maintain the Toleration which She is pleased to signifie in Her Royal Instructions to all Her Governours abroad; which we are the more assured of, from the Instructions produced in this Court. So that as the first clause of this latter Instruction, cannot be applied to any other Ministers, but of the Church of *England;* so the latter clause can be understood of no other but the same sort, or species, as those who came from *England* with Certificate from the Bishop of *London:* And it is well known, there are Ministers of the Church of *England*, who may come, and do come not directly from *England*, but from some other place, as from sundry Plantations of *America;* as Mr. *Sharp* now Chaplain at *Fort-Anne*, came

came not directly from *England*, but from *Maryland:* And I must confess, he being a Minister of the Church of *England*, and enjoyes a considerable Benefice thereby, was obliged to comply with the Constitution of his own Church, and take a Licence from Ld. *Cornbury*, if none could be produced from the Bishop of *London*. But all this is foreign to us, and not at all required of any Dissenter in *Europe* or *America*.

And if there had been any thing in these Instructions requiring Dissenters to take any Licence, or empowering Governours of the Plantations to grant them, which we do not find; Preaching a Sermon before such Licence, cannot be judged a Crime, deserving such a Confinement and Prosecution as we have met with; for it has been already made appear, that those Instructions cannot have the force of a Law, to bind the Subject to Obedience, or render him culpable for Disobedience, seeing Promulgation, which is the Life of the Law, and renders all persons inexcusable, never as yet have accompanied these Instructions: So if this be Mr. Attorneys Law we have broke, by not obtaining Licence before Preaching, I hope, you Gentlemen of the Jury cannot but find, we are no way culpable hereby, being neither inconsistent with the Queens Instructions, and not against any Law.

And as to the last part of the Indictment, concerning the Pænal Laws, or the sundry Statutes against Conventicles, they never were designed, nor intended by our *English* Legislators for *America*, or any of the Plantations thereof; for they are limited & local Acts, all of them restricted to *England*, *Wales*, and *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, as is manifest from the express words of said Law; neither have been ever put in execution in any of the Plantations, until now; yea, have not been executed, even in *England*, *Wales* or *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, for which they were Calculated, and made, these twenty years past: And when they were put in the most strict and rigorous Execution in *England*, which was about the last of the Reign of K. *Ch.* 2. The Dissenters of *America* lived very quiet, and even in such Plantations where the Church of *England* has a full and formal Establishment. But which is more, even *Roman Catholicks*, who are excluded from all benefit of the Act of Toleration in *England*; yet cannot be touched in *America*, by these Pænal Laws; for it is matter of fact known to all, and I appeal to Mr. *Reignere* if Papists have not liberty, and the exercise of their Religion, without molestation from Pænal Laws, and even in *Maryland*, where the Church of *England* has a formal establishment

establishment by Laws made there: And it is manifestly known, the Assembly of *Maryland* made a late Act against *Roman Catholicks;* and tho' it was never executed, not being approved of by the Queen, yet it is a plain demonstration, if the Pænal Laws of *England* originally and principally designed against *Popish Recusants* had extended to the Plantations, there would have been no need for such an Act of Assembly to be made against them in *Maryland.*

It is a further argument the Pænal Laws never did extend to the Plantations, because it was a penalty in some of them, that persons after sundry and so many convictions, are to be banished or transported to the *American* Plantations, as places removed beyond, and free from the lash of Pænal Laws; for to what purpose would their banishment be, if after a removal from their Native Land, they should be lashed, or ruined afresh by the same Pænal Laws.

And if the Pænal Laws of *England* do not extend to these Plantations, where the Church of *England* has a legal and formal Establishment, it cannot be imagined, they can take place where there is no particular Perswasion established by Law; and consequently all Perswasions there are upon an equal bottom of Liberty, as I find to be the Case with *New-York*, where there is not one Act of Assembly, wherein the name or manner of Worship as it is in the Church of *England* is so much as expressed: And where there is no legal Establishment or any penalties or restrictions on the Liberty of any Dissenters, there is no room for, or need of any Toleration; for where no penalty, what must we be tolerated from; but pure nullities, or nothings, which seems inconsistent with the thing it self: Therefore in *New-York* Government all Perswasions there are upon an equal level, and bottom of liberty; and this confirmed to all Dissenters, except Papists, and allowed by an Act of Assembly, already read in open Court. And if *Jews*, who openly blaspheme the Lord Jesus, *Quakers* and *Lutherans*, and all other or most perswasions are allowed even in this Government; it is matter of wonder, and I can know no reason, why we only should not be allowed of, but put to molestation as we now are, by my present prosecution: Is it because we are Protestants? Is it because we are likest the Established Church of *England* of any Dissenters? Is it because we are the most considerable Body of Protestants in the Queens Dominions? Is it because we have now since the Union, a National Establishment in *Great Britain*, as nighly related and annexed unto the Crown of *England*, as the Church of *England* themselves? Sure such

such Proceedings, when known, will and must be a prodigy to *England.*

Mr. Attorney replied, it was impossible for any man to answer all which was offered, there was so much delivered, and by so many.

The Defendant told Mr. Attorney, he verily believed it was impossible for Mr. Attorney to answer what was said, and that it was a great truth Mr. Attorney asserted.

Mr. Attorney proceeds to answer, and says: These Gentlemen on the other side assert all the Pænal Laws of *England* are local & limited to *England, Wales,* and *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; but I shall produce one that is not so, but extends to all the Queens Dominions; and that is the Act of Uniformity, made the first of *Elizabeth,* which is demonstrated from the very words of said Law, *or other place within this Realm of England, Wales, and the Marches of the same,* and *other the QUEENS Dominions:* And flies to the Instructions again, and endeavours to assert and vindicate the Supremacy, and says, the Kings and Queens of *England,* Enjoin and Command their Governours to grant Licences; and it has always been customary, and an universal practice to take Licences from Governours: And those Ministers who come from other places, must be the same that my Ld. is to allow Liberty of Conscience unto.

The Defendant begged leave to answer the Attorney as to his last Argument, as to the first of *Elizabeth,* which is the Act of Uniformity; we acknowledge it was extensive to the Queens Dominions in general, and not limited to *England,* and *Wales* only; yet I hope to make it appear, this Act does no way affect the Plantations, and far less affect Dissenters; therefore is altogether foreign to our present purpose. For 1. That Act of Parliament was made in the first year of the Reign of *Elizabeth,* and consequently before any Plantation had a being, or was thought of, and so could have no relation to them at all, they being pure non-entities at that time. 2. All over the Act, and in sundry places thereof, it is directed to Ministers, Parsons or Vicars in Cathedrals, Parish-Churches, Private Chappels, or Oratories; and not a word in the whole Act of Dissenters or Conventicles. For 3. At that time, when this Act was made, there were not strictly and properly speaking, any number of Dissenters in *England,* who held Separate Meetings from the Publick and Established Worship; for tho' there were those in the Church of *England,* who always from the beginning of the Reformation scrupled the use of all the Common Prayer, and omitted

omitted some Ceremonies, which was, and is to day, the grounds of the Separation; and it was to oblige such to an Uniformity in Publick Worship. And as soon as the Act was made, and put in Execution, with all its penalties, many were discouraged, others Cast out of the Church, for Nonconformity; and this really made the Separation, and all the mischiefs of the Separation are originally owing to this Act; tho' as soon as the Separation was made, they could not touch Dissenters by the penalties of this Act, therefore were under a necessity of making new Acts of Parliament in the following Reigns, for punishing Separated Dissenters; all which were limited and local in express words; and never designed to pursue Persecuted Persons to an *American* Wilderness. 4. I am able to make it appear, if this Act of Uniformity were strictly put in Execution, the most of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, would fall under its lashes and penalties; for none of them are to use any other Rite, Ceremony, or open Prayer, but what is mentioned and set forth, in the said Book of Common-Prayer. And it is well known, the most valuable men in that Church use another Publick Prayer, then is in Common Prayer, and all such persons are so far Dissenters, and being in Communion with the Church of *England*, are only liable to be Prosecuted upon this Statute.

And as to the Queens Instructions, which Mr. Attorney insists so much upon, it was, and is obvious to every man, they were two distinct Instructions; and tho' we have them placed so near in this Copy, they have no affinity one to another; and it is not fair for Mr. Attorney to take the latter clause of one Instruction, and join it to another, which was before; this is a Curtailing the Queens Instructions: whereas those who composed them, knew better how to join them together, then Mr. Attorney does.

And whereas Mr. Attorney affirms, that giving and taking Licence was very common and universal; I am well assured there never was, neither is to this day any such practice in any Plantation of *America*; and there were but few persons, as yet in *York* Government that had Licences; for besides the two *Dutch* Ministers, who differ upon *Long-Island*, and it is said Licences are the cause of their difference; there is but one *English* Nonconformist Minister, in all the Government, who has taken a Licence; and it is as certain, Mr. *Dubois*, and sundry others of the *Dutch* Churches has no Licence, neither will submit to any such as are granted.

Mr. Attorney perceiving how matters then stood, moves that the

the Jury should bring in a special Verdict, and the Judges inclined thereunto; for says Mr. Attorney, the matter of fact is plainly confessed by the Defendant, as you have heard, and you are to bring it in specially, for you are not Judges of Law.

F. M. May it please your Honours, I am a Stranger, who live four hundred miles from this place, and it is known to the whole Country, what intollerable trouble I have been put to already, and we cannot consent to a special Verdict, for that is only to encrease my trouble, multiply my Charge, and give me further delay: And it is a known truth in Law, that Strangers are to be favoured always with expedition in Justice, and does no way approve of delays; and if this should be allowed of, no mans innocence is able to protect him; for if I am cleared, I should suffer more in Charges at last, then if I were really guilty of the breach of many Pænal Laws of *England:* And as to the Juries judging of Law, and confessing the fact, I cannot see one point of the Law to be judged; for that the Pænal are local and limited, that is owned on all hands, and Pænal Laws are strictly to be taken and interpreted, and not allowed to the ruin of the Subject, to extend, or be interpreted beyond the plain and strict sense of the words. It is also true, we have confessed Preaching a Sermon at the House of Mr. *William Jackson,* with all its true circumstances; but we have not owned this to be a crime, or repugnant to any Law, or inconsistent with any of the Queens Instructions yet produced to us; neither has Mr. Attorney made any thing of this yet appear; for all those ancient Statutes of *H.* the 8*th* tend only to throw off, the Authority, Supremacy and Jurisdiction of the Popes, and See of *Rome,* and invest the Kings and Queens of *England* with that usurped Authority of the Popes, and to bring Ecclesiastical persons, under the civil Jurisdiction of *England,* who in times of Popery were made only accountable to the See of *Rome,* and that Jurisdiction; therefore does not touch, neither is any way applicable to this Case.

Mr. Attorney, *These Gentlemen acknowledge, and say, the Ministers of the Church of* England *are to take Licences, and obliged so to do; and if so, the Dissenters should also, otherwise they must expect more favour and liberty then the Ministers of the Church of* England.

F. M. I must confess, the Case is very different; for it is the opinion and constitution of the Church of *England,* that notwithstanding their Ordination, they are not to Preach or Officiate as Ministers, until they procure, or have a Licence from their Bishop, or Ordinary, which no Dissenting Minister is concerned

cerned with; and they voluntarily and freely bring themselves under an Oath of Canonical Obedience, to obey their Ordinary; and if he require them to take Licences, or any thing else they must, they are sworn to submit thereunto. But finally, There is a great deal of reason, why Ministers of the Church of *England* should submit to Licence, but we are not; because it is only *bare liberty* which Dissenters have; but they have not only *Liberty*, but a considerable *Maintainance* also; without which, I never knew any of them value Liberty only; and Dissenters having liberty only without any Maintenance from the Government, are not at all under obligations, neither is it required of them to take Licences of any.

After a long debate and fair pleadings, The Honourable *Roger Mompesson*, Chief Justice, applies himself to the Jury, to this effect: Gentlemen, *You have heard a great deal on both sides, and Mr. Attorney says the fact is confessed by the Defendant, and I would have you bring it in specially, for there are some points I am not now prepared to answer; How far Instructions may go, in having the force of a Law, especially when not published, or made known: And there is one objection made by Mr.* Makemie, *and that is the Oath of Supremacy of* England *is abolished; & how far it will go in this matter, I confess I am not prepared to answer; If you will take upon you to judge of Law, you may, or bring in the fact specially: This is the first Instance I can learn, has been of a Tryal or Prosecution of this nature in* America.

The Jury desired the Act of Assembly of *New-York* might be delivered to them; and the Defendant desired the Jury might have the Queens Instructions also, which Mr. Attorney opposed and denied.

There is a Constable Sworn to attend the Jury, who withdraws, and in a very short time returned again.

The Jury is called, and finds the Defendant Not Guilty.

The Court begun to enquire Reasons for the Jury's Verdict, but the Chief Justice told the Jury, they might give Reasons if they would, & they might choose whether they would or not give any Reasons for their Verdict. The Foreman told the Court, the Defendant had not transgressed any Law: Another person of the Jury told the Court, they believed in their Consciences, they had done the Defendant Justice, & so the Verdict was confirmed.

Mr. *Reignere*, Attorney for the Defendant, moved, that the Defendant might be discharged; which was by the Chief Justice referred till to morrow morning.

Saturday,

Saturday, June 7th.

Ordered that the Defendant be discharged, paying Fees, and that his Recognizance be likewise discharged.

A True Copy. *Geo. Clarke.*

The Defendant told the Court, it was an hard case, that an innocent person, and one found so upon Tryal, and by Law, and suffering so much already, and not only innocently, but for doing of good, should pay so severe Fees at last.

At length the Defendant was willing to pay all just and legal Fees to the Court, and Offices thereof, who acted indifferently in their several Offices, as to this matter, but it was unreasonable, he should pay his Prosecutors, whatsoever they were pleased to demand; this was nothing less, then hiring our Enemies to ruin us; but it being the practice, as they affirmed, no Arguments would be received.

The Defendant further told the Court, if he must pay Fees, as he was a Stranger, prayed he might not be left to the Arbitrary Demands of Officers; but that the Bill of Cost might be produced, and examined in open Court, and taxed by the Judges. But the Chief Justice declining it, as a thing he did not concern himself with: It was referred to *Robert Millward* Esqr. one of the Assistant Judges, who was to tax the Bill, after notice given to the Defendant or his Attorney, of the time & place to make their objections: But the Bill was taxed by said Judge, without any such notice given; and instead of moderating any Articles, added two new ones. And their full account was paid, and a Copy of said Account denied the Defendant, and a Receipt upon payment of Money refused, tho' paid in presence of two Witnesses.

A POSTSCRIPT.

AS there are Preliminaries to the Tryal Published, to obviate those misrepresentations which have been industriously improved, both at *New-York*, and elsewhere, to vindicate this new and unusual Prosecution; so it is judged as necessary, to add by way of *Postscript* or *Conclusion*, for the Information of *America*, Copies of these following particulars. 1. *The Act of Assembly of* New-York, *for Settling a Ministry, and raising a Maintainance for them, only in some particular places of that Government.* 2. *A Copy of the Act of Parliament*

Parliament of England, *for Punishing Governours of Plantations in* England, *for Crimes committed by them in the Plantations.* 3. *A Copy of such Licences as are granted by Lord* Cornbury, *to some Ministers.* 4. *An Account of the Exorbitant Charge of the Confinement and Prosecution, for Preaching two Sermons in* New-York *Government.* 5. *A Copy of Mr.* Makemies *Certificate from a Court of* Virginia. To which I shall add some illustrating Animadversions, and so conclude this Narrative.

1. An Act passed in a General Assembly, made *Sept.* 12. 1693.

An Act for Settling a Ministry, and raising a Maintainance for them in the City of New-York *County of* Richmond, Westchester, *and* Queens-County.

WHereas *Prophaness and Licentiousness have of late Overspread this Province, for want of a Settled Ministry throughout the same:* To the end the same may be removed, and the Ordinances of God daily Administered. *Be it Enacted by the Governour, and Council, and Representatives Convened in General Assembly, and by the Authority of the same,* That in each of the respective Cities and Counties hereafter mentioned and expressed; there shall be called, inducted and established, a good sufficient Protestant Minister, to officiate and have care of Souls, within one year next after the Publication hereof: *That is to say,* in the City of *New-York* one, in the County of *Richmond* one, in the County of *Westchester* two, in *Queens-County* two, one at *Jamaica,* and the adjacent Towns & Farms: The other to have the care of *Hempstead,* and the next adjacent Towns and Farms.

And for their respective Encouragement; *Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid,* That there shall be annually, and once every year, Collected and Paid for the Maintainance of each of their respective Ministers, the respective Sums hereafter mentioned: *That is to say,* for the City and County of *New-York,* One hundred Pounds; for the two Precincts of *Westchester,* one hundred Pounds, to each fifty, to be paid in Country Produce at Mony Price; for the County of *Richmond,* Forty Pounds in Country Produce at Mony Price; And for the two Precincts of *Queens-County,* one hundred and twenty Pounds, to each Sixty in Country Produce at Mony Price. And for the more orderly raising the respective Maintainances for

for the Ministers aforesaid; *Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That the respective Justices of every City and County aforesaid, or any two of them, shall every year issue out their Warrants to the Constable, to Summon the Freeholders of every City, County and Precinct aforesaid together on the second *Tuesday* in *January*, for the chusing of ten Vestry Men, and two Church-Wardens; and the said Justices and Vestry Men, or major part of them are hereby impowred within ten days after the said day, or any day after as to them shall seem convenient, to lay a reasonable Tax on the said respective Cities, Counties, Parish, or Precinct, for the Maintainance of the Minister and Poor of the respective places; and if they shall neglect to issue their Warrants, so as the Election be not made that day, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, currant Money of this Province; and in case the said Freeholders duly Summoned as aforesaid, shall not appear, or appearing, do not chuse the said ten Vestry Men and two Church-Wardens, that then in their default the said Justices shall within ten days after the second *Tuesday*, or in any day after as shall seem to them convenient, lay the said reasonable Tax on the said respective Places, for the respective Maintainances aforesaid; and if the said Justices and Vestry Men shall neglect their duty herein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, Currant Money aforesaid.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such of the Justices and Vestry Men that shall not be present at the time appointed to make the said Tax, and thereof be Convicted by a Certificate under the hands of such as do appear, and have no sufficient excuse for the same, shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds* currant Money aforesaid; and a Roll of the Tax so made, shall be delivered unto the hands of the respective Constables of the said Cities, Counties, Parishes, Precinct, with a Warrant Signed by any two Justices of the Peace, impowering him or them to Levy the said Tax, and upon refusal, to distrain and sell by publick Outcry, and pay the same into the hands of the Church-Wardens, retaining to himself *Twelve pence per* Pound for Levying thereof; and if any person shall refuse to pay that he is so assessed, and the said Constable do strain for the same, all his Charges shall be paid him, with such further allowance for his pains, as the said Justices, or any of them shall judge reasonable. Or if the said Justice or Justices shall neglect to issue the said Warrant, he or they respectively shall forfeit *Five Pounds*, Currant Money aforesaid.

And if the said Constable, or any of them fail of their duty herein,

herein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pound*, Currant Money aforesaid, and the Church-Wardens so Chosen, shall undertake the said Office, and receive and keep a good account of the Money or Goods levied by virtue of this Act; and the same issue by Order from the said Justices and Vestry Men of the respective Cities, Counties, Precincts and Parishes aforesaid, for the purposes and intents aforesaid, and not otherwise. And the Church-Wardens shall, as often as thereunto required, yield an Account unto the Justices and Vestry Men, of all their Receipts & Disbursements; and in case the Church-Wardens, or any of them, shall neglect their Duty herein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, Currant Money aforesaid, for every refusal.

And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Church Wardens in their respective Precincts aforesaid, shall by Warrant as aforesaid, pay unto the respective Ministers, the Maintenance aforesaid, by four equal & Quarterly Payments, under the Penalty of *Five Pound*, Currant Money aforesaid, for each neglect, refusal or default; the one half of all such forfeitures shall be disposed of to the use of the Poor in each respective Precinct, where the same doth arise; and the other half to him or them that shall prosecute the same.

Always Provided, and be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every the respective Ministers that shall be Settled in the respective Cities, Counties and Precincts above-said, shall be Called to Officiate in their respective Precincts aforesaid, by the respective Vestry Men & Church-Wardens aforesaid: And always Provided, that all former Agreements made with Ministers throughout this Province, shall continue and remain in their full force and virtue: Any thing contained herein to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

An Act to Punish Governours of Plantations in this Kingdom, for Crimes by them committed in the Plantations.

WHereas a due Punishment is not provided for several Crimes and Offences committed out of this His Majesty's Realm of England; *whereof divers Governours, Lieutenant-Governours, Deputy-Governours or Commanders in Chief of Plantations*

Plantations and Colonies within his Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas, Have taken Advantage, and have not been deterred from Oppressing His Majesty's Subjects within their respective Governments and Command, nor from committing several other great Crimes and Offences.; not Deeming themselves Punishable for the same here, nor accountable for such their Crimes and Offences, to any Persons within their respective Governments and Commands. For Remedy whereof.

Be it Enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, That if any Governour, Lieutenant-Governour, Deputy-Governours or Commanders, shall after the first day of *August,* One Thousand Seven Hundred, be guilty of Oppressing any His Majesty's Subjects beyond the Seas, within their respective Governments or Commands; or shall be guilty of any other Crime or Offence, contrary to the Laws of this Realm, or in force within their respective Governments or Commands; such Oppressions, Crimes and Offence shall be Enquired of, Heard and Determined in His Majesties Court of Kings Bench here in *Enggland;* or before such Commissioners, and in such County of this Realm, as shall be assigned by his Majesty's Commission, and by good and lawful men of the same County; and that such Punishment shall be inflicted on such Offender as are usually inflicted for Offences of like Nature committed here in *England.*

A Copy of a Ministers Licence granted by Lord Cornbury.

By His Excellency *Edward* Viscount *Cornbury,* Captain General, *&c.*

To Greeting.

I *Do hereby Licence and Tolerate you, to be Minister of the Congregation at in County, in the Province of* New-York: *And to have and exercise the free Liberty and Use of your Religion, pursuant to Her Majesty's Pleasure, therein signified to me, in Her Royal Instructions; for and during so long time, as to me shall seem meet. And all Ministers and others, are hereby required to take notice hereof.* Given under my Hand and Seal, at *Fort-Anne,* in *New-York,* this day of in the Year of Her Majesties Reign. *Annoq; Dom.*

Cornbury.

A Copy of a Certificate from the Court of *Accomack* County in *Virginia*, read by Lord *Cornbury*, before Commitment of *Francis Makemie*, for Preaching a Sermon at *York*.

Accomack-County ss.

THese *may Certifie to all, to whom these Presents may concern, that Mr.* Francis Makemie, *a Dissenter and Preacher, in the aforesaid County of* Accomack, *hath at a Court held in the aforesaid County,* October *the 5th.* 1699. *performed and answered, by taking the Oaths,* &c. *Enjoined in a certain Act of Parliament, made the 24th day of* May, Anno Dom. 1689. *In the First Year of the Reign of King* William *and Queen* Mary, *Entituled,* An Act for Exempting Their Majesty's Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the penalties of sundry Laws. *And by his application to the Court by Petition obtained Order in* October *Court last, that his own House at* Accomack-*Town, and his Dwelling-House at* Pocamock, *should be Registred and Recorded to be the first places of his constant and ordinary Preaching: Which is Attested this 10th day of* October, Anno Dom. 1699.

Per me John Washbourn, *Cler.* Car. Com. Accomack.

An account of the Charges of the Imprisonment of Francis Makemie, *and* John Hampton; *and Prosecution of the former, for Preaching a Sermon at* New-York *City.*

Item.	*l.*	*s.*	d.
TO *Tho. Cardale*, Sheriff of Queens County, on *Long-Island*, for apprehending and bringing us before Ld. *Cornbury*, at *Fort-Anne.*	04	01	00
To Charges at *Jamaica*, whether we were carried out of the way.	00	12	00
To Expences at *White-Hall* Tavern, while attending Lord *Cornbury*'s leisure, besides what sundry Friends spent.	00	02	03

To

To *Ebenezar Wilson* High Sheriff for Commitment to his House.	04	01	00
To Extraordinary Expences, during the time of our Imprisonment.	06	00	00
To Mr. *Ja. Reignere* for a retaining Fee.	01	13	09
To a Fee at another time.	03	06	00
To *Ebe. Wilson*, Sheriff of *York* for Accommodation.	13	05	06
To Ditto for Return, and *Habeas Corpus*.	04	01	00
To the Chief Justice when we gave Recognizance.	01	16	00
To Ditto after the first Term.	00	18	00
To Mr. *William Nichol* for pleading.	02	12	00
To Ditto still due, but now ordered him.	01	10	00
To my Charges in returning with my man from *Virginia* both by Land & Water, to attend the Tryal at *New-York*.	12	06	06
To the Sheriff for a Copy of the Pannil.	00	05	06
To Mr. Attorney for the Queen tho' Cleared	12	12	06
To Mr. Secretary for Fees.	05	12	06
To the High-Sheriff for Fees after Tryal.	01	10	00
To the Judge.	01	00	00
To Judge *Willward* for taxing the Bill of Cost I think	00	12	00
To the Cryer and Under-Sheriff.	00	10	00
To Mr. *Reignere* for his pains in Writing and Pleading.	05	00	00
Sum	81	04	09

IN this Postscript, there is first, The only Establishing Act of *New-York* which the Clergy of the Church of *England* has laid hold upon, & thereby would deceive the World, in imposing upon, not only the *American*, but *Europæan* World, that they are Established in *New-York* Government, as in *England;* but also influence that Noble Corporation or Society for Propogating the Gospel, or the Patrons of most of them, to break the Fifth Commandment, in *Stubbs* his Scheme: And tho' the foregoing Tryal has opened the eyes, and undeceived most, if not all at *New-York*, in this matter; for which they may thank a Prison. So this is to enlighten, not only those abroad in the World, but also influence and direct the Assemblys of *New-York* for the future; in not giving a handle to any, to pervert their Laws, contrary to the intention of the Legislators, or confirming

firming by subsequent Acts, in their unjust possessions; all which they may perceive from the following particulars. 1. This Law is not general for the whole Government, but for four Counties of a Colony, where there are nine Counties; so that the largest share is yet without the benefits of this Act. 2. It was made upon the motion and application of sundry Dissenters, on *Long-Island*, yet alive, who expected another benefit by it, then they have been since treated with. 3. It was made by an Assembly generally Dissenters, and are so to this day; and let such as are alive declare their design in this Law. 4. There is not any mention of so much as the name of the Church of *England*, or the mode or manner of the Church of *England* Worship, Government or Ceremonies in all the Law, without which, I cannot imagine they can have any Establishment. 5. Every sufficient Protestant Minister, duly called according to directions of said Law, has a right hereunto, and none else; and that Dissenters for whom this Law was originally designed, are deemed and called Ministers, and men in Holy Orders, is plain from the express words of the Act of Toleration. 6. None have a right unto, or should have any benefit by this Act, but he that is called and chosen by twelve men, chosen by the free Votes of the people of the County which Mr. *Urqhart* of *Jamaica*, never had by any Vote of the majority; therefore has as great a right to the Salary there, as he has to the Meeting-House, with the House & Land he lives upon, of which the Proprietors have been Ousted with violence, without all legal Process or Ejectment; and being of 1500 *l.* value. It is matter of satisfaction this practice is singular, and not yet made a President of, tho' *New-Town* is threatned by the same Parson. 7. It is observable, at the time this Law was made, there was not a Church of *England* Clergyman in all that Country, and for some time after. 8. As no person had a right by this Law, but such legally called, and chosen; so consequently it was no crime for the Vestry to refuse levying or paying money to such as had no right. 9. By *English* Law, and Practice, no Vestry men were to be fined as culpable, until legally convicted of the crime, or matter of fact. 10. By the last clause of this Law, all former Agreements made between Ministers and People, were confirmed and ratifyed, and all such were then, and are to this day, *Dutch*, *French*, and *British* Dissenters. So much concerning *New-York* Act of Assembly.

As to the *English* Act of Parliament, I shall say nothing, but leave that to the *Queens-Bench*, and the Learned Judges there,

there, when the crimeless Mittimus, and till further order comes to be tryed by them.

The next Copy is a *New-York* Licence, not so common and and general to Dissenters, as Mr. Attorney asserted at the Tryal; for if they were all called in, they would make but a small number, and any may have them for half the money they cost; and with some not so easily swallowed down, as Conformity, for which we dissent: And for these Reasons. 1. If we are not Ministers before, this Licence can never make us so. 2. No such Instructions from the Queen was produced at the Tryal, as laid Dissenters under any obligations of taking Licences. 3. By this Licence they are only tolerated to exercise their Religion in one Congregation, and allows not a liberty to Preach to any People in the whole Government, who shall desire it, which no Minister in his right wit for the future, will submit to. 4. It is a most precarious liberty, which is granted, not, *Quamdiu bene se gesserit*, but during pleasure; which is inconsistent with that Commission and Authority, which Ministers of the Gospel, called of God, derive from the Lord Jesus Christ, the Head and King of his Militant Churches: Therefore it is from a principle of Conscience, and not from any contempt of Government or disrespect to the persons of any in Authority, that they cannot, they dare not submit to such a Licence, so inconsistent with the toleration, and that liberty of Conscience allowed in *Britain*, and practised in all the Queens Dominions, besides *New-York*, and commanded to be allowed by the Queens Instructions.

The next thing to be taken notice of in this Postscript, is a Copy of Mr. *Makemies* Certificate from a Court of Record in the Dominion of *Virginia*, which was produced to, and read by Ld. *Cornbury*, before Confinement, and shown to the Grand Jury, before the Presentment was found: And tho' Mr. Attorney told the said Jury, while four of the Hearers were examining upon Oath concerning the Sermon, this Certificate was writ under a Hedge, which no doubt influenced them to have no regard thereunto; Yet if the Act of Toleration, and consequently this Certificate had come in play at the Tryal, he was armed with an Exemplification from the Government, signed by the Præsident, and the Seal of the Colony annext, to prove the truth and validity of this Certificate, and vindicate it from Forgery.

The last thing is an account of the Expences, of not only a person who is innocent, but for doing good, as was determined by the Tryal; and in complying with the most solemn obligations

tions of duty, both to God, and the Souls of men. To which, besides loss of time, and absence from his Family and Concerns, he might have justly charged *Twelve Pounds* more Money, by being necessiated to make his Escape, both by Land and Water to *New-England*, from Officers with new Precepts, whereby a whole Sabbath was prophaned, in seeking to apprehend him; for which some must be accountable.

But it is plain and undeniable, that the Prosecution of the most innocent person in the world at *New-York* is more expensive, then if Mr. *Makemie* had been guilty of all the Pænal Laws mustered up, in the Indictment against one Sermon, if prosecuted in *England*, even while Pænal Laws were in force, and Executed there.

And a fair and legal decision, cannot put an end to a Controversy, where the same fact is made criminal, and a new Process violently designed, and vigorously aimed at, by such, as nothing but the interposition of the Authority of *England* will put a stop to.

And what legal Authority Mr. Attorney, and a perpetual Sheriff have for their demanded Fees, I leave to the Regulated Table of Fees of *New-York* to determine; not to be paralelled by any Colony in Her Majesty's Dominions.

In regard that all Opportunities have been denyed to the abovesaid Mr. Makemie *for his own Vindication, 'twas thought proper here to Subjoin a Copy of his Letter to the Lord* Cornbury, *of which no regard was had, nor answer given.*

Boston, July 28th. 1707.

May it please Your Lordship,

I Most humbly beg leave to Represent to Your Excellency my just astonishment at the Information received from sundry hands since my arrival in these Colonies, and after so long and so expensive a Confinement, so deliberate and fair a Tryal, before Judges of Your Lordships appointment, and by a Jury Chosen by your own Sheriff, on purpose to try that matter: I have been legally cleared, and found guilty of no Crime for

for Preaching a Sermon at *New-York*, though my Innocence protected me not from unspeakable and intollerable Expence.

I am informed, *may it please your Excellency*, there are Orders and Directions given to sundry Officers in the *Jerseys*, for apprehending me, and a design of giving me fresh trouble at *New-York*.

If I were assured of the true cause of Your Lordships repeated Resentments against me, I doubt not but my Innocence, would not only effectually justify me, but remove those impressions imposed on Your Lordship by some persons about you.

And as to my Preaching, being found at the Tryal, against no Law, nor any ways inconsistent with Her Majesty's Instructions produced there; and considering the solemn Obligations I am under, both to God, and the Souls of men, to embrace all opportunities for exercising those Ministerial Gifts vouchsafed from Heaven; to whom I do appeal, I have no other end, besides the Glory of God, and the Eternal Good of Precious Souls: I must assure my self Your Lordship insists not on this now as a Crime, especially in *New-York* Government, where all Protestants are upon an equal level of Liberty, and no legal Establishment for any particular Perswasion.

I hear I am Charged with the *Jersey* Paper, Call'd, *Forget and Forgive;* tho' the proving a Negative in my just Vindication be an hard Task, and not an usual undertaking; yet doubt not but the thing it self, the matter it contains being foreign to me, and no way concerned me: the time of its publication, being so soon spread abroad after my arrival; I am well assured, none dare legally accuse me, while the Authors smile at Your Lordships mistake and imposition, whose Informers deserve to the stigmatized with the severest marks of Your Lordships Displeasure; and the Authors will find a time to confront my sworn Accusers of Perjury; and besides that, I never saw it till about the last of *February:* We have suffered greatly in our Reputations, and particularly by being branded with the Character of *Jesuits;* tho' my universal known Reputation in *Europe* and *America*, makes me easy under such inviduous imputations: I have been represented to Your Lordship as being factious in the Government, both of *Virginia* and *Maryland:* I have peaceably lived in *Virginia*, and I brought from *Maryland* a Certificate of my past Reputation, signed by some of the best Quality on the most Contiguous County, ready to be produced at the Tryal, if there had been occasion for it: A Copy of which I presume to Inclose for Your Lordships perusal and satisfaction.

I beg leave to represent to Your Lordship my just concern at the sundry Precepts for apprehending me, both in *York* and *Jerseys*, as one of the greatest Criminals; whereby I am prevented in performing my own Ministerial Duties to many in Your Lordships Government of my own Perswasion, who desire it. I shall patiently expect Your Lordships *Commands* and *Directions*, in giving me an opportunity for Vindicating of my self in what is charged against me, and being always ready to comply with any Qualification enjoined and required by Law.

I beg leave of Your Lordship to Subscribe myself Your Excellency's Most Humble and most Obedient Servant.

Francis Makemie.

FINIS.

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Vol.4
no.5

AN

EXTRACT

OF THE

JOURNALS

OF

Mr. Commissary *Von Reck*,

Who Conducted the First Transport of SALTZBURGERS to *Georgia:*

AND OF THE

Reverend Mr. *Bolzius*,

One of their MINISTERS.

Giving an Account of their VOYAGE to, and happy SETTLEMENT in that PROVINCE.

Published by the Direction of
The SOCIETY *for Promoting*
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

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M.DCC.XXXIV.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 5.

TO THE

READER.

THE Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *and the Members chosen by them to be* Trustees *for the poor persecuted* Saltzburgers, *having some time ago, promised to publish an Extract of the* Journals *of Mr. Commissary* Von Reck, *who in the Year* 1733-4. *conducted the first Transport of* Saltzburgers *to* Georgia; *and of the Reverend Mr.* Bolzius, *one of their Ministers (recommended to the* Society, *by the Reverend Mr. Professor* Frank *at* Hall, *as an excellent and pious Person, zealously affected to every good Work) do accordingly publish these Sheets; which being written Originally in the* German *Language, the Reader will be pleased to dispense with some Inaccuracies in the* English *Translation, which Defect will be made up by the Truth and Faithfulness of the Narrative.*

EXTRACTS

OF

Mr. *VON RECK*'s

JOURNAL

FROM

Dover *to* Ebenezer.

January 8. O. S. 1733-4.

HAVING a favourable Wind, we left *Dover*, and again set Sail. An universal Joy appeared amongst the *Saltzburgers*, who praised God that he had heard their Prayers.

Jan. 9. We discovered at Noon the Isle of *Wight.*

Jan. 10, 11. At Eleven in the Morning, having happily passed through the Channel, we left the Land's End.

Thus God was pleased to rejoice us, and give us Hopes, that, through the Continuance of his Mercy, the rest of our Voyage would be no less prosperous. May the Lord be pleased always to assist us; we are in his Hands, and to him we entirely trust our Souls and Bodies. Towards Night, the Wind increased so much, that it broke the Stay which held the Main-top-Mast; and we had been exposed to great Danger, if Divine Providence had not averted it.

Jan. 24. The Weather was fine and pleasant. According to our Reckoning, we passed the Latitude of the *Canary* Islands, and through the adorable Mercy of the Almighty approached

approached the Trade-Winds, which are reckoned to blow all the Year from the Eastward.

Jan. 25. We sung *Te Deum*, and praised the Almighty with our Lips and Hearts.

Jan. 26. God was pleased to give us very fair Weather, with the Continuation of the Trade-Wind.

Jan. 28. An Alarm of Fire caused a great Consternation in the whole Ship, but no ill Accident ensued. For my part, I think that God designed by this Alarm, to call us to Repentance; and to put us in mind of the Uncertainty of this Life, and the Eternity of the next. In reality, almost all became serious; and if they were not thoroughly converted, yet they could not help thinking with terror, how miserable must have been their Condition, had they by so sudden an Accident, been brought before the Tribunal of an offended and just God. Being recovered from our Fright, we [*Saltzburgers*] joined in our Praises unto the Lord, singing Hymns and Psalms, promising before him, never to offend his holy Majesty by any known Sin whatsoever.

Jan. 30. This Day we felt a great deal of Heat; and, for Refreshment, washed between the Decks, where the People lay, with Vinegar.

Jan. 31. A great Shower of Rain fell, and the Wind changed to *West*. Thus God confounds the Opinions of Men, and convinces them, that He is Almighty and Master of the Winds; for the Sailors, who had persuaded us, that the Trade-Wind blew constantly from the same Quarter. found now the contrary.

February 6. At Night, a tempestuous Wind arose, but God in his Goodness, held his Almighty Hand over us, and was pleased the next Day to give us a good Wind, which advanced us five or six Miles an Hour.

Feb. 16. At Two in the Afternoon, the Wind turned contrary *N.* by *W.* but being very gentle, the Sea was calm all that Night. It is remarkable, that *hitherto*, the contrary Winds have always been gentle, and immediately followed by a Calm, so that we never went back.

Feb. 17. We had this Evening at Prayers *Psal.* l. 14. *Offer unto* God *Thanksgiving, and pay thy Vows unto the most Highest;* Which we heartily did, for all his loving Mercies vouchsafed unto us; and at the same time, we vowed a Vow, as *Jacob* did in *Gen.* xxviii. and the 20th Verse.

Feb. 18. At Two in the Afternoon, the Wind was strong at *S.* and soon after, it proved contrary, and extremely violent.

I was very much surprized to see the Sea rise so high; a Tempest darkned the Sky; the Waves swelled and foamed; and every thing threatned to overwhelm us in the Deep. All the Sails were furled; the Violence of the Wind was so great, that it tore the Main Sail in pieces. Besides which, the Mate cried out, that the Water rose fast in the Hold: but though he spoke Truth, the Ship received no Damage. We sighed, we cried unto GOD, and prayed him to help us. He heard, and comforted us by some Passages of the Holy Scripture, as *Isa.* li. 15. *Psal.* xxxix. 7, 8. *Job.* chap. xiv. and xvii.

Feb. 20. We saw a *Scotch* Ship, bound for *Charles-town*, and soon lost Sight of her again.

Feb. 27. LAST Night we had the Wind contrary *W. S. W.* but GOD granted us a sweet Repose, and renewed our Strength, the better to undergo a Tempest, which a Wind at *W.* by *S.* brought upon us by Break of Day. This Storm was more dreadful than the other. One sees always Death present in a Storm, and is more sensibly convinced of this Truth, that there may be but a moment between Life and Death. Wherefore those who are not throughly converted to GOD, and assured of the Happiness of the Life to come, are the most miserable at Sea: for if they chance to perish, they perish in their Sins. We made *the Holy Scriptures* our Refuge, some Passages whereof did mightily comfort us, as *Isa.* liv. 7, 8. and the following verses, Luk. xviii. 7, 8. *Heb.* v. 7. *Mic.* vii. 18. Divine Mercy preserved us through our Saviour, and at Night the Wind abated.

March 1. As *Samuel* erected a Pillar which he called *Ebenezer;* so did we also erect in our Hearts an eternal Memorial of the divine Favours. I speak it in Truth, that I look upon it as the greater Mercy to my poor Soul, that GOD has vouchsafed to send me with the two Reverend Ministers, and the *Saltzburgers.*

Mar. 3. WE were comforted, and our Hopes were revived by *Psal.* lxv. lxii. 12. xci. 93. *Isa.* xli. 13, 14. xliii. 12. xxxi. 5. and *Psal.* lxi.

Mar. 4. WE sounded this Morning at six, and drew up some Sand and Soil of *Carolina;* neither did the Water appear so black as before, but look'd yellowish. The Captain lay by to make an Observation, and was hindred by the Cloudiness of the Weather: but a Snow, bound from *Carolina* to *Pensilvania*, passed by us, and gave us an Account how the Land lay. The Captain told me, we were ten Leagues distant from the Shore.

Mar. 5. A *S. S. W.* arose, which carried us, through the Mercy

Mercy of *Jesus Christ*, within sight of *Carolina*. We sung *Te Deum*, and the 66th *Psalm*, which was the Psalm for the Day, and seemed adapted to our Condition and Circumstances: and we trust it will be a Psalm of Remembrance to us upon the Day, which is to be celebrated every Year, as a Thanksgiving unto the Lord, for all his Mercies vouchsafed unto us. At Eleven in the Forenoon, we discovered the Coast of *Carolina*, all covered over with large Pine Trees. The Wind being *N. W.* by *W.* contrary, we could not reach the Point of *Charles-town*, so that we were forced, as we had been in our Voyage from *Rotterdam* to *Dover*, to stand off and on several times, in order to get more Wind. God acts with us, as he did with the *Israelites: Joshua* was to circumcise all those who were willing to enter into *Canaan:* so God is willing to circumcise, amend, and convert our Hearts, before he let us disembark. Towards Evening, we met an *English* Ship, which came from *Charles-town* this Afternoon, and was bound for *London*. He told us the agreeable News of Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s being safely arrived the Night before at *Charles-town*, in his Way to *England*, which mightily rejoiced and comforted us.

Mar. 6. At six in the Morning, the Wind blowing hard at *West*, we lost Sight of Land; though at Noon, the Wind coming to the *South*, we saw Land again: but Night approaching, we lay off and on.

Mar. 7. At Nine, there came from *Charles-town*, a Pilot on Board our Ship, we immediately cast Anchor; and at Ten, the Captain, the Reverend Divines, and I went into the Pilot's Boat. At one in the Afternoon, we came to *Charles-town*, where I immediately waited on his Excellency *Robert Johnson* Esq; and Mr. *Oglethorpe*. They were glad to hear that the *Saltzburgers* were come within six Leagues, all safe and in good Health, without the Loss of any one Person. Mr. *Oglethorpe* shewed me a Plan of *Georgia*, and gave me the Liberty to choose a Settlement for the *Saltzburgers*, either near the Sea, or further in the Continent. I accordingly accepted his Favour, and chose a Place 21 Miles from the Town of *Savannah*, and 30 Miles from the Sea, where there are Rivers, little Hills, clear Brooks, cool Springs, a fertile Soil, and plenty of Grass.

Charles-town is a fine Town, and a Sea-Port, and enjoys an extensive Trade. It is built on a Flat, and has large Streets; the Houses good, mostly built of Wood, some of Brick. Wheat Bread is very dear here, there being no Wheat Flour but what Gentlemen raise upon their Plantations for their own Use, and that

that is very good; or what they receive from the Northern Colonies, or from *England;* Rice is here excellent and cheap. There are five Negroes to one White, and there are imported generally 3000 fresh Negroes every Year. There are computed to be 30,000 Negroes in this Province, all of them Slaves, and their Posterity for ever: They work six Days in the Week for their Masters without pay, and are allowed to work on *Sundays* for themselves. Baptism is rarely here administer'd to the Children of the Negroes, and Marriage is not in use amongst them; but they are suffer'd promiscuously to mix, as if they were a Part of the Brute Creation. Being thus used, lays amongst them a Foundation of Discontent; and they are generally thought to watch an Opportunity of revolting against their Masters, as they have lately done in the Island of St. *John* and of St. *Thomas*, belonging to the *Danes* and *Sweeds;* and it is the Apprehension of these and other Inconveniences, that has induced the Honourable Trustees for *Georgia*, to prohibit the Importation and Use of Negroes within their Colony.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* sent on Board our Ship, by the Pilot's Sloop, a large Quantity of fresh Beef, two Butts of Wine, two Tunn of Spring Water, Cabbage, Turnips, Radishes, Fruit, *&c.* as a present from the Trustees, to refresh the *Saltzburgers* after their long Voyage; for which Kindness (under God) we cannot be sufficiently thankful to them.

Mar. 8. We thought this Morning to have gone with the Pilot's Long Boat, on Board our Ship the *Purrysburg*, for the Captain had taken here a Pilot, to bring us into the River *Savannah.* Mr. *Oglethorpe* had given us for our Guide Mr. *Dunbar*, who knows the Country very well, and was already settled in *Georgia*, near the Place appointed for us. We thought, I say, to have gone this Morning; but the Boat was too much loaded, and the Wind, which was *E. S. E.* though favourable for *Georgia*, was contrary for us to reach our Ship. We returned to the Town, and lay there.

Mar. 9. We beg'd of God, that he would permit us to go to our *Georgia.* We went away this Morning at ten, and got on Board our Ship at two in the Afternoon.

Mar. 10. God blessed us this Day with the Sight of our Country, our wish'd for *Georgia*, which we saw at ten in the Morning; and brought us unto the *Savannah* River, and caused us to remember the Vows we had made unto him, if He did through his infinite Goodness bring us hither. We were to day very much edified with the xxxii[d] Chapter of *Genesis*, and the xxvi[th] of *Leviticus.* At Noon, we cast Anchor because of the Tide:

Tide: at eight, during the Evening Prayers, we enter'd the River of *Savannah;* and were shelter'd by the Divine Goodness, from all Dangers and Inconveniencies of the Sea. This River is in some Places broader than the *Rhine*, and from 16 to 25 Foot deep; and abounds with Oysters, Sturgeon, and other Fish. Its Banks were cloathed with fresh Grass; and a little beyond were seen Woods, old as the Creation; resounding with the Musick of Birds, who sung the Praise of their Creator.

Mar. 12. THE Magistrates of the Town sent on Board our Ship an experienced Pilot; and we were carried up to the Town of *Savannah* by 11 in the Forenoon. They returned our salute of five Guns with three; and all the Magistrates, the Citizens, and the *Indians*, were come to the River side. The two Divines, Mr. *Dunbar*, some others, and my self, went ashore in a Boat. We were received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, Friendship, and Civility. The *Indians* reach'd their Hands to me, as a Testimony of their Joy also for our Arrival. The *Saltzburgers* came on shore after us; and we immediately pitch'd a Tent for them, in the Square of the Town.

I WENT to view this rising Town, *Savannah*, seated upon the Banks of a River of the same Name. The Town is regularly laid out, divided into four Wards, in each of which is left a spacious Square, for holding of Markets, and other publick Uses. The Streets are straight, and the Houses are all of the same Model and Dimensions, and well contrived for Conveniency: For the Time it has been built, it is very populous, and its Inhabitants are all White People. And indeed, the Blessing of God seems to have gone along with this Undertaking; for here we see Industry honoured, and Justice strictly executed, and Luxury and Idleness banished from this happy Place, where Plenty and Brotherly Love seem to make their Abode, and where the good Order of a Nightly Watch, restrains the Disorderly, and makes the Inhabitants sleep secure in the midst of a Wilderness. There is laid out, near the Town, by Order of the Trustees, a Garden for making Experiments, for the Improving Botany and Agriculture; it contains 10 Acres, and lies upon the River; and it is cleared, and brought into such Order, that there is already, a fine Nursery of Oranges, Olives, white Mulberries, Figs, Peaches, and many curious Herbs: besides which, there is Cabbages, Peas, and other *European* Pulse and Plants, which all thrive. Within the Garden there is an artificial Hill, said by the Indians, to be raised over the Body of one of their ancient Emperors. I had like to have forgot one of the best Regulations, made by the Trustees, for

the

the Government of the Town of *Savannah*, I mean, the utter Prohibition of the Use of Rum, that flattering but deceitful Liquor, which has been found equally pernicious to the Natives and new Comers, which seldom fails, by Sickness, or Death, to draw after it its own Punishment.

Mar. 13. I went to see the *Indians*, and their King *Tomo-cha-chi:* I caused some Raisins, of which they are very fond, to be distributed amongst them. It is worth taking Notice of, that as we were at Evening Prayers, after our Return from the *Indians*, who have their Huts at 100 Paces distance from the Town, one of the *Saltzburgers* should tell us, that he was edified to Day by this Passage of St. *John*, that *God loved all the World.*

Mar. 14. Mr. *Oglethorpe* had given Orders for three Horses to be ready for my Service, to take a View of the Country, and to ride to the Place where the *Saltzburgers* were to settle. I went this Morning at nine of the Clock, with a Constable and a Guide; but after we had gone a Mile or two, we enter'd some thick Woods, divided by deep Brooks of Water; and though we could with great Difficulty pass over some, yet there were others we could not pass; wherefore we returned back to the Town.

Mar. 15. I received the List of the Provisions and Tools for the *Saltzburgers.*

Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and Mr. *Jenys*, Speaker of the Assembly of *Carolina*, arrived at *Savannah*, from *Charles-town;* the first having out of Love to our *Saltzburgers* put off his Journey to *England*, being resolved to see them settled before he went. Having informed him, that the Floods had made it impossible for me to pass the Woods by Land; he said he would go himself, to shew me the Country, and see what Place I would choose. The Speaker desired to accompany him, and I did my self the Honour to make one of the Company. He sent to the *Indian* King, to desire two *Indians* to hunt for him in the Journey; who not only granted them, but his chief War Captain, *Tuskeneoi*, out of Civility to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, came along with them to accompany us. We went on Board a ten-oar'd Boat, to the Place where a House was building by Mr. *Musgrove*, * six Miles up the *Savannah* River.

Mar. 16. Having slept well in a Tent which we pitched under the Shade of a Tree, by the River side last Night, I accompanied Mr. *Oglethorpe* on Horseback, and the Speaker and others went by Water.

* Who afterwards came to *England*, Interpreter to *Tomo-cha-chi*.

If you ask, how a Country that is covered with Wood, and cut with Rivers and Morasses, is passable; I must acquaint you, that since the Colony was settled, the Ways were marked by Barking of the Trees, to shew where the Roads should go, and where the Rivers were passable. After passing through a Morass covered with Canes, we came to an unfordable River, through which the *Indians* swam our Horses, and we crossed over upon a great Tree, cut down for that Purpose: The Tree was cut down so as to lie across the River, and serve for a Bridge. And after riding some Leagues in the Woods, we passed another River. Night overtaking us, we were obliged to take up our Quarters upon a little Hill, round a Fire with the *Indians*, who brought us a wild Turkey for our Supper.

Mar. 17. We continued our Journey, and set out by Break of Day, and at nine arrived at the Place where the *Saltzburgers* were afterwards settled. I shall here give a short Description of it. The Lands are inclosed between two Rivers, which fall into the *Savannah*. The *Saltzburg* Town is to be built near the largest, which is called * *Ebenezer*, in Remembrance that God has brought us hither; and is navigable, being twelve Foot deep. A little Rivulet, whose Water is as clear as Crystal, glides by the Town; another runs through it, and both fall into the *Ebenezer*. The Woods here are not so thick as in other Places. The sweet Zephyrs preserve a delicious Coolness, notwithstanding the scorching Beams of the Sun. There are very fine Meadows, in which a great Quantity of Hay might be made with very little Pains: there are also Hillocks, very fit for Vines. The Cedar, Walnut, Pine, Cypress, and Oak, make the greatest Part of the Woods. There is found in them a great Quantity of Myrtle Trees, out of which they extract, by boiling the Berries, a green Wax, very proper to make Candles with. There is much Sassafras, and a great Quantity of those Herbs of which Indigo is made, and Abundance of *China* Roots. The Earth is so fertile, that it will bring forth any thing that can be sown or planted in it; whether Fruits, Herbs, or Trees. There are wild Vines, which run up to the Tops of the tallest Trees; and the Country is so good, that one may ride full gallop 20 or 30 Miles an end. As to Game, here are Eagles, Wild Turkies, Roe-Bucks, Wild-Goats, Stags, Wild Cows, Horses, Hares, Partridges, and Buffaloes.

From hence I returned to the Town of *Savannah*, through *Abercorn*, a Village newly settled by Order of the Trustees,

* The Stone of Help.

upon

upon the *Savannah* River, near where the *Ebenezer* falls into it.

Mar. 22. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, after a great deal of Fatigue, returned this Morning to *Savannah;* every thing was immediately prepared for his Departure, and he really thought to have gone this Afternoon; but the Multiplicity of Affairs, the Complaints which were made before him, and several other Things which fell out together, kept him back till to-morrow.

Mar. 23. And then He went away. All the People were so concerned at it, that they could not refrain their Tears, when they saw Him go, who was their Benefactor and their Father; who had carefully watched over them, as a good Shepherd does over his Flock, and who had had so tender a Care of them, both by Day and by Night; and they were the more afflicted, that the Fatigues and Difficulties of so long a Voyage, left them very small Hopes of seeing Him again.

Mar. 24. *Sunday.* We were spiritually comforted by receiving the Holy Communion.

Mar. 27. Mr. *Jones*, who is a Surveyor, and I, went away this Night in a small Boat, for *Abercorn*, in order to go from thence to seek and clear the River *Ebenezer*. It thunder'd and lighten'd; and the Wind being contrary and strong, we could go up no higher than *Musgrove*'s Land; where we lay under the Canopy of Heaven, upon the bare Ground, having made a good Fire to warm our benumbed Limbs; for tho' it be hot here in the Day-time, yet it is cold in the Night.

Mar. 28. After Breakfast, we continued our Journey, and came at Noon to *Abercorn*. At five in the Afternoon, we entred into a small River, but at nine at Night, we perceived that it was lost among the Trees and Marshes. We entered the same Night into another River, more towards the *W.* very large, and having a good Stream, adorned with Woods on each side of it. At last, we reach'd a rising Ground, where we landed; we cut some Canes, made a Fire, lay round it, and God granted us a good Rest.

Mar. 29. We went farther up the River, but not without great Difficulties.

Mar. 30. Towards Night we came out of the River, which fell into the *Savannah*, 8 Miles above *Purrysburg;* so our Design was frustrated, by missing the River *Ebenezer*, and we returned the same Night to *Abercorn*, where we staid.

Mar. 31. We arrived this Afternoon at *Savannah*.

April 1. We put on Board a Sloop, Provision for three Months,

Months, with necessary Tools, and the Baggage of the *Saltzburgers*.

Apr. 2. We all went on Board the little Sloop, but found it was too much loaden; wherefore I went with only a few of the Men, and was obliged to leave the rest in the Town.

Apr. 3. We came to the Village of *Abercorn*, at Four in the Afternoon: from hence, we were forced to carry our Provision and Baggage to *Ebenezer* by Land.

Apr. 4. I stay'd at *Ebenezer*, and could not but commend the Diligence and Industry of the nine *Saltzburgers*, who were come before, and whose Labour God had given a Blessing unto. They had erected two good Tents, made of the Barks of Trees, one of which was 40 Foot long; and had cut down abundance of Trees, in order to breathe a free Air; and besides all that, they were obliged in the greatest Heats, almost every Day, to walk to *Abercorn*, which is 12 Miles; and to carry their Utensils and daily Provision, upon their Backs. After this, God was pleased, to shew us a more convenient Road than the other, by which we avoided one of the greatest Brooks.

Apr. 5. I returned to wait the Arrival of the other *Saltzburgers*, who were to follow us immediately.

Apr. 7. The rest of the *Saltzburgers* arrived.

Apr. 8. Mr. *Bolzius* made ardent Prayers, that our Saviour would assist us in our Beginning, and bless our Labours with Success.

Apr. 9. We began to make a Bridge over a Brook, and finished it.

Apr. 10. In the Morning we went on cutting and cleansing.

Apr. 12. *Good Friday.* God was pleased to take to himself, the Soul of one of our People, called * *Lackner*. The Resignation and sweet Death of this Man, who expired the same Day that Jesus Christ did on the Cross, did not fail to touch every one, and raise in us a fervent Desire of enjoying soon the same Felicity, with our Saviour, in the Heavenly Jerusalem. We put up a Box, for the Relief of the Poor, and of the poor Children of the Indians; and as the first Foundation, we put into it the Deceased's Money, which though but small, we pray God to increase.

Apr. 13. The Reverend Mr. *Bolzius* made a Funeral Oration upon the Words of St. *Paul* in the xi^th^ Chap. to the

* See a more full Account in Mr. *Bolzius*'s Journal.

Hebrews,

Hebrews, ver. 8, 9, 10. which suited the Deceased in every respect. At the Place of Interment, he made a very moving Exhortation, from *Heb.* iv. ver. 9, 10, 11.

Apr. 14, and 15. *Easter.* GOD was pleased to awaken our Zeal for his Service, and to animate us to more ardent Endeavours to enter through the strait Gate into the Kingdom of Heaven, and to pass through this Vale of Miseries, Troubles, Sufferings, and Persecutions, to the eternal Felicity which is prepared for Those who shall remain faithful unto the End, and who shall fight and overcome.

Apr. 16. OUR *Saltzburgers* continued to work upon the Road.

Apr. 18. OUR People had made Sledges; I caused Horses to be put to them, and we brought Provisions to *Ebenezer*.

Apr. 19. THIS Day the *Saltzburgers* finished the Way for Carriages; which surprized the *English* mightily, to see they had compassed it in so short a Time; having built seven Bridges over several Rivers, besides cutting the Thickets and Trees that were in the way; and this for the Length of 12 Miles, from *Abercorn* to *Ebenezer*.

WE found before my Tent a strong white Horse; and as we wanted Horses, and knew not from whence he came, nor to whom he belonged, we received him with Thankfulness to GOD.——I received Letters from Captain *Mackpherson*, that he would soon deliver us at *Ebenezer* the Oxen which Mr. *Oglethorpe* had bought of him on our Arrival, to supply the *Saltzburgers* with fresh Meat.

Apr. 22. WE found another Horse in the Woods to-day, which proved very fit for our Service. We found also very good Honey in a hollow Tree, which very much refreshed us. Parrots and Partridges make us here a very good Dish. The Earth is of several sorts, some sandy, some black, fat and heavy, and some of a claiey nature. The first is good for Potatoes and Pease; the second for all sorts of Corn; and the third for to make Bricks, Earthern Ware, *&c.* And the Meadows and Valleys are good for feeding Cattle, Rice, and *Indian* Corn: So that we might hope, with the Blessing of GOD, for plentiful Harvests every Year; if there were more People who would apply themselves to the Tilling of the Ground.

Apr. 24. THE Inhabitants of the Island of *Edistow*, having given 30 Cows for the Use of the Colony of *Georgia*, Mr. *Oglethorpe* order'd them to be sent up to the *Saltzburgers*.

Apr. 27. WE sent every Day loaded Sledges to *Ebenezer*.

Apr.

Apr. 29. I WENT this Day from *Abercorn*, in order to take my Leave of *Ebenezer*, and begin to build a Chapel.

May 1. I HAD Lotts drawn for the Places for the Houses in the Town of *Ebenezer;* through which all the Commerce from *Savannah* by Land to *Carolina* must pass.

May 2. A SLOOP brought us ten Cows and Calves, from the Magistrates of *Savannah*, by Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s Order.

May 5. I RECEIVED by the † Post Letters from Mr. *Oglethorpe*, acquainting me, That we were to receive Twenty Cows and Calves, ten Sows, with Corn for to feed them, and some Fowls and Ducks.

May 9. A Sloop brought us ten * Casks full of all Sorts of Seeds; GOD be praised for it. We do not deserve, O LORD, all the loving Kindnesses thou hast done to thy Servants.

May 10. THE Indians brought us a Deer, which mightily refresh'd our *Saltzburgers*.

May 12. *Sunday.* WE prepared ourselves for the Celebration of a Thanksgiving, to morrow, to Almighty GOD, for his safely bringing us hither. The Chapel was quite finished, so that we could Worship our GOD in it.

May 13. MR. *Bolzius* made a Discourse upon these Words of *Jacob;* LORD, *I am not worthy of the least all thy Mercies, and of the Truth which thou hast shewed to thy Servant*, Gen. xxxii. 10. The lxth *Psalm*, ver. 9, 10. the lxvith, and cviith were quoted, and expressed livelily our own Condition. I spake to the People in the Afternoon, and put them in mind of GOD's Kindnesses, by an Enumeration of them, according to my Observations. I read the 26th Chapter of *Leviticus*, and the 28th, 29th, of *Deuteronomy*. I applied them to the Congregation, and we made a strict Convenant with GOD, to serve Him for the future, with a more fervent Zeal, to give Him all that is his, to walk uprightly before his Face, to seek only the Kingdom of GOD, and its Righteousness, and we renewed the Vows we had made, when at Sea. Have Mercy on us, O our Saviour; Guide us by thy Holy Spirit, into the Paths of Truth; and grant unto us, the Grace to perform in Truth and Sincerity, all that we have promised and sworn unto Thee. After that, I took my Leave of them, and left them some Rules for their Direction, and was very much concerned, at my leaving such good Christians, and good Friends.

† A Messenger goes by Land every 14 days, from *Charles-town* to *Savannah*, through *Ebenezer*.

* Which were sent from *Savannah*.

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EXTRACT

Of the REVEREND

Mr. *BOLZIVS*'s

JOURNAL,

FROM

Their Arrival in *Carolina.*

Thursday, *March* 7.

THOUGH the Wind is fair, the Ship will not go into *Charles-town* Harbour, but lie at Anchor, till we get a Pilot to carry us to *Georgia.*

WE have Liberty to go with our Captain in a Boat to *Charles-town*, where we intended to get our Habits made: But finding no Taylor here that understands it, we must endeavour to find one at another Place. *Charles-town* makes a fine Shew at a Distance in the Sea, and is very regularly built. What we observed here is as follows:

1. THAT every thing in this Place is very dear, except some sort of Victuals.

2. THAT they have here Money made of Paper, the Value of which is express'd upon it with Letters: and though you give the People Gold or Silver Coin, yet they give you the Change in Paper. This Money is current over all *Carolina.*

3.

3. That notwithstanding almost every Thing is dear here, any Body that will work may get his Living.

4. That there are more Black than White People here; who all are kept to work, but not to Christianity. Few are Baptized; the rest live like Brutes, in relation to the Seventh Commandment. They are brought hither from *Africa*, by whole Ship-loads, to be sold.

5. That the Weather is very hot here. In the Beginning of the Spring all Trees are in Blossom, and the Gardens full of Cabbage, Turneps, Radishes, Sallad, and other Fruits.

6. That we found here some *Germans*, who were very glad of our Arrival, and will come to us, in order to receive the Sacrament.

7. That three Weeks ago, a rich loaden Ship lying before this Town, was burnt to Ashes, by the Carelesness of a Boy.

8. That the Black Slaves are about 30,000 in *Carolina* only. A credible Man told us, that about two Months ago, in the two Islands of St. *Thomas* and St. *John*, belonging to the *Swedes* and *Danes*, the Black Slaves had killed all the White People; the former being more numerous than the latter.

9. That Mr. *Oglethorpe* received us with great Kindness, and went with us to the Governor, a very good Man, where we dined. Mr. *Oglethorpe* told us many good Things of the Heathens that were to be our Neighbours: That they were good and friendly to every Body; but if they were offended, they calmly demanded Satisfaction three several times; which if denied them, they used no more Words, but never forget the Offence, and will revenge themselves many Years after. If a Man behaved himself friendly to them, he could have of them what he pleased.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* took Care likewise of the *Saltzburgers*, and sent on Board the Ship a whole Ox killed, Wine, fresh Water, and Garden Fruit. He also sent a Man to serve the People, and to bring us to *Georgia*, because he knew the Way.

Friday, *March* 8.

We went off with the Sloop, in order to go to our Ship again, but the Wind being contrary, we were obliged to turn back.

Saturday, *March* 9.

This Day we came to our People again, which caused great Joy. We found them all in good Health, and they had edified each other by the Word of God; which gave us great Comfort, when they told us of it at the Evening Prayers.

Sunday,

Sunday, *March* 10.

Blessed be the Lord, that he has brought us within the Bounds of *Georgia*, upon the Sunday *Reminiscere;* the Gospel of which Day tells us, "That our Blessed Saviour "came to the Borders of the Heathen, after he had been per- "secuted in his own Country." He hath done great Things for us. He comforts our Bodies with wholesome Food. And lying, in fine and calm Weather, under the Shore of our beloved *Georgia*, where we heard the Birds sing melodiously, every Body in the Ship was joyful. Among others, we compared with this Gospel the xxxiid Chapter of *Genesis*, in which we find that the travelling *Jacob*, (1.) Remembers the many Blessings of God, and gives Him Thanks for them. (2.) That indeed he was afraid of his Brother: but at last, (3.) By Prayers and Tears, (collated with *Hos.* xii. 4.) was delivered from all Fear, and received the Blessings of *Christ*, (collated with *Ephes.* i.) The second Part especially was enlarged upon, because some were afraid of being invaded by the Enemies in their Country, as hath been told, (*vid. Gen.* xxxi. 24. collated with ver. 29.) Likewise, *When a Man's Ways please the* Lord, *he maketh even his Enemies to be at Peace with him.*

Monday, *March* 11.

The Captain, to lighten the Ship, order'd that all Casks of fresh Water should be emptied, which we had now no more Occasion for. Before that time, the Captain was so sparing of the Water, that the People could not quench their Thirst; and now he is obliged to spill so many Casks full.

Savannah, Tuesday, *March* 12.

At the Place of our Landing, almost all the Inhabitants of the Town of *Savannah* were gather'd together; they fired off some Cannons, and cried Huzzah! which was answer'd by our Sailors, and other *English* People in our Ship, in the same manner. Some of us were immediately fetch'd on Shore in a Boat, and carried about the City, into the Woods, and the new Garden belonging to the Trustees. In the mean time, a very good Dinner was prepared for us; And the *Saltzburgers*, who had yet fresh Meat in the Ship, when they came on shore, they got very good and wholesome *English* strong Beer. And besides the Inhabitants shewing them a great deal of Kindness, and the Country pleasing them, they were full of Joy, and praised God for it. We, the Commissary, and Mr. *Zwefler* the Physician, were lodged in the House of the Reverend Mr. *Quincy* *, the *English* Minister here.

* The Missionary sent to *Savannah*, at the Expence of the Incorporated *Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

Wednesday,

Wednesday, *March* 13.

Our *Saltzburgers* were lodged in a Tent, pitch'd on purpose for them, till Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s Arrival from *Charlestown*. A *Jew* invited our *Saltzburgers*, and treated them with a good Rice-Soop for Breakfast. And God hath also moved the Hearts of several others here, to be very good and hospitable to us. The Country, as the Inhabitants say, is very fruitful; and the Land chose by us, which is about 21 *English* Miles from hence, is still better. All that is sowed, grows in a short Time.

Thursday, *March* 14.

Last Night we Prayed on shore for the first time, in the *English* Chapel, made of Boards, and used for divine Worship, till a Church can be built; the Use of which is allowed us, during our Stay here. The Inhabitants join with us, and shew much Devotion. The *Jews* likewise, of which there are 12 Families here, come to Church, and seem to be very devout: They understand the *German* Tongue. Though the Chapel is but of Boards, it is very convenient, and pleases the *Saltzburgers*.

This Afternoon, we were carried to a Camp, which some *Indian* Hunters had in this Neighbourhood, who were in such a Condition as made our Hearts bleed; for in the Absence of their Chiefs, (who were gone to meet Mr. *Oglethorpe)* they had much disordered themselves with drinking of Rum, a Liquor very pernicious to them, and which has occasioned the Death of great * Numbers. They were painted with red, and made strange Postures. The most part of them are marked with blue Figures on their Necks, Faces, and Bodies. They have Beads about their Necks, and Rings, or coloured Feathers in their Ears. The *Saltzburgers* had been with them, who likewise were touched with this Spectacle. In this Affliction, we went to Prayer, and unexpectedly met with this Sentence; *For* God *so loved the World, that He gave his only begotten Son*, &c. which so greatly moved our Hearts, that we gave God thanks for his holy Gospel, especially because we had seen the *Indians* Misery for want of the Gospel. At the same Time we conceived great Hopes, that God will shew plainly that he hath loved and still loves the World. In which good Hopes we were strengthned by the lxxii[d] *Psalm*, which was read; and pray'd that God would have Mercy upon these poor Heathens, as he hath had upon others: we shall pray for them. By hu-

* This, among others Reasons, has given occasion to the Trustees, to prohibit the Use of *Rum* in the Province of *Georgia*.

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man Means it will not be easy to help these People, because it will be very difficult to learn their Language.

Friday, *March* 15.

THIS Day Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived here, and received our *Saltzburgers* and us in a friendly manner; and we dined with him. He will speedily give Orders that our People shall go to the Place intended for their Settlement. He being very sollicitous that these poor *Indians* should be brought to the Knowledge of GOD, has desired us to learn their Language; and we, with the Blessing of GOD, will joyfully undertake the Task. The *Indian* Language, from the best Information we can get, containeth not above One Thousand primitive Words; and can best be written with *Greek* Letters, because of the long and short Vowels; and some of their Sounds, cannot be expressed by any other Alphabet but the *Greek*. They say, that all Nations descend from two Brothers: that one of them, the Ancestor of the *Indians*, was red; and the other, the Ancestor of the *Europeans*, was white. 'Tis probable, these their Thoughts are grounded upon the History of *Esau* and *Jacob*. They had known nothing of Drunkenness, if they had not learn'd it of the Christians. They give each other several Names of Honour, according to the Time and Circumstances, as a Title or Reward; whereby they encouroge young People to Valour, Industry and Fidelity.

THEY have some Religion, believing a Supreme Being, which they call *Sotolycatè*, * who is in all Places; though they would not teach us the Word, by which they express the Name of GOD in their Language. They believe that from this Supreme Being comes every Thing, especially Wisdom. They use no Ceremonies, nor outward religious Exercises, except at a solemn Festival held once a Year. They worship no Idols; however they sing some Songs about the ancient Heroes. They are unwilling to talk to profane People about Religion. They are very ambitious: for which Reason they make War, but not to gain Land. They love to be praised; though they seem to turn it off, and transfer it to others. They shew great Respect to old People, to whom one must speak first, before one can speak to the young People. If any one dishonours them, they are not to be reconciled. They account themselves to be rude and ignorant, but are desirous to be better instructed. Of *Indians* they have several Nations, the best among which are the *Creeks*, who talk one Language. One of the other Nations, who are called *Uchees*, are much inclined to Robbing and

* Literally translated, *He who sitteth Above.*

Stealing;

Stealing; but these *Creeks* are Honest, Serviceable, and Disinterested. He that does a Kindness to them, they will remember for ever. And they likewise are willing to give what one desires of them, though they should want it themselves. If Mr. *Oglethorpe* was to desire of them to go with him to *England*, or any other Place, he would be willing; unless he had an old Father, who was helpless, and wanted his Assistance. They love one another, so that they venture their Lives for one another. They abhor Adultery: They provide for the Poor, the Widows, and Orphans. In their Language are no Words which denote obscene Things, or Oaths; unless they learn them from the *Europeans*. Their Kings do not reign with absolute Power, but give Counsel. The King proposes to the Old Men, and the Old to the Young Men; after which it is put in Execution. They do not contradict one another with vehemence, but endeavour to agree; and if that cannot be, the Superiors are not angry. The King's Office is, to divide the Time; to tell the Season when to go a Hunting, when to Planting, and when to Harvest. Likewise He is to attend the Sick, give them Physick, provide for Widows: and these are called, KINGS OF PEACE. When a King is not fit for his Office, they choose another. The Wisest is their King; who doth not distinguish himself from others by Clothes. Besides These, they have War Captains. They give the King the Tenth of all they have. If a Present is made to the King, he doth not keep it, but distributes it among all, and keeps nothing for himself; and afterwards they give back the Tenth Part, or pretty near it. The Widows do not cut their Hair, nor tie it up, but let it hang loose. Every Nation hath a peculiar of cutting their Hair, whereby they are distinguished. They honour Mr. *Oglethorpe* as their Father, and ask his Advice in all their Circumstances: He understands somewhat of their Language.

OUR *Saltzburgers* have often been admonished very earnestly to abstain from drinking a certain intoxicating Liquor like Brandy, called *Rum;* which is made of Molosses, in the Islands of the *West-Indies*, &c. because this Liquor hath occasion'd the Death of many People. Some good Persons, who lately visited our *Saltzburgers*, are much pleased with their Devotion, and with the whole of their Behaviour; and on that Account, prophesy much Good to the Country.

Saturday, *March* 16.

IN the Forenoon, an *English* Minister, belonging to the Garrison of *Port Royal*, was at our Church; and after Service, went with us to our Lodgings. He was glad to see us, and our

Saltzburgers,

Saltzburgers, and assured us of his constant Friendship and Assistance; and he will take Care to get our Habits made, and buy what is wanting in *Charles-town*. We intend to receive the Sacrament in *Savannah*, for which we prepare our selves, and our Congregation.

By Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s Fatherly Care, our *Saltzburgers* have got their Provision for a Fortnight before-hand, as Bread, Rice, Flower, Meat, Pease, and Sugar: Afterwards, they are to have it for 3 Months, so that they can divide and use it as they please, every one according to their Family. Besides this, Mr. *Oglethorpe* hath given every one six Pound of Bread, as a Present, and assured them of his further Affection and Care. Which Goodness makes the People rejoice, and bless God. Mrs. *Rothe*, who hath been some Days sick, and is near her Time, hath all that she asks for, out of the Storehouse. Orders were likewise given for our Maintenance; but we told them, we had received our Salary; and therefore we desired nothing, but that this Benefaction might bestowed upon others.

Sunday, *March* 17.

Though it is but yet Beginning of the Spring here, it hath for some Days past been hot, which makes the Nights, Mornings, and Evenings more pleasant. To every House is allotted a good Spot of Ground, of which the People make Gardens, where they may have all sorts of Fruit and Herbs. But at present there is very little Greens in them, because they have but lately been made. All Houses and Gardens are laid out in a Mathematical Equality; which will make a fine Shew, when they come to Perfection. The People have Horses, Cows, Fowls, *&c.* in plenty; yet Milk, Eggs, and other Victuals, (except Pork) is much dearer than in *Germany;* because, They do not care to kill the Cattle, rob the Calves of the Milk, nor nor take the Eggs, for fear of lessening the Breed. For as the Settlement is but new, they are eagerly desirous of increasing their Stock; and the Cows go Day and Night in the Woods, with Bells on their Necks; The greatest Labour, is the cutting down and clearing away of the Trees, for the Country is all covered with Woods.

Monday, *March* 18.

One of us dined this Day with an *English* Merchant, where the *English* Minister was present; and in their Discourse they talk'd of the *Saltzburgers*, whom they commended very much, as as being laborious and religious, whereby they gave a good Example to the Inhabitants here. They came twice a Day from their Tent to our Chapel, where we preach the Word of

God

GOD to them, and pray with them an Hour: And several *English* People being also present, we have perceived that they admire them, because they answer our Questions so readily, and use the Bible, old and young. We wish that every one of our Congregation had a Bible, * then GOD would give more Blessing to our Devotion.

Tuesday, *March* 19.

MR. *Oglethorpe* went last *Friday* with the Commissary, Mr. *Zwefler*, Mr. *Gronau*, and a *Saltzburger*, to the Place where we are to live with our *Saltzburgers*, in order to shew them the Ground where they are to build their Houses. This Day the Commissary and Mr. *Zwefler* return'd back, and inform'd us much of the Goodness and Fertility of the Ground, as also of the Goodness of the *Indians*. When they promise a Thing, they keep their Word, and would rather die than go from it. If they find one in a Lye, they account him unworthy to look upon, or shake Hands with. An Old Man, one of the Wisest among them, believed, and told them, That the Supreme Being would soon send them some Person that would shew them the right Way to Wisdom, (by which they mean Religion) though He might not live to see it. They seldom ask for any Thing of any Body; but if one offers them any Thing, they do not refuse it. They love Equality; and will be pleased with our *Saltzburgers*, who both eat and labour in common. They very much observe Peoples Behaviour: They hate self-interested People. They reckon themselves all Gentlemen, and will do nothing but what they think to be generous: They account labouring and working for Hire to be a Slavery: therefore they will not work for Gain. They reckon it a Shame to wear Breeches. When they go a Hunting, they wear Boots of woollen Cloth. Some of them are willing to send their Children to our School: Of these Children we shall by degrees learn some Words. Mrs. *Musgrove*, † who lives here, and is Daughter of an *English* Man by an *Indian* Woman, and speaks the *Creek* Language, is a very good Christian, and gave the *Indians* some Notions of the Holy Scriptures.

WE have learn'd some words of their Language; for instance, τύτκα, Fire; αϛϛε, the Sun; ζυκκω, House; ϛιλλιπαικα, the Heel; αφαλικα, Stockings; 'ιφϐα, a Dog.

WE designed to celebrate the Memory of our Arrival here, and to receive the Sacrament all together; but we hear, that to-morrow Morning eight young Men of our *Saltzburgers* are

* *N. B.* Bibles have been sent.

† She is Wife to Mr. *Musgrove*, the Interpreter before mentioned.

to

to go to our Settlement; in order to build some Houses against the Arrival of the Women, Children, and the rest of the *Saltzburgers;* therefore these few are to receive the Sacrament tomorrow Morning early. We prepared them this Day, according to the Form used in the *German* Chapel in St. *James*'s in *London.* Three *Indians* were present, who behaved with great Decency and Reverence. Mr. *Oglethorpe* going to *Purrisburg*, took with him one of us, *viz.* Mr. *Gronau*, and recommended to him to preach to the *Germans* there, which he accordingly did. There are three Families of our *Lutheran* Confession. And Mr. *Gronau* having preached before them out of *Gal.* ii. 20. they were very glad, and resolved to come constantly to our Settlement, which is but a * few Miles from *Purrisburg*, to hear the Word of GOD, and to receive the Sacrament. They reckon the *Saltzburgers* very happy, in having their own Ministers, for at *Purrisburg* they are now without a Minister.

Wednesday, *March* 20.

THIS Morning early, Mr. *Zwefler* and eight *Saltzburgers*, who were to go to-day to build the Houses, received the Sacrament, in presence of some others of our People. After a Psalm was sung, and Prayers said, a Sermon was preached before them out of *Matt.* xxii. 1. (1.) Of the great Mercy of GOD towards Men: (2.) Of the Way how to become meet for his Mercy. After this, the Communion was perform'd. The *English* Minister was present at the Communion; and yesterday likewise, when Mr. *Rothe*'s Child was Baptized, who was born here since our Arrival: He was very much pleased with our Communicants, and the whole Order of our Divine Service; and afterwards, at the House of one of the Magistrates, who had invited him and one of us to Breakfast, he spoke in a very Christian manner of our Communion. The rest of the *Saltzburgers* are to receive the Sacrament next *Sunday.*

MR. *Oglethorpe* hath desired that one of us should go with the eight *Saltzburgers* to our Settlement, in order to preach the Word of GOD to them, before they go to work, and after. And because I am much taken up with writing Letters, and am to administer the Sacrament to the *Saltzburgers* who remain here, Mr. *Gronau* hath taken this Journey upon him.

THE *Saltzburgers* have (as the other Settlers in *Georgia*) received a Gift from the Trustees, of Arms, Houshold Goods, and working Tools, *viz.* Kettles, Pots, Dishes, Saws, Axes, Shovels, *&c.*

* Three *German* Miles.

Thursday,

Thursday, *March* 20.

THE *Jew* and his Wife, who were before mention'd, are so very willing to serve us and the *Saltzburgers*, that it surprizes us; and are so honest and faithful, that the like is hardly to be found, as appears by the following Example. The *Jew*'s Wife had by Mistake, and in the dark, taken of a *Saltzburger*'s Wife a Crown piece for a Half-crown piece, because the *Saltzburger*'s Wife had given her it for no more: when the next Day the *Jew* saw the Money, and his Wife told him she had taken it for half the Value, he went to the *Saltzburger*'s Tent, and asked for the Woman, and paid her the other Half-Crown with these Words; "GOD forbid I should have any Goods in my "House that are not my own, for it will have no Blessing." This made a great Impression on the *Saltzburgers*.

BECAUSE these *Jews* shew a great Love for us, and have promised to see us at our Settlement, we hope we shall preach the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* to them with good Success. They were both born in *Germany*, and talk good *German*. They have taken very well what we hitherto have spoke to them.

Friday, *March* 22.

THIS Day Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived here again, to the great Satisfaction of all the Inhabitants. He is to go to-morrow Night from hence to *Charles-town*, and from thence to embark directly for *London*.

Saturday, *March* 23.

MR. *Oglethorpe* did intend to depart from hence yesterday in the Evening, but many Complaints, and other Business of Importance happening, his Departure was deferr'd till this Morning. From what Knowledge we have of Him, we conclude, that He hath a great Esteem for GOD's holy Word and Sacraments, and a great Love for GOD's Servants and Children, and wishes to see the Name of CHRIST glorified every where. GOD hath also blessed his Presence and Undertakings in these Countries. And the People being well perswaded of his Fatherly Mind, and indefatigable Labour for their Welfare, his Departure was very sorrowful to them. GOD bless Him, and bring Him well home, and hear all our Prayers for Him. He hath taken all possible Care of us.

THIS Afternoon, we held a Preparation with the rest of the *Saltzburgers* for the Holy Sacrament, preaching to them upon the Words of *Joel*, ii. 32.

Sunday, *March* 24.

THIS Day, at receiving the Holy Sacrament, Almighty GOD was pleased in an extraordinary manner to comfort the Hearts

Hearts of the Auditors, *viz.* the Commissary Mr. *Von Reck*, and the rest of the *Saltzburgers*.

Tuesday, *March* 26.

It is a great Pleasure to us, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* approved of our calling the River, and the Place where our Houses are to be built, *Ebenezer;* 1 Sam. vii. 12. *Then Samuel took a Stone, and set it between Mispeh and Shen, and called the Name of it Ebenezer; saying, Hitherto hath the* Lord *helped us.* Which Denomination is already known among the People that live hereabout. This Word hath at our Arrival here, and when we were yet on board the Ship, made us joyful to the Praise of God, and will do it for the future as often as we name the Name of our Town or River, or hear it named.

This Afternoon, an *Indian* Man, that is married, * cut both Ears and Hair off from an *Indian* Woman, his Wife, for being too familiar with a white Man. Mr. *Oglethorpe* hath left Orders behind him, to send our *Saltzburgers* to *Ebenezer* as soon as possible. The Commissary went this Morning with some Men to the River of the same Name, in order to take out the Trees that lie in it, and hinder Boats from going up, that our Baggage may be carried thither by Water.

Friday, *March* 29.

Yesterday and to-day we had cold Weather, which is very surprizing to us, because the Weather hath for some time been rather too hot: This cold Weather is a Blessing of God; since the Vermin and little Flies, which incommoded us much, have been destroyed thereby.

Saturday, *March* 30.

As, by the Help of God, we are now at more Ease, and in better Order, we can take more Care of the Education of the Children; who come daily several times to our Room, where they are taught proper Texts out of the Holy Scripture, and are Catechized. At Prayers, all is repeated in the Presence of the grown People, whereby they are edified; as well as by the Catechism, and Texts of the Holy Scripture, that are explained unto them. As soon as we come to our *Ebenezer*, we shall also begin to teach them Reading and Writing.

Sunday, *March* 31.

To-day the Commissary and labouring People returned from the River *Ebenezer*, where he had found so much Difficulty, that nothing was done; and we are to make a Way by Land,

* This is the usual Punishment for Adultery amongst the *Indians*. The White Man was tried by a Jury at *Savannah*, found guilty, and punished severely: With which piece of Justice, the *Indians* were greatly satisfied.

which

which seems to be an Impossibility. God, who hath hitherto help'd us to overcome all Difficulties, help us in this case.

Monday, *April* 1.

Our *Saltzburgers* have had given to them, from the Publick Magazine, by Order of the Honourable Trustees, Provision again for three Months; and of every thing so plentifully, that we cannot enough praise God for it. Besides the Provision, they have had an Addition of Houshold Goods, and Tools, for Building Houses, Tilling the Ground, and Arms and Ammunition, for Defence. And though We two gave Mr. *Oglethorpe* to understand, that we did not desire any Victuals, but would be contented with our Salary, and leave that Benefaction for our *Saltzburgers*, yet the same Provision hath been given to us as to the *Saltzburgers*. This Benefaction came in good time; because the most Part of our Salary was spent in Necessaries, as Clothes, Household Goods, *&c.*

Tuesday, *April* 2.

A House being built at our *Ebenezer* for the *Saltzburg* Women and Children, all our Baggage was to-day put on Board a Shallop; which was so filled therewith, that there was no room for the People. Therefore I, *(Bolzius)* the Physician, and the *Saltzburgers*, must stay here some Days longer. Several of the *Saltzburgers* were displeased that they could not go with their Goods; however, they were soon appeased. Mr. *Causton*, one of the Magistrates, who hath the Inspection of the Store-house here, hath given unto the *Saltzburgers* Provision for fourteen Days more, because the former is sent on Board the Shallop; prais'd be God for this new Benefaction.

Wednesday, *April* 3.

The *Jew*, of whom mention hath been made above, hath shewn us and the *Saltzburgers* so much Goodness, that we could desire no more; and though we offered him a Sum of Money for his Labour and Pains, yet he refused to accept of it: Wherefore the *Saltzburgers*, that are still here, resolve to Till his Ground, and to clear it of Trees, and so make good again what he hath neglected for their Sake. We have had several Discourses with him concerning Judaism, and given him some Passages out of the Holy Scripture to consider on, which seemed to make a strong Impression on him. He and his Wife are pleased with the *Saltzburgers* Brotherly Conversation, and Christian Behaviour; and he talking of it to us; we told him, that thereby he might learn, that the Christian Doctrine is a holy Doctrine, and that those *Jews* who Blaspheme, did commit great Sin, which he should take Care not to do; but pray

to

to God incessantly, to shew him the Way to Salvation: then he would soon attain to the Knowledge of Truth. They both fear God, and desire to come to Salvation; and we hope to God, that he will also bring these People to the Knowledge of his Son. He was pleased, especially, when we told him, that hitherto we had shewn our People out of *David*'s Psalms, that tho' the *Jews* were now afflicted for their Sins; yet it was to be hoped, that soon the Time will come, in which God would raise this his People out of the Dust, Contempt and Sorrow, and make them happy again for *Messiah*'s Sake, both which he assented to; and when we asked him out of *Hos.* iii. 5. Who is King *David?* He answered, The Lord *Messiah*, whom they would call upon in the latter Days.

Thursday, *April* 4.

The Indians come often to see us; they tell us many Indian Words; shewing us the Things we want to know in their Language. It hath happened very well for our *Saltzburgers*, that they were obliged to stay here some Days longer, for they have got by it a good deal of Linen Cloth, Shoes, and other Things.

Friday, *April* 5.

Last Night, the Vessel which carried our Things to *Ebenezer*, came back; so that we, and the rest of our Baggage, can also go thither. God be praised for all the Good we have received in this Place.

Saturday, *April* 6.

One of our Congregation, namely *Lackner*, is grown dangerously Sick, so that according to all Appearances, he hardly will recover; he is troubled with the Diarrhœa, and Shortness of Breath, and very weak; Mr. *Zwefler* the Doctor, assists him as much as possible; we and the *Salzburgers* would be very sorry if he should die, for he is a godly Man, and a Man of very good Sense, useful in every thing; God do with him as he pleases.

Abercorn, Sunday, *April* 7.

To-day we arrived at a Village, called *Abercorn*, upon the River *Savannah*, where we must stay till a Road is made by Land to our *Ebenezer;* because at present, the Trees hinder the Passage thither by Water. Certain wicked People having maliciously spoken false Things of our Place of Settlement, not only that it was impossible to make a Way thither, but also that the Ground was Barren Sand, and exposed to the Invasion of the Enemies. We shewed in the Afternoon Sermon, out of the Gospel upon this Day, *Palm-Sunday*, *Mat.* xxi.

xxi. the Nature of CHRIST's true Disciples, *viz*, to go whither the LORD sends them, notwithstanding, it seemed difficult and contrary to Reason. That it is GOD's way, to lead his Children through crooked and strange Paths, and then to bring them to a happy End. In the Application, almost the whole 26th Chapter of *Leviticus* was read to them, and it was shewn to them how we must do, if we will have a fruitful Country, Security against Enemies, *&c. viz.* we must live constantly in the Fear of GOD; on the contrary, that the Reason of Dearths, Barrenness of Soil, and Invasion of Enemies, was Ungodliness, *&c.* And since GOD has sent us in the Beginning of this *Passion-Week*, so near our temporal Country, we told them, that GOD who does all Things at his Time, and for our Good; thereby doubtless intended, *First*, That CHRIST and his Sufferings should be before their Eyes, and in their Hearts, throughout the whole Course of their Lives; and through them they should seek Wisdom and Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption. *Secondly*, That they as Christians, should continually crucify their Flesh, with the Affections and Lusts; and that the World must be crucified unto them, and they unto the World. *Thirdly*, That they also should prepare themselves for a *Passion-Week*, in time, because GOD's Children must have Trouble and Affliction in this World, inward and outward, whereby they become like their Redeemer, which is the highest Honour, *Apoc.* vii. 14. To this plain Discourse, GOD gave his Blessing, and the People resolved to go farther, in the Name of GOD, whether He would send them; for they trusted in Him, that He would remove all Difficulties and Sorrow.

Monday, *April* 8.

NOTWITHSTANDING it rained this whole Day, by Intervals, very hard, the *Saltzburgers* have made a pretty good Beginning, in making the Way; after having at the Place of their first Work, implored GOD for his Blessing and Assistance. This Work being for the Publick Good, and for the Benefit of all *Carolina* and *Georgia*, the Commissary is resolved to desire the Honourable Trustees, that a second Year's Provision might be given to the People, because they must at present work as it were for the Publick, and cannot begin to Till their Ground so soon. All who are able, now work with pleasure.

Tuesday, *April* 9.

THE Wind being to-day Northerly, cooled the Air; which is strange to us, because we expected continual hot Weather in this Country. We all make shift, by Day and Night, as well as we can: The *Saltzburgers* have pitched two Tents; and we, the

the Ministers, live with two *English* Families, in a Hut in which we cannot sit dry when it rains, besides other Inconveniencies; it being low, and the Doors on both sides continually open, yet Providence preserves our Health. The chief Labour in *Georgia* is, that they must cut down the Woods, of which the whole Country is full, before they can Till the Ground. Here most of the Trees are Oak, but in other Places there are more Fir-trees, Walnut-trees, *&c.* likewise Frankincense, Vines, Sassafras, aromatick Herbs, *&c.*

Wednesday, *April* 10.

THE *Saltzburgers* take great Pains, and the Commissary labours hard in making the Way to *Ebenezer*. GOD reward his Christian Love.

Thursday, *April* 11.

MR. *Gronau* came from *Ebenezer* to us, and returned; because those *Saltzburgers* who are already there, must have the Word preached unto them.

Friday, *April* 12.

THIS Day we kept holy for the Honour of our Redeemer.

Saturday, *April* 13.

Lackner having been long sick, died last Night of a Ptisick and a wasting Fever: He died in the Lord, whom he loved with his whole Heart, in Health and in Sickness. His Departure from this World was so quiet and still, that those who sat up with him in the Tent, did not perceive it. For a great while he longed for this Rest, and departing this Life; for which purpose he received the holy Sacrament with very great Desire and Devotion, not long ago in *Savannah*. He was a Man of good Sense, which he also employed to what was good: He was continually reading the holy Scriptures; prayed without ceasing, and by his peaceable and Christian Behaviour, he gave a good Example to others; his Example having been edifying to all the *Saltzburgers*, (for which Reason he was heartily beloved by them) we thought proper to make mention of his Christian Life, and happy Departure out of this World, at Prayers in the Morning; and to employ it to a general Edification. For this Purpose we chose *Heb.* xi. 8. He was to have had a Coffin made for him: but the *Saltzburgers* thought it unnecessary, being accustomed to bury no Body in a Coffin, but Women that die in Child-bed: So they dressed the Corps, after it was washed, in his own Cloaths, laid him upon a Board, and after he was brought to his Grave, in an orderly Procession, they wrap'd him up in a Cloth, and let him down into the Ground. Before he was carried out, the Hymn was sung, *Since nothing*

is

is more common than to die, &c. and Prayers said this *Saturday*, remember'd us of GOD's Rest after finishing the Creation, and of our Saviour's Rest after his Sufferings: and gave us occasion to think on the Rest which all GOD's Children are to expect, according to the Words, *Heb.* iv. 9, 11. And before we left the Grave, we gave the People some short Precepts, Comfort and Admonition, to which GOD was pleased to vouchsafe his Blessing.

Sunday, *April* 14.

THE Death of *Lackner*, and the Preaching of the Word of GOD on that occasion, prepared our Congregation for the present *Easter* Holy-days; so that the first Day thereof was spent in great Devotion, though we are yet in an unsettled State; we wish that all Ministers of the Gospel were blessed with such a Flock; They pray for us, that GOD will give us Grace and Wisdom to preach the Gospel in its purity. During the Sermon, they are as attentive, as if they would devour every Word we spoke. After Sermon, we observe with pleasure, that they retire separately to pray to GOD, to convert the Word they have heard, to their Soul's Spiritual Nourishment: and by their Behaviour, we find that they are not only Hearers, but Doers of the Word. And they look upon it as a great Mercy, that the Word of GOD is preached pure to them: so they would (as they say) reckon it a great Punishment, if it should be taken from them, or one of us his unworthy Servants should die.

Tuesday, *April* 16.

THE deceased *Lackner* hath left a little Money, with which we have made a Beginning of a Box for the Poor, with the *Saltzburgers* Consent: GOD be pleased to accept this small Beginning, and increase it with his Blessing.

THE Commissary is gone to *Savannah*. Our *Saltzburg* Men are gone to *Ebenezer*, having taken some Kitchen Furniture with them; and will, with the Blessing of GOD, continue to work in making the Way with all Diligence.

Wednesday, *April* 17.

MR. *Gronau* came to-day back again here to *Abercorn*. The Men sent up from *Carolina* by the Trustees Order, to saw Boards for the Building six Houses for us in *Ebenezer*, have made a good Beginning.

Thursday, *April* 18.

WE intended this Afternoon to see the *Saltzburgers* at work; but finding they were advanced far, made us afraid we should not come to *Abercorn* again, and we turned back. One must take

take care not to go into the Woods without a Guide. The whole Country is covered with Wood; and if one loses sight of the Trees that are marked, whereby the Way is known, one is in danger of being lost; as hath happened to two *Germans*, belonging to *Purrisburg*.

Friday, *April* 19.

THIS Day hath been very remarkable and comfortable; GOD hath not only edified Old and Young, by the hearing of his Word, but also shewn us plain Proofs of his Fatherly Care; *First*, Our *Saltzburgers* have brought the Road to Perfection, which some thought impossible; and are gone to *Ebenezer*, to give GOD Thanks for his Mercies, and to begin to Work there. *Secondly*, A * certain Captain (left by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, with his Troops, to have an Eye upon the Behaviour of the *Spanish Indians*) sent a Letter to the Commissary, desiring that a Pasture Ground might be inclosed for some Oxen, which he would send soon for the *Saltzburgers*. *Thirdly*, When the Way was made, we wanted Horses to bring our Baggage and Victuals to *Ebenezer*; but God, who knew our Want, ordered it so, that † four Horses were sent us from *Pallachoccolas* ‡; and a young strong Horse, that had no Master, coming to *Ebenezer*, was brought to us. *Fourthly*, A § certain Man, who lives amongst the *Indians*, not far from *Ebenezer*, sent us some Seeds, though he does not know us.

Saturday, *April* 20.

BECAUSE there is not yet any Malt made here, the *Saltzburgers* have learnt of the *English* People, to Brew a sort of Beer of Molosses, with Sassafras, and the Tops of Firr-Tree, instead of Hops, which they boil in a Kettle with Water; some add Indian Corn: The Inhabitants here reckon this Liquor to be wholesome, and the drinking of Water unwholesome; but we prefer the Water to this Mixture, and find ourselves well after it; sometimes we mix it with a little Wine. Yesterday in the Evening, we had much Thunder, with hard Rains, for an Hour; during that time, we sung some Hymns, and edified our selves out of the 29th *Psalm*, and 1 *Sam.* xii. out of which, we considered the great Glory and Mercy of GOD.

* Oxen sent up by Captain *Mackpherson*, pursuant to the Trustees Order, for supplying the *Saltzburgers* with fresh Provision.

† Horses sent by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, over Land, from *Charles-town* to *Georgia*, being the Gift of his Excellency Governour *Johnson* to the Trustees.

‡ *Pallachoccolas* is the Name of a Fort, built upon the *Savannah* River, about 20 Miles above *Ebenezer*.

§ Mr. *Augustine*, a *Welch* Gentleman, who since Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s Arrival, is settled at *Westbrook*, and built a House there, being 8 Miles from *Ebenezer*.

Sunday,

Sunday, *April* 21.

Towards the Evening, it Thunder'd, with hard Rain, which about ten o'Clock grew very vehement, and continued a long time. We and the *Saltzburgers* were very much incommoded by the Rain, that pierced thro' the Hut; however it did none of us any Harm.

Monday, *April* 22.

The Weather clearing up, the People began to pack up their Baggage, to carry it to *Ebenezer*. We all are glad, that God at last will help us out of our present inconvenient Circumstances at *Abercorn*, into our Solitude, where we can serve him, and do our Business without hindrance. The Name of our Temporal Country, puts us in Mind of God's Blessings, and incites us to praise Him as often as we hear it named. We find in the Woods Spinage, Onions, Hyssop, and other useful Herbs, of which we do not know the Names, but are very good for the Pot, or Sallad. At leisure time, we shall apply our selves, together with our Physician Mr. *Zwefler*, who is a good Botanist, to examine the Herbs, and communicate the Knowledge of them to others.

The Commissary being desirous to forward the Spiritual as well as the Temporal Welfare of the People, and being better qualified to instruct the * *French*, because he understands their Language, made this Afternoon, a Trial of his Talents, in a most pathetick Exhortation to a Christian Behaviour; which he performed to Admiration.

Tuesday, *April* 23.

Here are Bees, and great Quantities of Honey, in the Woods, which has as agreeable a Taste as that made in *Germany;* and the *Saltzburgers* will make Hives, and gather the Bees. Here is also abundance of Fish, Fowl, and Venison.

Wednesday, *April* 24.

God hath moved the Hearts of our Benefactors, who have made a Present to our *Saltzburgers* of 30 Cows, and will send them free hither; 12 of them arrived here last Night; God be praised for this Benefaction. The Way to *Ebenezer* is grown deep, by the hard Rain; which makes it troublesome for the poor People, to carry their Baggage and Provision thither. Having as yet no Waggons, our People make use of a Sledge, till a Waggon is made; but it will cut very deep in the Ground, and be tiresome, especially, because the Horses that are sent us, are lean, and not used to draw. A *Saltzburger*, named *Mittensteiner*, who rode into the Woods, is not yet come back; he

* There are some *French* Families settled at *Abercorn*.

being

being simple, we fear he is lost; several Men, who know the Woods, are sent to find him; A Cannon hath likewise been discharged four times for his Direction, but he hath not been seen again yet. God seek this lost Sheep, and hear our Prayers for him. He is a good Christian, and a good Workman.

Thursday, *April* 25.

We edified our selves out of *Exodus* 19th, and 20th, and the 18th *Psalm.*

Friday, *April* 26.

The Horse which *Mittensteiner* rode into the Wood, came back this Afternoon, without his Rider; the Horse would have brought him back, if he had given him the Bridle. God have Mercy upon him, and grant that this Example may make others more circumspect. The Horse coming back without his Bridle, and the Man being not used to ride, and very simple, makes us fear he is killed with a Fall from the Horse.

Sunday, *April* 28.

Part of the *Saltzburgers* being in *Ebenezer*, and part of them in *Abercorn;* one of us performs the Service in *Ebenezer*, the other in *Abercorn.* God hath not yet heard our Prayers, which we have made in Publick and Private, for the lost *Mittensteiner*, we having had no News of him yet. The Lord's Will be done.

Tuesday, *April* 30.

All this Afternoon, we have had a warm and fruitful Rain.

Wednesday, *May* 1.

The Carriage of our Baggage and Provision goes on very slow, and troublesome, because of the Rain, and deep Road.

Thursday, *May* 2.

Some Days ago, an *Indian* Man, with his Wife and Children, arrived here in a little Boat, not far from *Abercorn;* and because we had shewed him some Kindness, he brought us this Morning a Deer, part of which we gave to our *Saltzburgers* that are here, and other People; and he came again towards Evening, and brought us half another Deer.

Friday, *May* 3.

To-day arrived a Sloop from *Savannah*, which brought us ten great Casks of all sorts of Seeds, for our *Saltzburgers* to sow their Fields and Gardens with. God be praised for this Blessing.

Saturday, *May* 4.

To-day arrived the Cows and young Calves lately promised to our *Saltzburgers.* The Cattle are very wild; so that it is troublesome

troublesome to bring them to *Ebenezer*, because they are used to run about Night and Day in the Woods.

Ebenezer, Tuesday, *May* 7.

Mr. *Oglethorpe*, who on account of some Business of Importance was not gone from *Charles-town*, sent a Letter to the Commissary, assuring him of all Care and Affection towards the *Saltzburgers*; and that besides the Cattle they had received already, He had ordered Hogs, Turkies, Geese, Ducks and Fowl, to be delivered to the *Saltzburgers*, as a Gift from the Trustees, and that the Magistrates of *Savannah* would send us, whatever We, the Ministers and the Commissary, should think needful for the *Saltzburgers*. To-day I had the Happiness of seeing *Ebenezer*; having been detained, on account of three sick People, in *Abercorn*, Mr. *Gronau* being in *Ebenezer*. The good People are already much advanced in Tilling the Ground; and to the End that they may advance better, two and two work together, to assist one another. The Place they have chosen to build on, is very pleasant and fruitful. They had liberty to choose a Place where they pleased.

Wednesday, *May* 8.

The People in *Abercorn*, as well as in *Ebenezer*, are troubled with Loosnesses. It is thought, that drinking too much in hot Weather, is the Reason of it. They are too bashful to tell it in the Beginning, when the Evil might be prevented. Some have had great Benefit by our Physick. We assist them in their Sickness: we wish we were able to serve them more. The River-Water will not agree with us nor the *Saltzburgers*; it being full of Trees and Leaves: wherefore we intended to dig a Well; but Providence ordered it so, that we found a Brook, which rises out of a little Hill, and hath good and wholesome Water, and saves us that trouble. This put us in mind of the Words, *Before they call, I will answer.*

Thursday, *May* 9.

A Tabernacle is to be made of Boards, till a Church can be built.

Friday, *May* 10.

The many Benefactions Spiritual and Temporal, which we have received, and daily do receive from our kind and charitable Benefactors, oblige us to give God Thanks on a particular Day; for which purpose we have chosen next *Monday.*

Saturday, *May* 11.

God sent us this Day a very fruitful Rain for the Benefit of the Fields of the *Saltzburgers*, who work diligently. They are strengthned in their Belief, seeing they have not been mistaken

taken in their Hopes; that they should not want for Rain: tho' some People would prophesy the rainy Time was already past, and the *Saltzburgers* had done ill in sowing their Seed in a sandy Ground.

Monday, *May* 13.

THIS Day was by the Consent of the Congregation, appointed for a Holy-day of Thanksgiving; on which our People met twice in remembrance of GOD's Blessings, and praised him for them in publick. In the Forenoon's Sermon, were explained the Words of the travelling *Jacob*, which during our Voyage, and here in *Ebenezer*, have been very comfortable to us, out of *Gen.* xxxii. 10. and thereby shewn, (1.) The Blessings GOD hitherto had shewn us; (2.) Our Duty, according to the Example of *Jacob*. Instead of an Introduction, we used the 107th Psalm, out of which we shewed our former Circumstances, and present Duty, which GOD also hath blessed. In the Afternoon, we intended to explain the Words 2 *Cor.* v. 9, 10. but it could not be done, because the Commissary, who was to go away next Day, would take his Leave of the *Saltzburgers*, and give them some good Advice before his Departure; which was very moving on both sides, and caused many Tears. GOD bless the good Man, and send him the Fruits of our earnest Prayers, and of all his Labour of Love and Faithfulness to us.

FINIS.

Advertisement.

IF any Persons, moved with the Calamity of these our persecuted Protestant Brethren, shall be inclined to contribute towards their Relief, and will please to send their Benefactions to

The Reverend Mr. Achdeacon *Denne*, Rector of *Lambeth*;
Benjamin Hoare, Esq; Banker in *Fleet-street*,
Sir *John Philips*, Bar^t. in *Bartlet's-Buildings*,
William Tillard, Esq; in *Spital-Square*, *Bishops-gate-street*,
} *London*;
James Vernon, Esq; in *Grosvenor-street*;
The Reverend Mr. *Ziegenhagen*, (Chaplain to His Majesty, and Preacher in the *German* Chapel at St. *James's*) at his House in *Kensington-Square*.

THESE Gentlemen will take effectual Care that the Sums of Money remitted to them, shall be faithfully distributed in the most adviseable Manner, for the Relief and Benefit of these distressed Protestants.

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Vol.4
no.6

SIMPLICITIES DEFENCE

against

SEVEN-HEADED POLICY.

OR,

Innocency Vindicated, being unjustly Accused, and sorely Censured, by that

Seven-headed Church-Government

United in

NEW-ENGLAND:

OR

That Servant so Imperious in his Masters Absence Revived, and now thus re-acting in Nevv-England.

OR

The Combate of the United Colonies, not onely against some of the Natives and Subjects, but against the Authority also of the Kingdome of *England*, with their execution of Laws, in the name and Authority of the servant, (or of themselves) and not in the Name and Authority of the Lord, or fountain of the Government.

Wherein is declared an Act of a great people and Country of the *Indians* in those parts, both Princes and People (unanimously) in their voluntary Submission and Subjection unto the Protection and Government of Old England (from the Fame they hear thereof) together with the true manner and forme of it, as it appears under their own hands and seals, being stirred up, and provoked thereto, by the Combate and courses above-said.

Throughout which Treatise is secretly intermingled, that great Opposition, which is in the goings forth of those two grand Spirits, that are, and ever have been, extant in the World (through the sons of men) from the beginning and foundation thereof.

Imprimatur, *Aug.* 3d. 1646. Diligently perused, approved, and Licensed to the Presse, acoording to Order by publike Authority.

LONDON,
Printed by *John Macock*, and are to be sold by Luke Favvne, at his shop in *Pauls Church-yard*, at the sign of the *Parrot*. 1646.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 6.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord High Admirall of ENGLAND, and Governour in chiefe of the English Plantations in *America*, and upon the coasts thereof, and to the rest of *that Honourable Committee, joyned in Commission with his Excellencie, For the wel ordering, government, and safety of Forrain Plantations.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,

ACcording to the Fame we have heard of you, so have we found in you, a spirit of tendernesse and compassion towards the oppressed, which ever springs from the courage and fortitude of a heart resolute to suppresse the Oppressor, be his power and policie what it may, whilst men unsensible of the cause of the Needy, ever stand in readinesse to side with the strongest partie, and so (as occasion serves) to become one with the cruell, venting the same spirit, which for advantage can easily transform it selfe, so as if power comply with the just mans cause, the vizard of hypocrisie is soon put on by such, either to become dumb & silent, or else to speak so, as may best advantage it selfe, let the cause be what it will. Your wisdom and noble care in those weighty affairs committed to your trust, commands and binds us over to make a more particular and full relation (then formerly we have done) of what hath passed betwixt some other Colonies in NEVV-ENGLAND, and

and our selves; that if it be possible to find any leisure hours in a crowd of so great imployments, your Honours might be pleased to take a more full view of things; in the mean time we stand humbly ingaged, as we have done; and ever shall in any service, that what we are, or have, can tender to the honour and peace of our Native Countrey, or to any true-hearted well-Wisher thereof; and if no other service (we can) may be acceptable, yet of this imployment none shall prevent us (whilst our God gives us hearts) daily to pray for you.

Your Honours most humble Servants, the Inhabitants of Shaw-omet, *whose names are often expressed in this Narration.*

THE EPISTLE

TO THE

READER,

COURTEOUS READER.

DOe not thinke that we delight to lay open the infirmitie and weaknesse of men (except our weaknesses and infirmities, as the Son of God sustained them) any further, nor to other end, but as they serve to discover and lay open that one spirit of the God of this world, which now works effectually in the children of disobedience, which spirit in all its severall wayes of operation, may be gathered up, and centred in, that son of perdition, yea, in that seven-headed, and ten horned beast, whose power and policie like unto that deluge in the old world, hath so long overspread the face of the earth, swallowing up in death every living thing that hath its motion upon the earth, after or according to the flesh.

Nor can any be offended justly with us, (no not our adversaries themselves) for making this true Narration *of things that have passed amongst us, of which this Treatice truly speaks; For actions performed wherein men have cause to glory, the further they spread, the more satisfactory to the* agents; *nor are actions of such publick nature seldom performed, but to such end and purpose, for if they be good, they ought not only to be* reall *and* essentiall *in them amongst whom they are acted and done, but also presidentiall and exemplary unto others where ever the Fame of them, may come; and if they be evill, then a* whorish Fore-head *must needs accompany them, being done in the* light of the Sun, *and then can no wise man be offended, that a way-marke is cast up to give notice of such desperate, and dangerous wayes, unlesse himselfe be of the*

the same spirit, and is about, or else waits for an opportunity for the like design.

Thou art intreated therefore not to looke upon this Treatise, as simply matter of History, *but as* matter of mysterie also: *For as it was acted to make manifest the operations and workings of a* differing spirit, *to that end it is published also: so that if it be narrowly looked into, not only a savour of* that mysterie of iniquity *will appeare (which always works effectually to the same end and purpose, namely, to extinguish and put out the light of divine truth, Wheresoever, or in whomsoever it appears) but thou wilt find some Foot-steps also* of that great mysterie of God, *whose bright beams of light where ever made manifest, declare the men of the world to sit in the shadow of death. Though the* mysterie of iniquity *works not always in the same manner and forme, nay seldome any long time together, without taking* a new face, *and using the art of* transformation of it selfe into one an other shape, *and herein lies the policie of Sathan, that when some time hath been spent (yea it may be an age) in hopès and expectation of glorious times of peace, ease, and exaltation, from the mouths of lying Prophets, who alwayes drive* the peace, power, and principality *of the Kingdome of God, some certaine time before them, or at the least before the common people (as they call them) as though they themselves were the onely men,* that for the present were admitted into the counsells and secrets of the Kingdome of God, *and the people to take it upon their report, where, and when, the appearance of it shall be.*

But when the world by due proof, finds their prædictions to fail, and sees troups of its ancestors go down to the grave, not having the possession put into their hand, *it then works effectually for a transformation,* to cast its worship of God into another form, *wherin it hopes in shorter time for to attain him, in which state it cannot rest to wait, unlesse it hath the strongest partie,* according to the power of the arm of flesh on its side, *and therefore must of necessity labour diligently as for life, to borrow a* coercive *power from the civil Magistrate, to be transferred, turned over, and put into their hands, whereby they may subdue others, and compell them to follow their way, and to acknowledge their worship to be* onely divine, yea the onely God of the world, for there is but one divinitie, *which they have now made and set up unto themselves,* or else *that the Civil Magistrate will be pleased to detain and keep his own power* upon this condition (binding him unto themselves) *that he*

he shall not fail, to bind the hands *and* tongues, *yea and* hearts *also* (*if they can but search and know what is in them*) *that none shall be permitted to intermeddle, or any way to disturb them: But that they may peaceably worship, every man in his* garden, and under such a green tree, as he shal choose unto himself, *being fearfull of trouble and disquiet, not knowing better,* but that the crosse of Christ is terrible, *as though the Sonne of God had not taken away the* terror *and* angry face *of it, putting no lesse disparagement upon him,* but as though the sting were in death still, *being ignorant of this,* how that by death he overcomes death, even untill now.

The reason why the civil Magistrate is so sought after, and (*as I may justly say*) *troubled, if not tortured, in the depopulation of Kingdoms, and losse of true-hearted Subjects by the church, in her* formalities, and perfunctory worships, *is this, a naturall heart conceives the condition of the Church of Christ,* to be like a common weal *or* Kingdome, *which cannot be well, unlesse every individuall within such naturall and terrene confines, agree in one, for the well being and glory of each particular in the whole, so that the humble submission of every Subject becomes one, in that one heart and Spirit of the King,* who submits to the deniall of himself (in any thing) for the preservation of the whole, *and that one heart, courage, and magnanimity of the King, is in every individuall of the Kingdome, to go forth for the honour, peace and preservation,* of that their one Lord; *and so it is in the true Church rightly considered in its relation with the* King of Saints, *truly considered in Spirituall, and not in terrene respects; but that naturall spirit that works in a naturall changeable and vanishing Church, judgeth of its peace according to the consent of all within the compasse of such naturall bounds and terrene confines as it self resides & abides in; and therefore the* false prophet *is said to be the* Tail, *because which way the* honorable person *looks, or the head of the place where he is* (*according to man*) *he alwayes* steers the body of the people, yea though it be but the body of the beast that way, *that he may have strength according to sence on his side,* not knowing how to live or walk according to the power of faith; *therefore must either have all* (*if it be possible*) *or at least the greatest both for authority and number on his side; for he sees not* the blessing of the Divine presence *that goes with the ark of God* though among many adversaries in a wildernesse; *therefore will he take up nothing but* the Tabernacle of *Molech* (*or as the word*

word is) beare the booth of the King, *that is, what manner of house soever, authority and civil power erecteth, for worship, he is ready to take up, and bear upon his shoulders, so that Antichrist hath as many wayes of worship,* as there is or hath been forms of Religion in the world, *and in that the seed of the serpent crusheth the heel,* (*or as the word is*) the print of the foot-soal *of Christ or seed of the woman, for wherever the foot-steps of our Lord have gone, the wisdome of the serpent in reforming its religion casts it into a form,* and so denies the power of godlinesse, *tying the Lord Iesus to appeare in the very same print and character again, whereas the Saints wait for his power in what way or form he pleaseth to make it known and manifest in, and unto them; therefore the visions and apparitions of God in the holy Scriptures,* are never twice in the same form (*all circumstances considered*) *yea if our Saviour appear one time* walking upon the Sea, *as though all things must of necessity bear up their Lord, he appeares again under the hands of* Herod, Pontius Pilate, *and the Iews,* thrust down into the heart of the earth, *as* Jonah *into the midst of the sea, as though all things conspired together to annihilate & bring him to nought, and in the one and the other appeares an aptitude even in the Disciples themselves to mistake, and in this the world is altogether mistaken, in that he walketh upon and raiseth himself up out of wayes they know not how such things can be to make manifest his power and authority to be that of the sonne of God,* who rules in the midst of his enemies, *and one of* Egypt, Babylon * Rahab, Palestina, Tyre and Ethiopia, *is brought forth, so that it may be said* this man was born there, even as the truth of the Gospel hath been brought forth in these parts, *which our Iewish Reformers of religion by putting Christ to death, could never have thought of or apprehended, nor will they* (*were it never so plainly told unto them*) *believe it, so that in this Treatise you may plainly see, how the* mystery of iniquity *already works,* even in *New England* which thought it self the root of Reformation of all the world, *even as* Babylon *alwayes in the entrance of her compulsive contraction, artificiall and self-seeking, conjecturall reformation,* sets her self up as a Queen, and thinks never to see widdow-hood or sorrow any more, *if she can but with all her art and learning keep the Magistrates conscience in bonds, to use all his power and civil policie* for her wealth, to get riches and honour, to Lord it over mens consciences, and peace that she may sit in safety and at

Rahab is Egypt. Isa. 51 9. 10.

rest

rest *to inlarge her barns and take her pleasure in the things of this life, never dreaming* that even in that night of grosse darknesse her soul shall be snatched away from her, *and then whose shall all those things be, whereof she hath framed such a service of God to her self, that must all leave her at death; even such as for the most part, if not all (by her own acknowledgement) fail,* and never passe along with her into the Kingdom, and then must she either have a new God, or else find out a new way of submission unto him, *whom she hath seemed so zealously to serve; such is that spirit of the mystery of iniquity, the goings forth wherof hath forced this Treatise to come to the light and view of the world,* as a warning to all Christians, *to take heed of being beguiled* by a voluntary humility in worshipping of Angels, *messengers or ministers, who labour to make men subject to the rudiments of the world in outward observations,* as touch not, tast not, handle not, *rearing up a fabrick of ordinance in Divine worship; of such things* which all perish in the use, Neglecting the body which is Christ, *by satisfying of the wisdom of the flesh in these things,* through which the Spirit of the Serpent multiplies it self into that threefold spirit which comes out of the mouth of the Dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false Prophet, imitating *that Kingly, Priestly, and Propheticall spirit that is by Iesus Christ, beguiling the world with its uncleannesse* in adulterating the word of God by bringing it into carnall copulation with earthly, transitory, momentary, fading and vanishing things; wo is unto them because thereof, *who like unto frogs, will never appear, hold up their heads, nor utter a voyce, but where the heat and lustre of the Civil Magistrate, brings forth a pleasant, fruitfull and prosperous estate and condition, in the things that onely concern this present life.*

Again, if thou look narrowly into this Treatise, there is a possibility to perceive in it, some glimpse of the light of that spirit of that openeth and unfoldeth the mystery of God, *especially when it taketh up any Scriptures;* look diligently upon what hinge it turneth, *and you shall see a doore open, another way,* yea a nearer & shorter cut to the Kingdom of God, then the common ministery of this world driveth at, *and think it not strange if Iesus appeare in such places, and at such time, where, and when,* the doores are not onely shut, but fast bolted unto the world, *as a thing impossible, that his real and substantiall (though spirituall) body should come in, such a way, and so*

unlooked

unlooked for, being that in *Sodom* and *Egypt* our Lord is crucified, and put to death; *yet let me advise thee, as once our Lord did, handle them, carefully and skilfully, ponder, poise, and feel the weight of them; taste, try and consider,* whether the reality and substantiality of Christ be not there; *sure I am that if the ministerie or service of a Christian spirit* lay hands on them, and put it self into them, *even as a graft is put into the stock, it shall find a plain proof, argument, and demonstration undenyable,* of the apparition & revelation of the Son of God, returned from death to life, never to die any more, *unto whom I leave thee (in the communication of whose Resurrection the second death can never exercise power) with my harty wishes for al those that have learned the truth as it is in Jesus, & know that elsewhere no truth (that is Christian) can be found, for that only abideth for ever, and is eternized in all the lineaments and whole proportion of it, and happy is he that hath so learned Christ,* Amen.

S. G.

Vpon an occasional view, of this unexpected, and much unwished for Story.

THis Story's *strange*, but altogether *true:*
Old *Englands* Saints are *banisht* out of *New:*
Oh Monstrous *Art*, and *cunning* of the Devill,
What *hidden* paths he goes, to *spread*, his *evill?*
The *Man* of *Sin's* the *same*, his eldest *Son;*
Both have more *shapes*, then be *moats*, in the Sun.
Hence *disappointed*, are the most of *men;*
When trouble's *past* (some thinke) they *rise agen.*
Thus it befell these *Pilgrims*, in that *Land*,
To *which* they fled, from *persecutions* hand,
This *Indians* note, with *Papists*, *Iews* and *Turks*,
For in *them all*, the selfe same *spirit* works:
Thus is the *Name* of *Christ*, *blasphem'd*, by these,
Who burthen *them*, to whom they promise ease.

Oh *Christ* arise, and *spread* thy *glorious* fame,
That all may *know*, the *sweetnesse* of thy *Name:*
As-' Affric, *Europe*, and *America*
Expect! and *waite* the *dawnings* of that *day*,
That *Papists*, *Greeks*, and we the *Protestants*
Of *Calvins Sect*, those too, the *Lutherans*,
And *they* that are a *streine* above them *all*,
At *Iesus* feet, at *length* may *humbly* fall,
That so such *Christs*, which *most* in fancy *make*
(Whence 'tis (Men think) that Christendome doth *shake*)
May at th' *appearing* of the *Lord* depart,
And *all* may *worship* him ev'n with *one heart:*
That so the *Nations* may this *glory see;*
And into *it*, at length *transformed* be:

This

This to *effect*, can't be by *sword* of *man*,
But *that* which to *with-stand*, no *Kingdomes* can,
For tis the *Lords* owne *might*, the *sword* that doth,
Ev'n with *two edges* flow out of *Gods* mouth,
By which are *slaine* the *wicked* of each *Land*,
And will sure *breake* each Persecutors *band:*
Then *England*, and *Yee Nations* round *about*,
That are now so lofty, and so *stout:*
At length *downe fall* to *him* that's *Lord* of you:
And *learne* with *him*, like *meeknesse* for to *show:*
If you with *iron Rods*, *Saints breake and bruise.*
Know then *your selves*, that *Christ* you *so* will *use.*

R. B.

A Lover of peace, and one of eminent respect, viewing this Treatise at the Presse, kindly added this verse prefixed, which hath both sodainly, and unexpectedly drawn from my thoughts as here followeth, as a testimony of my kind respects unto the party, though but a stranger unto him; it may also serve as an intelligencer, what was the only ground of controversie, in acting according unto, and publishing of, this Treatise.

He serpent with a voyce so slie and *fine*
Consults with *nature*, as though he were *divine*,
Whil'st she doth seek for glory, wealth, and love
In things that are *below*, and not *in that above*;
Lending *an* * *ear* to listen unto him,
The *fruit looks fair*, the *tree* seems nothing grim:
And thence doth he, at *first begin t' arise*
Through earthly projects, for to make *man wise*:
Whereas the *light of heaven*, *GOD himself ordain'd*
To be that *thing*, whereby man is *maintain'd*
In wisdom, honor, happiness, and peace,
That doth from *serpent* (sin, death, hell) release;
And not *conjectural*, doubtful, subtil notion
Set forth, *by art*, with sign of great devotion.

* Hence doth arise the way of *Solomons* harlot, set out in the way of this woman, *Gen.* 3. *Prov.* 7 who may not speake in the Church, but usurpeth. 1 *Tim.* 2.

Come from the *Prelates**, your persecuting foes;
Our Church (*as Primitive*) Christ Jesus doth disclose

*The Serpents voyce transmists into *new England*, speaking there in way of Ministry, as at the beginning.

Her

Her *Ordinances pure*, a Church erected here
Where you may worship, voyd of care or fear,
Our Land is large; Our Magistracy good;
Come *o're* to save that innocent-like blood
From such as are to cruelty so bent,
Our Ways are meek and humble, to give all content;
Thus he appears, *apparrelled in white*
To snare in that, wherein he takes delight.
An earthly Kingdom, he would fain erect
Then *spiritual honor*, he must needs reject.

That when *that*,* *woman*, appeareth in her glory
With him in womb, of whom intreats all story.
Then's he *a dragon red*, for to devour
That *child*, to whom is given, *all the power*
In heaven, and in earth, to rule as King and Lord.
None to the serpent, no, heaven cannot afford
A place of residence, he must thence depart
Down to the earth, full sore against his heart,
That he a place cannot *devise to frame*
Which from the *heavens* may seeem to take its *fame.*
Cruel, Raging, Carnal, now he cometh forth
His *slie, and subtil wisdom*, now proves nothing worth.

* In this woman is set out the way of King *Lemuels* mother, that teacheth prophesie, *Rev.* 12 *Prov.* 31. who may pray and prophecy in the Church without usurpation. 1*Cor.*11

This woman, *now in travel*, finds not *time*
To listen unto him, *nought but the child is mine:*
Which *child in her*, can nothing else confesse,
But *Throne of glory**, and *bare Wildernesse:*
Which *twain together*, give all praise to one;
Then fury's in the Serpent, smooth policy is gone:
No *middle place* for Sathan now is found,
Not *one with th' manchild;* down he goes to ground:
His cunning cannot now intice so far,
But *Michael*, and *his Angels* wil make War
With *Dragon*, and with all his *Angels* great,
Yea overcome him, never sound retreat.

* For the one betakes it self to heaven, the other to the wilderness.

* He ever puts off the day of the Lord as not yet time to build the Temple, but would live in his own seiled (or artificial) house of his own framing and device.

Most of his skil he useth*, he knows how
To talk of benefits to receive, although not now,
And so from place, and person still delights to wend,
Where's outward peace, there's Christ, doth he pretend;

And

And if so be that troubles do arise,
Himself he saves, *the serpent is so wise:*
No tye, *to fold, nor flock*, he then wil know;
Christ in an earthly peace, he'l have, where e're he go.

Whereas *our* Lord, his voyce doth sometimes teach
Go to ** *Decapolis*, and there thou shalt me preach
Unto * ten Cities, great the number bee;
My Word shal reach them, and *I am with thee.*

For *I* am *truth*, and truth thou goest to show
Which makes thee free, my presence thou dost know
No place can, *scant thee off, then walke at large*,
Doubt not, *I'm with thee*, doe but keepe my *Charge*,
The nations shall come forth at *once*, yea at *one*
[g] *birth;*
Truth in the change of *one*, reneweth all the *earth;*
Else, were *not perfect good*, in every one erect,
Nor *sinne were full*, through th'fall that great defect,
If change of *one* were not a world renew'd,
What *Nation then*, not brought in, and subdu'd,
When truth is publisht, though but unto *one*
Imbrac't, receiv'd? oh happy State of man,
All Gentile Jewels, *brought in*,* who can want
The world's in darkenesse, else could ne're be scant.

** Though he desired to be with Jesus, yet Jesus understanding his desire to be but nature (that is) to injoy him, according to the flesh, denies him that, that so he might be with him according to the spirit. *Mat.* 28. 20.

* For so the word *Decapolis* signifies ten Cities.

g See *Isa.* 60. 21. 22. and 66. 8.

* See *Isa.* 61. 6. and 60. 11. 16.

But Hypocrites cannot this thing digest,
In places, times, and persons, they seek wealth and rest,
And see not how *the mighty Lord above*
Hath cast his skirt o're Ruth, yea fild her lap in love,
Of whom comes Christ, that world of Gods *good will*,
What can she want, that heaven or earth doth fill?
All keepe their stations, *attend* as they have done,
Neglect no *homage*, or service to the *Son*,
All bring their *vertues*, treasures, and their glory
Centring them all in him, a world of Princely Dowry,
Then walke through Sea, or Land, by friends or foes
Let prisons fast, hard irons thee inclose,
All take thy part, yea plead thy cause for thee
The world vents its malice, *in Christs love thou art free.*

The Spirit of this world by these things comes to light
Its pomp, and glory, which earst did shine so bright

Appears

Appears grosse darknesse, unto Christian eyes
Down comes its Kingdome, up goes its plaints and cryes,
Helpe *Sword and Gun*, else doth our Kingdome fall
Court, fire, * *Gangrena*, we tast worm-wood and gall,
No marvell, for, Christ in his native kind
Set forth, declar'd unto a carnall mind,
Appears as odious unto such a wight
As sinne to him, in whom is found the light:
What sentence shall be given then by sons of men,
When truth appears, if power were found in them?

No power but that of darknesse then, let us to them ascribe
What's in the Church's *our Lords*, *all* unto them deny'd;
Take heed yee Judg of *Blasphemies* aright,
For Light discerns, the darknesse hath no sight.
If Light, and Candlesticke, you know not how, t' make one
Suspend your judgement, *all your skill is gone*,
And let the Judge of all, his Circuit passe apace,
Who comes *not to destroy*, such is his grace,
And let that man his own destruction be,
Who breaks that *faith with God*, cannot be peec'd by thee:
Cease then your prosecutions, seek yee to doe good:
Save life in any, in *Church wayes* spill not blood:
In Christ, if you consider, the *Covenant* of God,
Youle find that all compulsion, is nought but that * *Nim-rod.*

S. G.

* Books so intituled written upon uncertain reports, tales, & conjectures to cure the Church.

* A meer hunting of men to worry your own kind; (or rather that hind of the morning, see *Psa.* 22. in the title) thirsting after the precious life. Compare *Gen.* 10. 8, 9. with *Jer.* 16. 16.

Innocencies Defence, against

a seven-headed

CHVRCH-GOVERNMENT

United in

NEW-ENGLAND.

THE moderation of *New-Englands* Justice, desired to be known to all men*, and what is the principall things pretended in the Execution thereof; namely, To suppresse Hereticks, and to confirm that to be the truth which the Unity of the most Colonies hold; plainly declaring and setting forth to the view of all, What is the proper bent and drift of that spirit that diggs so deep to hide its sin in secret, which so affecteth to assume titles unto it self, & also to give at their pleasure unto others; to make themselves appear, in the eyes of men, more holy and honourable in the things of God, then others of their Brethren; commonly crying out, against that power exercised amongst others, for no other end but to assume it unto themselves, to cloth the dictates of that spirit therewith, whereby themselves are led, and so to exercise it with all zeal and wrath in the life, spirit, and substance of it, only with another face or countenance set upon it to deceive and beguile the simple; Not being able to indure the aire, where Cap, Tippit, or upper Shirt appeareth: but can bath themselves in blood and feed themselves fat, by devouring the good name, estates, and lives of their brethren, who neither do, nor think harme unto them, nor reside within the compasse of any of their Jurisdictions, evidently proved by a late assault given (by the men of the *Massachu-*

* As you may see in the following Treatise.

sets

sets and other Colonies united for such a purpose) upon others of their Countrymen, Inhabitants of a tract of land called *Shaw-omet*, situate in the *Nanhyganset* Bay in *New-England:* The truth whereof this Treatise witnesseth, and the substance of all is to be seen under their own hand writing; as also in the writings of others, who were eye and ear-witnesses in the Cause, and have testified under their hands the truth of it.

Here followeth a Narration of the men of Shaw-omet, *concerning the ground of transplanting of themselves and families, and of their first entrance into that part of* America *now called* New-England.

WHereas we removed our selves and families out of our native Country, about ten or twelve years ago by the leave of this State, only to injoy the liberty of our consciences, in respect of our faith towards God, and for no other end, not scrupling any Civill Ordinance, for the education, ordering, or government of any Civil State.

Landing by the providence of God at *Boston* in the *Massachusets* Bay, we found our Countrymen at great variance in point of Religion, prosecuting it very hotly in their publique Courts unto fines and banishments, occasioning men thereby much to vent and bring forth themselves; and we understanding that they had formerly banished one Master *Roger Williams*, a man of good report both for life and doctrine (even amongst themselves) for dissenting from them in some points about their Church Government, and that in the extremity of winter, forcing him to betake himselfe into the vast wilderness to sit down amongst the Indians, in place by their own confessions, out of all their Jurisdictions: And at that time of our arrivall at *Boston*, they were proceeding against one Master *John Wheelwright*, a man of like life and conversation, whom they also banished for differing with them in point of Doctrine, the summ whereof consisted in this, *That sanctification is not the first evidence unto a Christian of his salvation;* and many others manifesting their thoughts about such points then controverted amongst them, were also imprisoned, fined, banished, disarmed, and cast out from amongst them.

And we plainly perceiving that the scope of their doctrine was bent onely to maintain that outward forme of worship which they had erected to themselves, tending only to the outward carriage of one man toward another, leaving those principles

ciples of Divinity, wherein we had been instructed in our native Country, tending to faith towards God in Christ: and we finding no ground nor warrant for such an order in the Church (to bind mens consciences unto) as they had established amongst them; our consciences could not close with them in such their practices, which they perceiving, denyed us the common benefit of the Country, even so much as a place to reside in, and plant upon, for the maintenance and preservation of our selves, our wives and little ones; as also proceeded against us, as they had done to others; yea with more severity, unto confinements, imprisonments, chains, fines, whippings, and banishment out of all their Jurisdictions, to wander in the wildernesse in extremity of winter, yea when the snow was up to the knee, and rivers to wade through up unto the midle, and not so much as one of the Indians to be found in that extremity of weather to afford us either fire, or any harbor, such as themselves had; being removed into swamps and thickets, where they were not to be found; in which condition, in the continuation of the weather, we lay diverse nights together, having no victuals, but what we took on our backs, and our drink as the snow afforded unto us, whereupon we were constrained with the hazard of our lives to betake our selves into a part of the Country called the *Nanhyganset* Bay, buying severall parcels of Land of the Indians there inhabiting; and sat down in, and neer the place where Master *Roger Williams* was where we built houses, and bestowed our labors to raise up means to maintain our wives and little ones which our Countrymen out of their zeal had deprived us of, and taken away from us) quietly possessing them for the space of seven or eight years (some of us no man interrupting us but both the *Massachusets*, and also *Plymouth* confessed us to be out of the confines of their Patents; but when they perceived those parts to be a refuge for such as were oppressed and grieved amongst themselves, who repaired unto us for shelter, then they went about to bring those parts to be under their Jurisdictions, by all possible pretences, and stretching their line for that purpose, thinking to get some colour for their proceedings, yet fell they short of our Plantations fourteen or fifteen miles, as did evidently appear, and was by themselves acknowledged, and when they saw they could not accomplish their ends by that project, they then insinuated themselves into the minds of three il affected persons amongst us, that they should acknowledge themselves to be subjects unto them, and to depend

pend upon them for protection and government, whom they had formerly cast out from amongst them, both out of their Churches, and censured them also in their Civil Courts for grosse and scandalous offences, as one *Robert Cole* whom they had censured to were a D upon his back for a whole year, to proclaim unto all men his guiltinesse of the sin of drunkenesse, and had also cast him out of their Church, and delivered him unto Sathan severall times, who before and in the times of this his submission usually conversed with, and was conversant amongst the Indians on the Sabboth dayes, professing the Indians Religion to be the same with that which the *Massachusets* professed and practiced*; There was also one *William Arnald* and his son *Benedick* who subjected themselves unto the *Massachusets*, which *Arnald* was a great professor of Religion in the West of Old *England;* but in the time of this his subjection was known constantly to imploy himselfe in servile work upon the Sabboth day, and professed it to be his excellency above that which his neighbour had attained unto; his son *Benedick* constantly trading with the Indians on the Sabboth day, being a factor for them of the *Massachusets*, being supplyed with commodity from them, having toleration to sell powder to the Indians, but denyed to be sold unto us, unlesse we would subject our selves as they had done: these pretended subjects of the *Massachusets*, thus far fetcht, had learned this devise, that whereas some of us had small parcels of land laid out to build houses upon and plant corn, and all the rest lay common undivided, as the custome of the Country for the most part is, they would not permit us any more land to build upon or to feed our cattell, unlesse we would keep upon that which they would confesse to be our proper right, and they would admit of no division, but by the foot or by the inch, and then we could neither have roome to set a house, but part of it would stand on their land, nor put a cow to grasse, but immediately her bounds were broken, and then presently must the one be pull'd down, and the other put into the pound, to make satisfaction, or till satisfaction were made for both. So that by this unreasonable and palpable slight of these pretended subjects, together with the power of this so irregular a Government, we plainly perceived a snare was laid to intangle us again; not only to hinder us to provide for our families, but to bereave us again of what God, through our labour and industry, had raised up unto us as means to maintain our families with.

* This speech of *Robert Cole* was uttered before many who can witnesse it.

Now

Now when the *Massachusets* had gained these men to be instruments in this manner to effect their end, then did they institute them as officers to execute their warrants amongst us in those parts, upon any complaint these above named subjects should make unto them upon the grounds above mentioned, who presently sent a Warrant unto us, to command our appearance at their Courts, under the hand of the Governor and divers of the assistants in the *Massachusets*, threatning to use violence against us in case we obeyed not.

A true Copy of the first Warrant that was sent unto us from the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusets, *into the* Nanhyganset *Bay, before we planted upon that tract of land called* Shaw-omet, *situate upon the same Bay: The Warrant is here set down* verbatim, *and is stil extant.*

Massachusets, *To our Neighbours* of *Providence.*

WHereas *William Arnald* of *Pautuxet**, and *Robert Cole*, and others, have lately put themselves and their families, lands and estates, under the protection and government of this Jurisdiction, and have since complained to us, that you have since (upon pretence of a late purchase from the Indians) gone about to deprive them of their lawfull interest confirmed by four years possession, and otherwise to molest them: We thought good therefore to write to you on their behalfe, to give you notice, that they and their lands, *&c.* being under our Jurisdiction, we are to maintain them in their lawfull rights. If therefore you have any just title to any thing they possesse, you may proceed against them in our Court, where you shall have equall justice: But if you shall proceed to any violence, you must not blame us, if we shall take a like course to right them.

**Pautuxet* is a place neer *Providence*, where one or two of these their subjects had built houses & at their pleasure were both in *Providence* and also in *Pautuxet*, having houses & land in both.

Jo. Winthrop, Governor.
Tho. Dudley.
Ri. Bellingham.
Incr. Nowell.

The 28°. *of the* 8°. 1642.

This Warrant being delivered unto us by their new made officer *William Arnald*, in the name of the *Massachusets*, we took into serious consideration, having former experience abundantly

dantly of their unkind and inhumane dealing with us, yea towards our wives and children, when our selves were sometimes in banishments, and sometimes in prison, and irons (by them) before. We thought it meet (for the preservation of our peace, together with that Compassion we had of our wives and little ones) to leave our houses, and the rest of our labors, lying near unto those their pretended subjects (whom we saw maliciously bent) and to remove our selves and families further off, from the *Massachusets*, and such their coadjutours, being then amongst us: For we saw that they did not only endeavor to take away our livelyhood, but intended to take away our lives also, in case they could find a way to satisfie the Country in doing of such an act and execution: For we had never accusation brought in against us, but what rose from the Magistrates and the Ministers; for we walked so, as to do no man wrong, only justified the cause of our Religion, as we had learned and received the principles thereof before we went amongst them; as also the laws and government of this Kingdome of *England* unto which we ever willingly acknowledged ourselves to be loyall subjects, and therefore could not suffer our selves to be intrenched upon by our fellow subjects, further then the laws of our King and State doth allow.

Now that they sought the lives of some of us, at this time is evident; For *Iohn Warner* Citizen and Freeman of *London* a man well known, who afterwards was one of those against whom they now prosecuted, having formerly had some businesse with Master *Winthrop* the Governor of the *Massachusets*, he asked the said *Warner* (living then in the *Nanhyganset* Bay) whether he knew one *Samuel Gorton*, (a man also against whom they now prosecuted) who lived also in the said Bay, but at that time *Iohn Warner* had not seen him, living a matter of twenty miles one from the other: The Governor told him he was a man not fit to live upon the face of the earth; also one of the Elders of the Church of *Boston* told a Minister (who reported it in the place where *Gorton* lived) That if they had *Gorton* at *Boston* in the *Massachusets*, he would hardly see his own house any more; yea one Master *Collins*, a man of excellent parts of learning, and of an unblameable life amongst men, being Minister of one of the Western Islands, from that report he heard of Religion, came to *New-England*, who married one of Mistresse *Huchinsons* daughters, and being *Francis Huchinson* his brother in law, was a member of the Church at *Boston*, who seriously considering

Old M. *Oliver.*

dering and laying to heart the wayes of their Church and the carriage of his brethren consulting with the Minister, the two yong men could not have rest in their spirits till they went down to advise or debate the matter with the Church, though they were come out from them and lived on Road Island in the *Nanhyganset* Bay, and when they came to *Boston*, and the Brethren were gathered together either to give or receive satisfaction, when they saw the arguments produced by the Minister and his brother to weigh somewhat heavy, then the strongest of their Church members of *Boston* (namely the Governor and Assistants) cast them in prison to regulate their opinion that differed from them, and there kept them in durance for many Moneths; but at the last, setting them at liberty, yet giving out some threatning words afterwards, as though they would fetch them again; the yong men could have no rest in their spirits day nor night, till they were gone out further from the *Massachusets* then that Island was, yea under some forreign government where the *Massachusets* could not pretend to have any thing to do; for they had heard that the *Massachusets* intended to take in all the *Nanhyganset* Bay under their Government and Jurisdiction: Whereupon Master *Collins* came where the aforesaid *Gorton* and his Family were, namely at *Providence;* and seriously advised him to go along to the *Dutch* Plantation or else to the *Sweads*: for, upon his knowledge, the *Massachusets* intended, in short time, to take away his life, if he aboad in any of the *English* Plantations; for he had received certain information thereof, whil'st he was amongst them, shewing great affection to move him thereunto: *Gorton* thanked him kindly for his love, being but a stranger to him, but told him he could not go under a forreign Prince for protection, till he saw further then yet he did; knowing he had neither been false to his King nor Countrey, nor to his conscience, in point of Religion, so far as God had informed him. But Master *Collins* and his Brother, together with their Mother and whole Family, for fear, removed to the *Dutch* Plantation, with divers other friends and families; who were miserably massacred by those barbarous Indians (both men, women and children) being then at war with the *Dutch*, who took some of the *English* children (out of families of good note) as Captives, and keep and train them up amongst themselves unto this day, having most barbarously and cruelly slain their Parents, who had been not a little carefull to train them up in their life time, both in faith and manners. But we removing

our

our selves, as abovesaid, into another part of the *Nanhyganset* Bay, further from the *Massachusets*, and where none of the *English*, nor other Nations had any thing to do, but only Indians, the true natives, of whom we bought a parcell of land called *Shaw-omet* (as is abovesaid) not only of *Myantonomy*, chiefe Sachim, or prince of those parts of the Country; but also with the free consent of the Inhabitants of the place.

Now we plainly perceiving that the drift of the *Massachusets*, and those joyned with them, was not only to take the whole Country of the *English* Plantations into their Jurisdictions; but also to establish what way of Religion themselves thought fit, to the taking away (not only of goods) but lives also of such as were otherwise minded: We made answer unto the Writing, they had sent unto us, on this wise; which Answer was made upon our removall from *Mooshawset* (otherwise called PROVIDENCE) to *Shawomet*.

A true Copy of our Answer to the Warrant or Writing which the men of the Massachusets *sent unto us, as is above noted; wherein we only take up their own expressions, to shew unto them the spirit and power of their Religion, which they go about by these means to preserve, inlarge, and shew the glory of it to the world: The Answer is* verbatim *examined by the originall Copy; only marginall Notes added to help the Reader to understand our true meaning.*

Mooshawset, *November* the 20. 1642. *To our Neighbours of the* MASSACHUSETS.

WHereas we lately received an irregular note [a] professing its forme from the *Massachusets*, with four mens Names subscribed thereunto (as principall authors of it) of the chiefe amongst you, we could not easily give credit unto the truth thereof; Not only because the conveyers of it unto us are known to be men whose constant and professed acts are worse then the counterfeitings of mens hands; but also, because we thought that men of your parts and profession would never have prostrated their wisdome to such an act: But considering that causlesse emnity you have against us, the proof whereof every occasion brings forth, we cannot but conclude, That no act so ill, which that ancient Mother

[a] Irregular because it went beyond their bounds and jurisdictions limited unto them.

Mother will not bring forth her seed unto; (b) For we know very well that it is the name of Christ called upon us (c) which you strive against, whence it is that you stand on tiptoe to stretch your selves beyond your bounds, to seek occasion against us (so) as you might hide your sin with *Adam* (d) bearing the world in hand it is not your desire to contend with us, but some civill breach in our course which you seeke to redresse; whereas neither you nor any in way of truth can find wherewith to bring us under the censure of a disorderly course of walking amongst them. And as for the way of that ancient spirit of accusation of the brethren (e) we weigh it not, knowing him to be a lyar (or in the abstract a lye) from the beginning (f), yea and the father of it also; which thing you cannot know though it were told unto you: whereas you say *Robert Cole*, *William Arnald*, with others, have put themselves under the government and protection of your Jurisdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend; we wish your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found (g), being nothing but the shame of Religion, disquiet and disturbance of the places where they are; for we know neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and confederates, have power to inlarge the bounds, by King *CHARLES*, limited unto you. Behold therefore, in this your act, a Map of your spiritual estate (to use your own phrase); for we know that the spirituality of you Churches, is the civility of your Commonwealth, and the civility of your Cōmonwealth is the spirituality of your Churches; the wisdom of man being the whole accomplesense of them both, of which tree you delight dayly to eat (h) finding it fair and beautifull, to gain conformity with your maker; in these your dissembling subjects grossly profane amongst us, but full of the spirit of your purity: (i) when they are with you, you may remember the brand your selves have set on some of them, the cause whereof was never yet removed, (k) though it abide not upon their backs (l), nor yet the cause of your commitment of them

(b) That is the wisdom of the flesh conversant about the things of God brings forth unto cruelty all them in whom it is found so exercised.

(c) Jer. 14. 9.

(d) By dissembling the cause of their proceeding against us to be another thing then indeed it was, even as *Adam* laid the fault upon the woman, whereas indeed she came out of his own side & was confessed to be flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone.

(e) Rev. 12. 10.

(f) Joh. 8. 44.

(g) But only among themselves, within the bounds of their own Jurisdictions, as they affirme them to be though without any ground or rule of true government.

(h) The tree of the knowledg of good & evil paralell'd with the wisdom of man exercising it selfe in the things of God.

(i) That is, the spirit of painted hypocrisie.

(k) The sin being stil continued in. (l) That is, the mark which was worn to proclaime it to all.

unto

unto Sathan (according to your Law) for if that were removed you should do them wrong in not resuming your vomit into its former concoction again: (m) Nor are we ignorant of those disgraceful termes they use and give out against you behind your backs; Their submission therefore cannot be to any other end, but to satisfie their own lusts, not only conceived, but in violent motion against their Neighbours, who never offered the least wrong unto them; only the proposition of amity, is object sufficient for these mens emnity. Even so the passions of sin, which are by the law, having force in your members, (n) you going about with great labour and industry to satisfie them by your submission unto the Word of God, in your fasting, and feasting, in contributing, and treasuring, in retirednesse for study, and bowing of the backs of the poor, going forth in labour to maintain it, and in the spirit of that hireling (o) raising up your whole structure and edifice; in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death: Some laboring for a price to give for the keeping of their souls in peace, and safe estate and condition: (p) some to have your bodies furnished with riches honor and ease (q); and further then the Lord Jesus agrees with these, you mind him not; nay you renounce and reject him, and with these (according to your acceptation and practice) he holds no correspondency at all; being the consultation and operation of that his only adversary (r); Man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, crying out in the way of elevation, and lauding his Ministers, when in the mean time you know not what, nor who, they are; professing them under a mediate call of Christ, though formerly they have been called immediately by him. Hereby shewing your selves to be those which destroy the sacred ordinance of God; for if you make Christ to be that to day, in stating of his Ministers, which he was not (s) yesterday, and that in the time of the Gospel also (to speak according to your law) to be found in them both; you therein affirme, he hath been that to his Ministers, which now he is not; and to make the son of God to have been that which now he is not, is to make a nullity of him; Not to be at all: For

(m) That is, in not receiving them into the operations of that boyling Church-fellowship again, wherein they stil walked.

(n) Rom. 7. 5.

(o) Joh. 10.12, 13.

(p) That is, carefully labor to pay wages to the Minister for that end either in way of contribution or else.

(p) That is the Ministers and Magistrates study, teach, and execute to attain such ends.

(r) This is the wisdom of the flesh exercised in the things of God.

s *Heb.* 13. 8.

For he is the Lord that changeth not ([t]) no not a shadow thereof is found in him: So that you plainly crucifie to yourselves the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame ([u]) so that as you know not how Christ conversing with his Father in heaven is found on the earth amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know how in his conversing with *Nicodemus* on the earth he concludes himselfe to be in heaven ([w]) with his Father; on this foundation hangeth the whole building of your doctrine, concerning the sufferings of Christ, you annihilate the Crosse, then the which the Saints have no other consolation ([x]) and prepare no better a place then purgatory for the honourable Fathers of our Lord ([y]); for ye conclude that Christ dyed in the decree and purpose of God in the time of the law, but actually only when he hanged on the Cross in the dayes of *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, that he was crucified in the types and shadows of the law: But in the truth and substance when he appeared born of the Virgine *Mary;* so must ye also conclude that the fathers under the law were only saved in purpose, and decree, in types and shadows, but actually and substantially only at the comming of Christ in the flesh: Therefore deal plainly with those that depend upon you for instruction, as your ancestors in the Papacy have done, and proclame a place of purgatory provided for them in the mean; without which your doctrine hath no foundation: for if you raise up a shadow without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light ([z]) without a shadow, you play the part of wizards, or Necromancers, not the part of true naturalists in the things of the Kingdome of God: So that as far as your men are ([a]) from being honourable and loyall subjects, so far are you from being voluntaries, in the day of Gods power ([b]) and from yeelding subjection to the beauties of holiness; such also is your preferment rule and government in the things that concern the Kingdome of our God, they are infinitely beyond and out of the reach of that spirit that is gone out amongst you, the capacity whereof can no wayes comprehend the bredth of land of *Emanuel* ([c]) nor entreth it within the vaile: ([d]) Therefore it cannot know those Cherubims of glory ([e]), neither can it hear the voice of that lively oracle, speaking only from off the covering mercy seat,

[t] *Malach.* 3. 6. *James* 1. 17.

[u] *Heb.* 6. 6.

[w] *Joh.* 4. 23. *Joh.* 3. 13.

[x] *Gal.* 6. 14.

[y] *Psa.* 22. 4.

[z] 1 *Tim.* 6. 16.

[a] That is their subjects so far fetcht who lived among us.

(b) Psa. 10. 3.

(c) Isai. 8. 8.

(d) 2 Cor. 3. 15.

(e) Heb. 9. 5.

seat, ([f]) and not elsewhere to be heard; we speak not but what we know, these things are not of its Jurisdiction; therefore dumm in telling Justice; neither speaks it any of that righteousnesse and glory comprised in another circuit then you were yet made lords of: Therefore long may you boast of your Jurisdiction before you attain to *Juris prudentia* in these things, in that you tell us we offer wrong by a pretended purchase, you are as much mistaken in the purchase as in the wrong; for it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchase a pretence, but presidentiall, not only in this civill respect, but may also admonish all men to take heed how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves, and they that have the vision are ignorant of the contract and covenant of God ([g]): Thence it is that you teach, that the Spouse of Christ, upon contract with her Lord, may conceive the seed of immortality and bring forth fruit unto the Lord, when as yet the day of marriage, that great festivity and solemnization of the consolations of God, is not yet come; witnesse your prorogation thereof, if not to the descention of Christ from heaven to the earth, to raign certain years, yet to the calling of the Jews, (whom ye your selves are, according to the flesh) and to the destruction of that man of sin, whom you so stoutly maintain: What is this but to proclame to all the world that audacious spirit of whoredome ([h]) professing conception, and bringing forth before the Nuptiall day, in that you conclude your clients right to arise out of four years possession, we have no such order, if you mean the right of conquest only held in that tenure, the true owners were never yet subdued; for that is the right they expect to injoy by you. For some of them committed part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was that they might have help to injoy the rest ([i]): But when they saw we would not be abettors unto them without, much lesse contrary unto covenant, then they fly unto you for help, ([k]) their possession being a meer intrusion, as all the Natives know, and ever exclaimed against them for the same; and so may our Countrymen also, whose eyes are not

(f) Num. 7. 8, 9.

(g) *Arnalds* son *Benedick* being interpreter between the *Indians* about us, & the *Massachusets*, seeking to get some advantage against us by the *Indians* to blind the Country, as though they had a just quarrel, we seeing and knowing the falsity thereof, do apply the thing to their spiritual course they walk in.

(h) *Hosea.* 4. 12. & 5. 4.

(i) As *Robert Cole* did, their subject now since that time so made.

(k) The *Indians* denying at that time a perfect & full purchase of that place where these their subjects had built houses, called *Pautuxet.*

dazled

dazled with envy, and ears open unto lyes, as we know yours are, else you had heard both sides speak before you had judged; but we profesſe right held in no such interest, but according to the ground of covenant, only known in its nature in the parties twixt whom it is plight, in the possessor and the possessed, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrency, tógether with their distinct, harmonicáll, reciprocall, and joynt properties and operations of them both; such is the tenure that we hold, and maintain it before men and angels, and oppose it against men and devils; not in taking up unto our selves certain offices and officers, which we can teach children to be and to performe, and from thence presently to conclude the possession of the Kingdome, crying out our peace-offerings are upon us, this day we have payd our vows: ([l]) But that dark cloud that descended on the Tabernacle ([m]) becomes the light and glory of all Israel, there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence; then, and then only, are the orders; as also the men of Israel derived from their true fountain, ([n]) which no tongue can confesse but is salvation ([o]), and then not else is the heritage our Lord in possession ([p]) yea even the waylesse wildernesse knows how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountains were borne [q] which men begin to fly unto for refuge to hide themselves from the presence of the Lamb [r]: This is a possession which no man can intrude himselfe into, it is onely covenanted with him through an inlightned eye and boared ear ([s]) which man performeth not, neither can it be received from him [t]: for we know that cloud of thick darknesse, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabrick of the work of God [u] to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof, yea to us it is even that cloud of witnesse [w] which testifies to us the like work to appear, when ever the world hath occasion to make use of us: Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day [x] but in the one, and the other, the only glory and safety of all the tribes; but how, you know not, neither can you, with all your libraries, give the

(l) Alluding to the harlot spoken of in the *Proverbs* whose practise is such in spiritual things, as wel as there is a literal sence of it. *Prov.* 7. 13. to 23.
(m) *Exod.* 33. 9, 10. *Nehem.* 9. 12.
(n) *Psa.* 68. 26.
(o) *Rom.* 10. 10
(p) *Ps.* 47. 4.
[q] *Psa.* 90. 1. 2.
[r] *Rev.* 6. 16. For there was nothing done to these men that seemed to shelter themselves under the *Massachusets*, but only opening the Word of God amongst them, which is the revelation of the face or presence of the Lamb of God Jesus Christ.
(s) *Pro.* 20. 12.
[t] *Psa.* 40. 6. *Gal.* 1. 11, 12.
[u] Alluding to the Tabernacle which it covered, and so applyed spiritually in the way of Christ. [w] *Heb.* 12. 1. (x) *Ps.* 78. 14.

interpretation

interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wildernesse, and accordingly have made the whole way and will of our Lord, the oldnesse of the letter (y) both to your selves and all that have an ear to listen unto you; thence it is, that the day of the Lord is a day of darknesse and gloominesse unto you [z] but of joy and gladnesse unto us; yea it lifts up our head only, [a] and then is our salvation near, for we know the Worthies of *David* doubled about the bed of *Solomon*, which expell all fear in the night [b] handling the sword with successe, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feed upon [c], so that the time of your fear is the time of our courage and conquest; for when ye fear Error, Schism, Rents, and Confusions in Church and State, then do we know the messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom we seek, is speeding his passage into his holy Temple; [d] For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his coming, he being like a refiners fire and fullers sope?

(y) *Rom.* 7. 6.

(z) *Zeph.* 1. 14, 15.

(a) Meaning Christ, & not our selves, to set up flesh. *Luk.* 21. 28.

(b) *Cant.* 3. 7, 8.

(c) That is, all kind of incombrances they meet with in this life, *Isaiah* 41. 2.

(d) *Malachi* 3. 1, 2.

In that you invite us unto your Courts, to fetch your equall ballanced Justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that both in what they have and what they are, and we know them to be such as professe the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing (e). Now if we have our Opponent to prefer his action against us, and not so only, but to be our Counsell, our Jury, and our Judge; for so it must be, if you are one with them, as you affirme, we know beforehand how our cause will be ended, and see the scale of your equall Justice turned already, before we have laid our cause therein; and cannot but admire to see you carryed so contrary to your own received principles; for ye know not how to find Christ as a ruling and teaching Elder both in one person, therefore he is not compleat among you (by your own law) except in several persons; and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to find a King and a Priest in him; and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto us, you know how to become one with our adversaries, so, as if we deal with them, we deal with you; and if we have to do with you, we have to do with them also: yea further we know that the chief amongst you have professed we are not worthy to live; and if some of us were amongst you we should hardly see the place of our aboad any more.

(e) *Heb.* 10. 29.

Now they that have brooded upon their law to take away life,

life, they must much more bring it forth in taking away all means of life, witnesse your prohibition that no powder should be sold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not think your selves safe in all your own selfe-provision and worldly furniture, except you disarmed a company of poor *Indians*, whom *Aaron* your Leviticall Sacrificer hath made naked (f) as he doth all those which triumph in a Calfe, though the most costly and beautifull that the Jewels and Earrings of learning (either in language or art) can possibly bring forth (g); your own amazements upon meer rumours may testifie the truth thereof; so then we are judged by your law before our cause be heard or our selves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing to us to have our condition conformed to *Moses* the man of God, who was dead in *Pharaos* account before he was brought forth (h); and so it was with Christ our Lord (in the dayes of *Herod* also) who is our life (i) at which you strike and makes all things, yea death it selfe lively, and advantageous unto us [k]: we cannot but wonder that you should read the Scriptures and not find them fulfilled in and amongst yourselves, when as they appear so apparently, that he that runs may read them; what think you of *Herod*, when the Lord had delivered *Peter* out of prison, and released him of those bonds, and brought him from that thraldome which he had so cruelly imposed upon him (to gain the favor of the Jews) and that by a power supereminent transcending the bounds of his authority [l] and by a wisdome surpassing the depth of his counsell and policy to find out, together with the souldiers and champions, he presently goes down to *Cæsarea*, and *Herod* is angry with them of *Tyrus* and *Sydon* (*Thumomathon*] *A heavy friend*, or hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind manifested in an out-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue them unto himselfe that he might rule over them, finding himselfe fall short of power and policy to subject the Word of God in the messenger of it, to satisfie his own lust in his lordship over it, he pursues with all eagernesse to make himself a God by raigning over the bodies and estates of men, yea though they be but such as *Tyrus* and *Sydon* can afford unto him to make

(f) By alluding to that bodily nakedness of the Indians, whom they disarmed, shewing that spiritual nakedness which the works of the law or levitical Priesthood brings men under, who ever they be that are exercised in such wayes.

(g) *Exod.* 32.

(h) For in *Pharoahs* edict and *Herods* also they were slain before they were born.

(i) *Colos.* 3. 4. *k Phil.* 1.20,21 *Rom.* 8. 28.

(l) That is, the authority of that wicked *Herod*. *Act.* 12. Chap. throughout.

make subjects of, and when they come to him with one accord to make offer of themselves in yeelding to his affectionate and politicall project, he sitting on the Judgement seat in his royall apparel, making his Oration of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdome and counsell to minister justice and righteousnesse unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord); the people with a shout crying out, the voice of God, and not of man, the truth and substance of which cry, is, This is the Ordinance of God and not of man, immediately the Angel of the Lord smites him; and he that ever acknowledged himself to be a worm, and no man upon the earth [m] consumes and eats up all his pomp and glory even as those whom you account the shame and contempt of the people shal through that Angel of the covenant waste, and bring to naught all those Rhetoricall (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you by your so learned, studious, and experienced Clerks; Take for illustration of your estate (as above) the speech of your Alderman, *Oliver*, in case of committing *Francis Huchinson* to prison, one of your Church members wondring that Brother *Winthrop* would do it, before the Church had dealt with him (Brother saith he] why, he is thy God, man. Lend your eye yet further to paralell your practice personated in *Pilate* [n] and the people, when *Pilate* offers Jesus to the people to be judged, they professe they have such a law that puts no man to death, they are all for mercy and forgivenesse when they are out of the Judgement hall; but let *Pilate* enter in thither, then nothing but *crucifie him, crucifie him*, be their accusation and witnesses never so false; even so in your dealings with men, in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redresse, to reforme, and for the preservation both of soul and body; do but enter into the common hal, then as *Pilate* asked, am I a Jew? so do yee: do I sit or speak here as a brother? I trow not; I am now in a higher sphere then that [though they be acknowledged Coheirs with Christ] can attain unto; therefore if witnesse be brought in and oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid unto it; so far, as mens names to be branded with infamy (estates) depriving women and children of things necessary, and the precious lives of men can extend themselves to contribute any thing thereunto, so that they professed mercy and clemency of your law to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recovery comes unto this issue

m *Psa.* 22. 6, 7.

n *Ioh.* 18. 28. to 40.

to

to send both soul and body down unto *Sheoll* for ever, without redresse and all hope of recovery. But your hour, and the power of darknesse, is known what it is, either to have mens persons in admiration, because of advantage [o] or else to seek all occasions against them to brand them with all manner of reproach and ignominy; but for the truth taught dayly in the Temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand or exercise your ministery against it, least it become leprous, and you take it back again with losse, when it appears dryed and withered: and wherefore reason ye amongst your selves, saying we exercise the power of our ministrations against none but such as are Delinquents, whereby we clear the innocent, and establish peace in our borders; (we demand) what think you of those two witnesses prophesying in sackcloth a thousand two hundred and threescore dayes, [p] those two Olive trees and Candlesticks standing before the God of the earth? are these guilty and vile persons out of whose hands by the power of your ministery, you are delivering and releasing the world? then indeed are your wayes justifiable: But if these be the just, chosen, and peculiar friends of God, yea, such as without which his truth and righteousnesse are not justified, his wisdome and holynesse maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ; then are your ways wicked and to be abhorred; for in your professed course, you are they by whom they are slain and put to death, and all your glory is to keep their Corps unburied in your streets, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what these witnesses are whom you are altogether ignorant of; for your libraries never saw them (and you see not but by their eyes) [q] for these are two, and never more, nor yet lesse, yea ever the same, they are Olive trees, else no witnesses, and also Candlesticks, else both the former fail, yea, are not at all: we must tell you what these are, else we cannot declare how ye kill them: for it is not our intent to open unto you the house of the treasures, the silver and the gold, the spices and the precious ointment, nor the house of our armor ([r]) because ye take all as execrable, and put all to a prophane use, that cometh from us: But these two witnesses are the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ [s] or (in the true language of heaven also) the strength and the

o *Jude* 16. v.

p *Revel.* 11. *Zach:* 4.

q That is, by what light they find in other mens works.

r *Isai.* 39. 1, 2.

s Which comprehend his Kingdom and Priesthood set forth unto us in *Joshua* the high Priest & *Zorobabel* in their return out of *Babylon* to re-edifie the Temple; as in *Zechary* the third and fourth chapters.

weaknesse

weaknesse of Christ: for he was crucified through
t 2 *Cor.* 13. 4. weaknesse, but liveth by the power of God [t], This is the Word of the Lord in *Zorobabel*, not by an army, nor by power (and so deprives him of all strength) but by a spirit that the greatest mountain or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand before, but becomes a plain, which with facility and ease he passeth upon: hence it is that he doth not only lay the top, or the head stone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and then onely is the voice of shouting heard, *Grace, grace*, in the house for ever: and then doth the day of smal things become the day of joy and triumph, yea of parting the rich spoils and prey of all the world: for then he that doth but turn and lift up his eyes, he cannot look besides that great flying book of the Curse that is gone forth over the
n *Zech.*5.1,2,3. whole earth [u] without these two witnesses joyntly uttering themselves in every particular Scripture undertaken to be divulged by any, no evidence nor testimony of God is given or brought in at all, but a meer refuge of lyes, for the souls of men to betake themselves unto (w) without these
w *Isa.* 28. 15. two pipes of the Olive trees, emptying into the bowl of the Candlesticks, no unction nor oyl at all is found in them, and that being wanting the light of the sanctuary is gone out, so that the light appearing amongst you is onely the light of *Baalam* whose eye was open, which you may read either *Shethum*, or *Sethum*[x], for that opening is nothing else but the shutting up of the holy things of God, so that in seeing ye see not, [y] but communicate only in the light of that beast who puts the witnesses to death [z] as *Baalam* did in the sight of that dumm beast of his, whose eyes were so opened as to see the Angell before him [a]: So that while you think it is our wisdome to stoop unto you for light we never come amongst you, but see our selves in a regiment of gross and palpable darknesse, and discern you very plainly how you scrable upon the wall to find the door of *Lots* house and cannot [b], as also how you toil your selves to climb up into the sheepfold another way yea so many other wayes, and have no sight nor discerning of the door at all, by the which whosever entreth becomes a true feeder of the flock, yea none entreth in thereat but the true shepherd himselfe. [c] Most impious it is to put to death two such noble witnesses that have power to shut

x Which signifies either opened or shut, as in *Numb.* 24. 3, 4.
y *Isa.* 6. 9, 10.
z *Revel.* 11. 7.
a *Num.* 22. 25. 27. That is before *Balam*, so that the beast and *Balam* have the same light & look.
b *Gen.* 19. 11.
c *Joh.* 10. 1, 2, 3.

shut heaven that it rain not in the dayes of their prophesying, to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they wil [d], whom that spirit that is amongst you kils on this wise. The life and power of the Son of God as above [e], which is infinite, not admitting of circumscription or contenent, for the heaven of heavens cannot contain him; [f] yet have ye not dared to grasp and inviron that power in the heavens, and therefore have resolved and concluded, that hee only rules upon the earth in these dayes, by his Deputies, Lieutenants, and Visegerents, whereby you limit, (g) and so destroy the holy one of *Israel*, for, give him, that in one time or place, which afterwards, or else where yee deny unto him, and you make a nullitie of him unto your selves, and in so doing, you kill the other witnesse, namely the death or weaknesse of the Lord Jesus, (h) for you must have man to be honourable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, else they may not rule amongst you; yea, and these things are of man, and by man, as, Peeres in that they only officiate so, as man may disanull and take it away againe, witnesse your change of officers, constantly speaking for us herein; thus have you slaine also, the Death, or the weaknesse of Christ, who professeth himselfe to be a worme and no man, [i] the shame and contempt of the people, and these faithfull and true witnesses thus slaine, you must of necessitie deny buriall, and keepe them both in your streets, [k] in open view, otherwise all your pompe and glory, fals to the dust [l] whence it came, and on which it feeds, [m] nor can send your presents one to an other, of your acts of Justice, power to protect; wealth, honour, and friends, wherewith you gratifie one another: And where these are thus slaine, and their corps lye in open view, none of the Gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds, suffering their corps to be put in grave, [n] there is that great Citie which spiritually is called *Sodom*, and *Egypt*, where our Lord is crucified: But after three dayes and an halfe the spirit of life, from God, shall enter into them, and they shall stand up, upon their feet,

d *Revel.* 11. 6.
e Being one of the two witnesses before noted, or his power and kingly authority.
f 1 *Kings* 8. 27 2 *Chron.* 2. 6.
g Psal. 78, 41.
h which is his Priesthood, wherein he deprives himselfe of all power of man, or strength of the arme of flesh:
i *Psalme* 22, 6
k *Revel.* 11. 8, 9, 10.
l That is, if the power of God, and the weaknesse & frailty of man should not be so slaine, as to be stil kept as dead in sight of all, then could not the power and glory of the creature, (as Visegerent, unto the power and glory of God in his absence) be seen set up, and made known.
m *Gen.* 3, 14.
n *Revel.* 11. 8, 9, 10, 11.

feet, to the terrour of you all: Nor doe you thinke, that wee only inveigh against the great ones of the world, for thus doing; for wee know, that the greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very same spirit, wherewith the basest Peasant, hath laid himselfe open in the view of all the world, and the basest Peasant, hath the same spirit, with the greatest of the Princes of this world. (o) These wee say, are the two witnesses, if you can receive it (p) and what dishonour is it to trade so much by meanes of witnesses, and yet know not what a true witnesse is, which if you did, you durst not attempt the things yee doe, whereby you cast reproach upon all the world, in that you professe your selves a choice people pickt out of it, and yet you goe on with such practises as you doe, maintaining them as your only glory. Our Lord gives you in charge, not to sweare at all, [q] but it is your dignity to bring men to your seats of Justice, with nothing but oaths in their mouths; why doe you not ballance the Scriptures in this point? It hath beene said of old, thou shalt not commit Adultery, but I say unto you, hee that looketh on a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her in his heart already. [r] So also, it hath been said of old, thou shalt not forsweare thy selfe, *but I say unto you, sweare not at all:* So that if it bee Adultery to looke to lust, it is also forswearing of a mans selfe, to sweare at all; if one be Adulterie, the other is Perjury; if one be admitted in some cases, the other also; so that in preaching the Toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea, the dutie of adulterie it selfe: So that our Lord plainely evinceth unto all mens consciences, not only the guilt, but the folly and madnesse of the oath of man, to shew how farre it is from investing into place, or demonstrating causes. So that hee that concludeth upon honour and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge, and boldnesse to judge, in a cause from that Testimonie, without the which hee could not have it, is as vaine in his thoughts, as if hee should hereupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of Heaven, which is no lesse stable then the Throne of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firme as his Foot-stoole for ever, or made a fraction in the orders of *Ierusalem*, that choice and peculiar Citie of the great King, whose institutions no mortall breath can intrench upon, or to professe his authority and skill to be such, whereby hee can make a haire of his head black

o *Ephes.* 2, 1, 2, 3. *Rom.* 3. 9. to 19.

p *Matt.* 11. 14.

q *Matt.* 5. 34. to 38.

r *Mat.* 5. 27, 28.

black or white, *viz.* cause his age to wax old as a garment, or renew it with the Eagle at his pleasure, [s] hereby doth man in this point of swearing, professe his folly to be such, that he is become not onely vaine in his imaginations, but to that pride and usurpation therein, as to intrude himselfe into the Prerogative Royall of his Maker, so that howsoever ye boast of the Ordinances of God, yet hee tels you, there is no more then yea yea, and nay nay in them; for that which is once nay is ever nay, in the ordination of Christ; and what is once yea, is ever yea with him, and according to his account (howsoever man reckoneth, whose accounts shall be called over againe) what is once the curse, is ever the curse, and that which is once the Principality and power of Christ, is ever the principalitie and power of Christ; as that which is once the principalitie and power of darknesse is ever the same, what hands soever it commeth into: for manifestation, measure your Kingdome whether it be eternall, and your jurisdiction whether it be eternall, and your jurisdiction whether it be illimited, for hee hath given him the Heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, [t] and a Kingdome of lesse extent hee professeth not, nor can he approve or acknowledge any that do; no more then light can approve of darknesse, or the Lord *Iehovah* of the lord *Baal*. Be wise therefore and bethinke your selves, while it is called to day, harden not your hearts, [u] as though you would make your selves *Meribba*, nothing but strife and contention against the Lord; rather kisse the Sonne, if it be possible, lest his wrath kindle, and you perish from the way for ever: Oh blessed onely they that hope in him, (w) so that hee which professeth on this wise, it is yea, I am a Pastor, but it was nay; at such a time I was none at all; hee renounceth that spirit of the true Pastor, yea, the only Feeder of *Israel*, but professeth that spirit only that pusheth the weake with the horne, and pudleth with his feet the waters where the flocke of God should drink. [x] He with whom it is yea, I am a Ruler, but it was nay, when I was none, renounceth that spirit of him that rules in Righteousnesse, (y) professing the spirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, that Prince of the power of the ayre, who is now working so effectually in the children of disobedience; (z) so also, he with whom it is yea, I am a Captain or chiefe slaughter-man:

s *Psal.* 103. 5.

t *Psal.* 2. 8.

u *Hebr.* 3. 15.

w *Psal.* 2. 12.

x *Ezekiel* 34. 19, 20, 21.

y *Isaiah* 32. 1.

z *Ephes.* 2. 2.

slaughter-man: (a) but it was nay, time was, I was none at all, renounceth that victory, and slaughter made by the Captaine, and High Priest of our profession, (b) who as he is a Lambe slain from the beginning, (c) his victory and slaughter, must be of the same antiquity, professing himselfe to be a chiefe slaughter-man, or superfluous Giant, made in the Hoast of the Philistims, standing in readinesse to come out, to defie the Hoasts of the ever living God, (d) yea, it is evident, whatsoever is more then yea yea, and nay nay, not setting each upon his base, whereon it standeth for ever without controule: but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers, at their pleasure, is of that evill one, (e) not of Jesus the Salvation of his people, (f) but of *Shedim*, (g) that Waster and Destroyer of mankind for ever: * Know therefore, that it is the oath of God, which confirmes, and makes good his Covenant and promise to a thousand generations, [h] and it is the oath of man, that is, the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with hell and death for ever: Be ye assured, it is not the Tabernacle of witnesse, [i] which you have amongst you, brought in by Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, [k] but it is *Siccuth* your King, or the Tabernacle of *Molech*, the Star of your God *Remphan*, figures that you have made to your selves, [l] which you have taken up, and are bearing so stoutly upon your shoulders. Now to tell what an oath, according to God is, that the Scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or termes of certaintie, where ever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discerne or judge of it; therefore according to our Word above, wee leave it as a Parable to you, as all the holy Word of our God is, as your conversation in all points, as in this, daily declareth; in a word when wee have to doe in your jurisdiction, wee know what it is to submit to the wise dispenpensations of our God; when you have to doe

a As the word signifies.
b *Heb.* 2. 10.
c *Revel.* 13.8.
d 1 *Sam.* 17. 10.
e 1 *John* 3.12.
f *Matt.* 1. 21.
g As the word signifies, given in the Chaldean tongue for Devil.
h *Psal.* 105. 9. 10.
i *Isay* 15. 18.
k *Acts* 7. 44, 45.
l *Acts* 7. 43.
* Understand these things according to the true intent, that is, any officer that layes claime to the things of the Kingdom of God, by vertue of that, his office in that sence the truth of these things stand firme and good, and doth not deny or disallow any humane ordinance of man in this world, so it be kept in its bounds and proper place, for he that is a Captaine of the Temple, that is, exerciseth force of armes, for the helpe of the house of God, will ever with the Priests and souldiers, lay hands on *Peter* and *John*, to put them in hold, at the least if they preach Christ. But *Cornelius* is no Captain of that kind or kindred, for he is a Gentile of *Cæsarea*, and of the band called the Italian Band.

amongst

amongst us, in the liberties he hath given to us, wee doubt not but you shall find him Judge amongst us, beyond and above any cause, or thing you can propose unto us; and let that suffice you, and know, that you cannot maintaine a jurisdiction, but you must reject all inroads upon other mens priviledges, and so doe wee; in the mean time wee shall as wee thinke good be calling over, againe some matters you have had up, and had the handling of amongst you, to see what justice or equity we find hath beene exercised in them, and redresse them accordingly, for wee professe right unto all men, and doe no violence at all, as you in your prescript threaten to doe to us, for we have learned how to discipline our children or servants without offering violence unto them; even so doe wee know how to deale with our deboist, rude, yea, inhumane neighbours (or if you will *Nabals*) without doing violence; but rather rendring unto them that which is their due: Nor shall we deprive a witnesse of his modest testimony, for the out-cryes and clamours of such a one, as ill-bred apostatized *Arnald*, that fellonious Hogge-*Killer*, being the partie to be testified against, or for the oath of any interested in the cause, [m] nor shall we be forward to come so farre to find you work [n] upon your request, till we know you to beare another mind, then others of your Neighbours doe, with whom we have had to doe in this Countrey, whose pretended and devised Lawes, we have stooped under to the robbing and spoyling of our goods, the lively-hood of our wives and children, thinking they had laboured, though groaping in great darknesse, to bring forth the truth in the rights and equitie of things: But finding them to be a company of grosse and dissembling hypocrites, that under the pretence of Law, and Religion, have done nothing else but gone about to establish themselves in wayes to maintaine their owne vicious lusts, we renounce their diabolicall practice, being such as have denied in their publicke Courts, that the Lawes of our native Countrey should bee named amongst them; yea, those ancient Statute Lawes, casting us into most base, hasty, and insufferable places of imprisonment, for speaking according to the language of them, in the meane while breaking open our houses in a violent

m As they in the *Massachusets* had lately done, to condemne the innocent and justifie such who otherwise had been proved guilty of felonious acts, even these their new made subjects, whose shame they would not permit to appeare, but rather deprive sufficient witnesse of their testimony, at the guilty persons request.

n That is to their Courts in the *Massachusets*, to imploy them about any matters of ours living peaceably together so farre remote from them, out of all their jurisdictions.

way

way of Hostility, abusing our wives, and our little ones, to take from us the volumes wherein they are preserved, thinking thereby to keep us ignorant of the courses they are resolved to runne, that so the visiosity of their owne wils might be a Law unto them; yea, they have indeavoured, and that in publicke expressions; that a man being accused by them, should not have liberty to answer for himselfe in open Court: dealings of like nature wee find, in the place whereof you stile us your Neighbours, on whose unbridled malice, we find a higher then you putting a curbe, and yet in your account and reckoning we are the parties that are still doing the wrong, and must beare the guilt in your most mature sentence, in whomsoever the spot ariseth, and abideth; but the God of vengeance, unto whom our cause is referred, never having our Protector, and Judge to seeke, will shew himselfe in our deliverance out of the hands of you all; yea, all the house of that *Ishbosheth*, [o] and *Merib-bosheth*, [p] nor vvill he fayle us to utter and make knovvne his strength vvherein vve stand, to serve in our age, and to minister in our course, to day and to morrow, and on the third day can none deprive us of perfection, [q] for hee hath taught us to know what it is to walke to day, and to morrow, and the day following also, when a perishing estate cannot rise out of *Ierusalem*, though she be the only one, yea none but she, that kils the Prophets, and stones them that are sent unto her: Behold ye that are looking after, and foretelling so much of the comming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certaine years; which some, you say, shall attaine unto, and unto the day of death for the rest, ye blind Guids, as your Fathers have ever done, so doe ye: Behold, we say, when he appeareth, your house which you so glory in, shall be left unto you desolate, it shall be turned into nothing but desolation, and confusion, for *Babel* is its name, [r] nor shall you see him to your comfort, in the glory of his Kingdome, untill you can say (blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord) [s] when the authority and power of man, appeareth to be the building of *Babel* unto you, and the name and authority of God only to be that wherein the blessing consists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way reproach in the eyes of all the world; that a King should ride into his chiefe Citie, so strangly furnished upon an Asse, borrowed, her furniture old over-worne Garments, and accompanied

o That is, man of shame.
p Mouth of shame.
q *Luke* 13. 31, 32, 33, 34.
r That is, as the word signifies Confusion.
s *Mat.* 21. 5. to 10. *Matt.* 23. 37. 38, 39.

accompanied with none but poore, meane, excommunicate persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, and all your credible persons among you make full account they are not only accursed, by, but also destitute and void of all Law, when you can find *Hosanna* in the highest, arising out of such contempt, and shame, then, and then only shall you sing unto him with comfort; in the meane time acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay your selves on the name of man, and in his beauty to delight and glory, which shall fade as a Leafe, and like the grasse, shall wither when it is fitting it selfe for the Oven; (t) such is man whose breath is in his Nostrils, [u] and the sonne of sorry man, in whom you have delight to trust, his power and policie brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and heare, in the Countrey from whence we are brought; we are not ignorant of these shamefull lies, and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of our words, to cast contempt upon us, [w] thinking to bow downe our backs under ignominy, and reproach, neither of the straits, and difficulties, they have cast us upon in the things that concernes this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seene beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto, (as their owne confession hath witnessed) doing it in such a way, of painted hypocrisie, and false glosse, unto the eye of the world, that we might seem unto it, selfe executioners; we resolve therefore to follow our imployments, & to carry and behave our selves as formerly we have done, and no other wise; for we have wronged no man, unlesse with hard labour, to provide for our families, and suffer of grosse, idle, and Idoll drones, to take our labours out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us: so that if any shall goe about to disturb, or annoy us, hence-forth in our imployments, and liberties, which God hath, or shal put into our hands, that can claim no interest in us but by these courses, (x) what their business is, we know by proof sufficient, to be nothing else but that ancient errand of *Nimrod*, that rebellious Hunter after the precious life, [y] which errand of his shall be no more delivered unto us, in that covert cruelty, and dissembling way of hypocrisie; but in direct and open termes of tyrannie, we will not be dealt with as before (we speake in the name

t *Isay* 40. 7. 8. & 1. 30. *Psal.* 90. 5, 6.

u *Isay* 2. 22.

w *Psal.* 56. 5.

x Knowing our selves to be free subiects to the Laws and government of our native countrey, and not unto any government extended out of its bounds and jurisdiction.

y *Gen.* 10, 8, 9. *Jer.* 16. 16.

of

of our God) we will not, for if any shall disturbe us, as above, secret Hypocrites shall become open Tyrants, and their Laws appeare to be nothing else but meer lusts in the eyes of all the world: And wherefore doe you murmure among your selves at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expression? it is because you are ignorant of the Crosse of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is; therefore it is, while you inveigh against such as set up a Statue of wood and stone to bow downe unto it, and are so vaine as to crosse the ayre (to use your owne expression) upon the faces of Infants, when they sprinkle them with water, to as great purpose, and in the mean time you preach, and set up *Seighnirim*, for your Crosse, whom you fall downe unto so willingly, and lest you let the word passe without expression of it unto all, it signifies Horrour and Feare, which is the Crosse you hold and teach, and by and through which you thinke to be saved, which name is given by our Lord to the Devill himselfe, (as our English translate it, and the Lord never gives a name as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named, so that if hee speake, I have said ye are gods, (z) of any besides himselfe it is to declare, that they have not only the name, but the very nature of the god of this world, and therefore he saith, they shall dye even as *Adam*, which aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the Princes, even as one of those Princes of *Midian*, whose carkesses became dung for the earth, (a) and he that gives that title unto any but the true God, that made heaven and earth, in any other sense, but as it declareth a flat opposition against God, is *Reacting* that ancient spirit of the Serpent; if you eat you shall be as gods, [b] to judge of good and evill, for which all men are set up in that kind; even so while you tell the people, that by sorrow, compunction, and anxietie of spirit, and trouble of mind, they communicate in the sufferings of Christ; out of which condition their comfort is to flow, it is nothing else but to conclude, the Sonne of God to be *Belial;* yea to affirme him to be *Seighnirim* himselfe; this doth he receive at your hands in your Ministries, for all your fawning upon him with a kisse, (c) so that if you will know how farre you are from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this Parable, verily as farre as the weaknesse of God is stronger then

z *Psal.* 82. 6, 7.

a *Psal.* 83. 9, 10, 11.

b *Genesis* 3. 5.

For he that assumeth a title unto himselfe, without respect unto Christ, in whom the whole glory thereof consists such mind and disposition prosecuted & followed to its height, according to the rise thereof, sets it selfe in direct termes of opposition against Christ, and hath that spirit of the god of this world.

c *Mat.*26.4.9.

then man ([d]); countrey men, for wee cannot but call you so, though we find your carriage to be so farre worse then these *Indians*, we advise you to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to put asunder, ([e]) so that if you be ashamed of the Crosse in Baptisme, be ashamed of the Baptisme also, for such as the Crosse is, such is the Baptisme: Therefore your Ancestors goe beyond you, in that they joyne crossing of the ayre, and sprinkling with the Element of water together: But wherever Baptisme according to the word of Christ is, there is the Crosse of Christ also, [f] they can no more be separated then his Scepter and Kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other also; for as they are coincident, so are they coaparant: So that if ever you see the Baptisme of Christ, truly in use, and exercised upon any, you doe as truly see that party partaking in, and communicating with the Crosse and Sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to see persons in such estate, and conclude afterward they are worthy of sensure, yea possibly to an *Athema*, *Maranatha*, is nothing else but to conclude a totall and finall falling away from the grace of God, as your Fathers have done before you, for no grace greater then the Crosse of our Lord Jesus; Behold therefore you Despisers the vanity and abomination of all your Baptismes, how prejudiciall they are to the Cross of Christ, be ashamed, and return in time, or he shal be a swift witness against you for ever, when your Repentance shal come too late; but you think the Crosse of Christ is not but in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing, and crouching to the lust of every man otherwise his *Shebet;* [g] is not fit, nor suteth it with your Regiment at all, unlesse so servile, that every one may serve their lusts of him, to Wealth and Honour, Friends and Allies, by setting bounds and limits to the holy Word of God; some in the way of one devise, some in the way of another, and he that will not walke as a dumbe beast, worse then *Balams* Asse, and say nothing, or else give a sense of the holy Writings to maintaine that devised Plat-forme, if mercy must be used, not to hang and burne, yet banishment is ready wayting for them: Therefore shall you know, by the Rod of his power that comes out of *Sion*, [h] that he will be Ruler even in the midst of his Enemies.

[d] 1 *Col.* 1. 25.

[e] *Marke* 10. 9.

[f] *Matt.* 20. 22, 23. *Luke* 12. 50.

[g] That is, his Scepter, Rod Staffe, or tribe.

[h] *Psal.* 110. 2.

By

By us whom you stile your Neighbours of Providence, you have said it, Providence is our hold, the Neighbour-hood of the *Samaritan* we professe, and for the lookings on, and turnings aside of your Priests and Levites, without either Unction, or Compassion, all your slaine and wounded in soule finding no remedy, doe plainely testifie the nature of your travels, and Neighbour-hood what it is; your speech to us in generall, not using our names, when as we know, it is particulars you ayme at, gives us plainely to see the word *Ælem*, [i] Revived and Living in you, as it stands with its Coherence, in *Psalme* 58. *Verse* the first, &c.

i the word *Ælem* signifies dumbnesse, so that the Phrase is, doe ye indeed, do dumb Justice, o Congregation? and so describes such persons what they are that speake not a word of Righteousnesse in their acts and executions, which Psalme shewed unto us the spirit, practice and successe of our Adversaries.

* These being the Purchasers of *Shawo-met* the *Sachim*, *Myantonomy*, as he sold it to 12. men, so his price was that every man should pay 12. Fatham of Wamppum peage, that is, 144. Fatham, as our deed, which he made unto us being extant, witnesseth to be paid unto him.

* *John Wickes.*
Randall Houlden.
John Warner.
Robert Potter.
Richard Waterman.
William Waddle.
Samuel Gorton.
Richard Carder.
John Greene.
Nicholas Powar.
Francis Weston.
Sampson Shatton.

This Writing sent to the *Massachusets* we have related *verbatim;* only what is in the margent is added for explanation, and more ease to the Reader to understand our meaning which we sent at the time when their general Court sat; desiring that all the Country might take notice of it, doubting they were not well informed how the Magistrates and Ministers had carryed themselves towards us, nor upon what ground they had, or did proceed against us: But the chief of them taking the matter into consideration, thought good to call an Assembly of Magistrates and Ministers to consult, in way of a Synod, what course to take uniting themselves together that what was done by any of them might be the act of them all: and they perusing of our writings,

writings, framed out of them 26 particulars, or thereabouts, which they said were blasphemous, changing of phrases, altering of words and sense, not in any one of them taking the true intent of our writings; but if they spake our own words, it was to such purpose as this; as though a man would write the words of the *Psalme*, and affirm *(there is no God)* such words he may find written therein; but if he leave out this, *That the fool hath said in his heart so*, he spoils the sense, and in such manner did they deal with our writings, and those things they were free to divulge and make known amongst the people: These things concluded to be heresies and blasphemies before ever they heard a word of what interpretation we could give of our meaning therein: The Ministers did zealously preach unto the people the great danger of such things, and the guilt such lay under that held them, stirring the people up to labour to find such persons out and to execute death upon them, making persons so execrable in the eyes of the people, whom they intimated should hold such things, yea some of them naming some of us in their Pulpits [k], that the people that had not seen us thought us to be worse by far in any respect then those barbarous Indians are in the Country, which some of the Ministers have rendred unto the people as *Hittites*, *Cananites*, *and Peresites*, urging it as a duty unto the *English* to put them to death; whereupon we heard a rumor that the *Massachusets* was sending out an Army of men to cut us off: but when they perceived we were removed further into the Countrey, and had left our Lands, Houses, and Labours, where their pretended subjects, by meanes of whom they sought for some temporall occasions against us, lived, they thought it not safe to come out against us, having show of nothing against us, but only our Religion; therefore seeing themselves disappointed in that designe, wherein their Coadjutors, had wrought to bring them in, to make an inroad upon us, they then wrought by these their Agents, who traded for them with the *Indians*, to insinuate themselves into two, or three *Indians* amongst us, to become subiects to the government of *Massachusets*, hereby with-drawing them from their lawfull and naturall Prince, *Myantonomy;* and the name of these his subjects, who now became subjects to the *Massachusets*, were *Pumhom*, and *Socconomocco;* and when this was accomplished, then they

[k] As Mr. *Cobbet* who cryed out against *Gorton* that arch heretick, who (saith he) would have al men to be preachers. But if he had turned his speech against *Moses*, who wished that al the Lords people were prophets, he had far more plainly expressed the bent of his spirit, & what manner of zeal he had.

they againe sent forth their warrants unto us, as formerly to command our appearance at their Courts, in the *Massachusets*, and that without any consideration or delay, at the first time of their sending unto us after our removall, the Court being then siting at *Boston* in the *Massachusets*.

Here followeth a true Copie of the first Warrant sent unto us, by the Generall Court assembled at Boston, *in the Massachusets, after our removeall unto, and planting upon our Land at* Shaw-omet, verbatim, *the Warrant under their hand being still extant.*

To our Neighbours, Master *Samuel Gorton, Iohn Wickes, Randall Houlden, Robert Potter, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, Iohn Warner,* and *William Waddle.*

WHereas we have received upon good ground, into our Jurisdiction, and Protection, two *Indian Sachims*, whose names are *Pumham*, and *Socconomoco*, who have lately complained unto us of some injurious and unjust dealing, towards them by your selves; and because we desire to doe equall right and justice to all, and that all parties might be heard, we have therefore thought good to write unto you, to give you notice hereof, that so you might make present answer in the Generall Court now assembled at *Boston* to their complaints, who are now here with us, to attend your comming: And because some of you have been denyed the liberty of comming amongst us, and it may be, others are not willing in other respects, personally to appeare, [1] we doe therefore hereby give and grant safe conduct for your free egresse & regresse unto us, whereby there may be no just excuse, for with-holding you to give satisfaction in this particular.

l They having banished some of us five or six years before, and threatning, that if some of us were amongst them we should hardly see the place of our aboad any more.

Dated the 12th. 7th. *Mo.* 1643.
Per cur. general. Incr.
Nowell Secret.

This Warrant being delivered unto us, by some of their forenamed Agents, the English, we presently returned them this answer by word of mouth, by their Messenger, telling them, that we being so far out of their jurisdictions, could not, neither would we acknowledge subjection unto any in the place where we

we were; but only the state and government of old *England*, who only had right unto us, and from whom we doubted not but in due season we should receive direction, for the well ordering of us in all civill respects; and in the meane time we lived peaceably together, desiring and indevouring to doe wrong to no man, neither *English* nor *Indian*, ending all our differences in a neighbourly and loving way of Arbitrators, mutually chosen amongst us: They receiving our answer, tooke it disdainfully, as their intent was to take any we sent, without our personall appearance, being resolved what course to runne concerning us; whereupon they sent us another Writing immediately from the Court, to informe us, that they were resolved to come downe amongst us, to exercise Justice there.

Here followeth a true Copie of the Writing which they sent unto us, verbatim, *being still extant.*

To *Samuel Gorton, Iohn Wickes, Iohn Warner, Iohn Green, Randall Houlden, Francis Weston, Robert Potter, Richard Waterman, Richard Carder, Sampson Shotton, Nicholas Power*, and *William Waddle.*

WHereas upon occasion of divers injuries, offered by you to us, and the people under our jurisdiction, both *English* and *Indians*, we have sent to you to come to our Court, and there make answer to the particulars charged upon you, and safe conduct to that end: To which you have returned us no other but contemptuous and disdainfull answers; and now at the last, that if we vvould send to your selves, that the cause might be examined, and heard among your owne Neighbours, we should then have justice and satisfaction: We have therefore, that our moderation and justice may appeare to all men, agreed to condescend herein to your owne desire; and therefore intend shortly to send Commissioners into your parts to lay open the charges against you, and to heare your Reasons and Allegations, and thereupon to receive such satisfaction from you, as shall appeare in justice to be due. We give you also to understand, that vve shall send a sufficient Guard, with our Commissioners, for their safety against any violence, or injury; for seeing you will not trust your selves with us, upon our safe conduct, we have no reason to trust ours with you, upon your bare courtesie: But this you may rest assured of, that if you will make good your owne offer to us, of doing us right, our people shall returne,

returne, and leave you in peace; otherwise we must right our selves, and our people, by force of Armes.

Dated the 19th. *of the* 7th. *M.* 1643.

Per cur. Increase Nowell, *Secret.*

The next newes wee had, immediatly upon the receipt of this Writing, (being about our necessary imployments, in provision for our families) was this; that one Captaine *George Cooke*, with a company of armed souldiers, accompanied with many *Indians*, having Commission from the *Massachusets*, either to bring us away by force of Armes, or else to put us to the sword; which when we heard, we partly beleeved, in regard they had given order by publicke Court, long before, that no Gun-powder should be sold into those parts where we lived, but only to such as would become subjects to them, whereby the place was not only hindred of means of defence from a foraine Enemy, but also to furnish their families with such provisions as the countrey affords: we hearing of their approach, immediately sent a Letter to those which we heard they stiled Commissioners, which proved to be the Captaine, together with his officers, desiring to know their intent, and what their Commission was to doe in those parts, signifying, that if they came to visit us in way of neighbour-hood, and friendship, to cleare any matter or cause, they should be welcome to us; but if otherwise, we wished them not to set foot upon our Lands, in any hostile way.

A true Copie of our Letter verbatim, *sent to the Commissioners, as they were upon the way comming from the Massachusets towards* Shaw-omet.

Shaw-omet the 28th. of September, 1643.

To certaine men stiled Commissioners, sent from the Massachusets, *now upon the way towards* Shaw-omet, *whose names we know not.*

WHereas you are sent by the government of the *Massachusets*, under pretence of having things ordered amongst us, in way of justice, and equity, to be distributed unto themselves, (consisting as they say) of *English* and *Indians* [m] and that upon this ground, that we have given them an invitation

m That, is their united body which they so much delight, and glory in, consists by their owne confession of such mixture of Members, as that part are Heathens by their owne report.

vitation to that purpose; Know therefore our whole intent, and meaning therein, which may not beare any other interpretation in a rationall mind; that as they invited us unto them, as Clients to have our causes tryed by them; and not as Warriors to fight with them, so did we, and no otherwise invite them: Mistake us not therefore, neither deceive your selves through their or your owne pretences; for if you come to treate with us, in ways of equity and peace (together therewith, shaking a Rod over our heads, in a Band of souldiers:) Be you assured, we have passed our Child-hood and nonnage in that point, and are under Commission of the great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage; but to quit our selves as men; we straitly charge you therefore, hereby, that you set not a foot upon our Land in any hostile way, but upon your perill; and that if any blood be shed, upon your owne heads shall it be; and know, that if you set an Army of men upon any part of our Land, contrary to our just prohibition herein, we are under command, and have our Commission sealed already, to resist you unto death; for this is the Law of our God, by whom we stand, written in all mens hearts, that if you spread a table before us as friends, we sit not as men invective, envious, or male-content, not touching a morsell, nor looking for you to point us unto our dish, but we eat with you, by vertue of the unfained Law of relations, not only to satisfie our stomacks, but to increase friendship and love, the end of feasting: So also if you visit us, as Combatants, or Warriors, by the same Law of relations, we as freely and chearfully answer you unto death; not to kill, and take away the lives of men, but to increase wrath and horrour, the end of warre, in the soules of all men that seeke after it, where the peace of our God appeares not; and they that worke otherwise, and answer not unto this Law, they are not men of truth, but base dissembling Hypocrites; shadowes, and abominable Idols, set up in the forme of men.

By us owners, and Inhabitants of Shaw-omet.

This Letter being sent unto these Commissioners so stiled by them, though as yet unknowne unto us, by the hand of one *Iohn Peise*, who lived amongst them them in the *Massachusets*, who having a Father in Law amongst us, was willing to come and declare unto his Father, out of his tendernesse towards him, of the nearnesse of the souldiers approach, and as neare as he could, the end of their comming, to perswade his said Father to escape for his life.

And

And when the Captaine, and the rest of the Commissioners had read our Letter, they returned us this answer (by the same Messenger) namely that they desired to speak with us, to see if they could convert us to be of their minds, (bringing a Minister with them, to accomplish their ends in such designs) which if they could not, then they would account of us, as men fitted for the slaughter, and with all convenient speed, would addresse themselves for our dispatch into the ruine of us, and of our families.

Here followeth a true Copie of the answer made by the Commissioners, unto our Letter, verbatim, *under their hands, which is still extant.*

To our friend John Peise. *Having considered of the Writing you brought to us the last night, our thoughts concerning it, are as followeth.*

FIrst it is our great desire, that we might speake with them, concerning the particulars, which we were sent to them about; [n] certainly perswading our selves, that we shall be able through the Lords helpe to convince some of them, at least of the evill of their way, and cause them to divert their course, that so doing they may preserve their lives and liberties, which otherwise must necessarily leade to eternall ruine of them and theirs; for however, through an evill spirit, that hath possessed some one, or two of them, others are drawne into such desperate evils, as is monstrous to thinke of; yet having better counsell, we hope they will be brought to see their weaknesse, and repent of it, that so we might returne, and leave them and theirs in peace, which is our great desire, and the contrary most grievous; but if there be no way of turning them, we then shall looke upon them, as men prepared for slaughter, and accordingly shall

n This Letter doth plainly declare, the proper intent of the *Massachusets* in sending out this band of souldiers against us, namely in the falsifying of our faith to God, to subject our selves unto them, (who never named the least word unto us, as though they came against us in the name of the King, and State of old *England*, but in the name of the Government of the *Massachusets*) or else to pay the tribute of our Lives unto them, in the utter ruine of our wives and children, which these men having received in Commission, together with instruction how to accomplish and effect the same, from those that sent them, count it their glory to reveal, and make manifest the same, which the *Massachusets* had so long gone about to hide, under the colour of some civil miscarriage in out course of walking towards men, in regard themselves had professed, to remove into those parts meerly for the liberty of conscience, which now they so zealously deny unto their neighbours.

addresse

addresse our selves, with all convenient speed, not doubting of the Lords presence with us, being cleare in the way we are in: This being our minds, we intreate you to acquaint them with it speedily; and if they shall, who have set their names to their book, doe come to us, and speake with us, we shall give them leave to returne without hurt.

Your Friends and Commissioners sent by the government of the *Massachusets*-Bay into these parts.

George Cooke.
Edward Iohnson.
Humphrey Atharton.

The returne of this answer from the Commissioners, as above, affrighted our wives & children, forcing them to betake themselves, some into the Woods among the *Indians*, suffering such hard-ship, as occasioned the death of divers of them, [o] and others going to take water, to depart to other plantations for succour, the souldiers approached before they could take boat, who presented their Muskets at women great with child, forcing them and their children to runne deep into the water, to get into the boat for feare of them [p]; we betaking our selves to one of our houses, for our defence, they presently appeared in sight; *S. Gorton* being out of the house to convey his Wife (who was great with child) towards the water-side for her escape, espied them about Musket-shot from the house, the way which they came being full of wood; they were not sooner discerned but he called unto them, to keepe without the distance of Musket-shot, calling to his friends in the house also to stand to their Armes, for a band of souldiers consisting of *English* and *Indians* were in sight; so committing his Wife to some of *Providence*, which came along with them to convey her to the boat, betooke himselfe to the house with the rest. These our loving neighbours, inhabiting neere unto us in

o As the wife of *Jo. Green*, as also the wife of *Robert Potter*, other women miscarrying to the losse of their children. So also *Francis Weston*, through cold and hard-ship in prison, fell into a consumption, and in short time after dyed of it.

p The wife of *S. Gorton*, and some of her children, he being ready to lie downe in child bed, was so dealt with by the souldiers, the boat hasting off for feare, if one of her sonnes could not have swimmed, had been left behind her, so was glad to betake himselfe to the water, though young to recover the Boat.

that

that Tovvne where Master *Williams* sate downe, being deeply affected with the proceedings of the *Massachusets*, comming downe unto us along with them, to be eye and eare witnesses how things were carried at our meeting; who instantly urged the Captaine, and officers for a parley, who denyed to yeeld or grant any such thing, but professed they would fall upon us presently, unlesse it might be private betwixt themselves and us, and none else to heare it, professing to make dispatch of us in one quarter of an hours worke, [q] which we understanding refused to enter into parley, unlesse our said neighbours of *Providence* might be present to witnesse the passages of it; but at the last after much affectionate urging, they yeelded to a parley; and foure of *Providence* men to be chosen out as witnesses, which we freely consented unto the mutuall choyce of them, and accordingly we met together; and we demanding of them the end of their comming, they pretended we had done some wrong unto certaine of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errours, which we must either repent of, or goe downe to the *Massachusets* to be tryed at their Courts, or else they had Commission to put us to the sword, and to pay themselves out of our goods, for their charges in comming thither; to which we made answer, we could not yeeld thereunto, that they that were our professed adversaries should be our Judges, we being so farre out of all their jurisdictions; but freely tendred our appeale to the honourable State of *England*, in any thing that could be objected against us, which they peremptorily refused: We then offered to put our case to arbitration, by indifferent men, mutually chosen in the countrey, ingaging our goods, our lands, & our persons, to

q They had so animated, and incouraged the souldiers, yea, so incensed themagainstus, that they were loth to entertaine speech or parley, though they say in their last writing they came to examine cases of right and wrong which could not appeare without parley, nay some of their souldiers, picked out to be at the parley, professed to some of us, when they came to visit us as we lay in bolts and irons amongst them, comming in the night, not daring to see us in the day, professed in these words; When we came first to the ground we were madd to fight, and to fal upon you without speech or parley, but after we saw you, and heard you speake, many of us had rather have been on your side, then for the cause we came, and the Captaine seeing some of us discouraged to fight, would not permit us to discourse with any of *Providence* men, lest they should speake on your behalfe; and this we know, that some that did signifie unto them any small thing concerning the equity of our cause the Captaine seized on them for prisoners, and kept them in bonds, during the time of their aboad there, and much adoe to release them, that they had not taken them downe into the *Massachusets*, to undergoe further punishments.

make

make full satisfaction for any thing that could be brought in, or appeare against us; which Propositions seemed so reasonable, not only in the eyes of the witnesses, but also to the Captain and the rest, that there was a truce agreed upon, untill such time as a Messenger being dispatcht into the *Massachusets*, might returne with the answer of the Governour, and Assistants, during the time of which truce, they broke open our houses, and our desks, taking away our Writings, killed our Cattle for themselves and the *Indians*, whom they brought with them, to live upon taking the bedding, with other necessaries in our houses, for the souldiers to lie upon, and make use of, not only at that time, but afterwards in their trenches, during the time of their league, assaulting some of our friends, both men, women, and children, who only came to see us, in that sad time of extremitie, hearing there was a truce concluded for a season, indeavouring to cut them off, upon the water, (being in a small vessell) by shooting halfe a score or a dozin Muskets at them, before they could get out of their reach, which they very narrowly escaped; during the time of this truce, the men of *Providence* (unknowne unto us) sent a Letter to the Government of the *Massachusets*, to informe them how things had been carried at our meeting, whereof they were eye and eare witnesses.

A true Copie of the Letter sent by the men of Providence, *chosen to be witnesses, of all passages in way of our parley, to the Governour of the* Massachusets, *in way of mediation for peace, to prevent Countrey-men from spilling one an others blood, it is here set downe* verbatim, *according to the originall Copie still extant.*

Providence *the* 2. of the 8^{t}. *M*^{o}. 1643. *so called.*

WOrthy Sir, let it not seeme absurd, that we whose names are here under written, present you with these insuing lines; we lately hearing read a Copie of your writing, directed to *Samuel Gorton*, and that company, as also some of us being requested by our neighbour *Cole* (your subject) and (all requested by *Samuel Gorton*, and his company, to heare and see) the truth of proceedings on both sides, our consciences perswading us, that these desires were reasonable, and for ought we know, might be a meanes (if God so wrought) to prevent the shedding of blood; these things we say considered, may (as before) cause our boldnesse. We therefore being filled with griefe

griefe at such a spectacle, that the *English* should shed English blood, doe desire to acquaint you with what we did observe, during that respite, that was condescended to, for a treatie; therefore to proceed, after your Commission read, *S. G.* his company did desire to know in what particulars, you did demand satisfaction; the propositions being declared were foure.

Frst to get them off the *Indians* ground, which your Commissioners said, they had but intruded.

Secondly, for satisfaction about a Booke, wherein your Commissioners said, were grosse things penned.

Thirdly, for satisfaction for wrong done, both to *English* and *Indians*, under your subjection.

Fourthly, for charges, which your Commissioners said, they had caused by forcing this Army.

Vnto the first they answered, that the ground was theirs, and they were the true owners, and that by the same right that you did clayme it, it being long before subjected to the *Nanhyganset Sachim*, and purchased by them of *Myantonomy*, and (to take away all colour of claime) of *Pumham* also, and they having quiet possession of the same, untill this trouble; and therefore did conceive you had wronged them, by bringing an Army, to force them from their ground; your Commissioners pleaded, it was your right, by the *Indians* subjecting to you, and thereupon were very resolute to take them off by force; which they questioned not but immediatly to performe; the other as resolute, considering, they said they had bought it, and vowed to stand upon their lawfull defence, though to the last drop of their blood, the resolution on both sides being so hot, that we thought immediatly the Battle would have began; they did then appeale to the highest Court in old *England*, for the tryall of their right, which when your Commissioners refused, they did againe offer to put it to the tryall of indifferent Judges in this Countrey, which were parties of neither side, and counted it unreasonable, that force should be offered before the cause were tryed, which they judged you could not doe, being parties in the cause, and promised to stand to the determination of those Judges, to the utmost of their estates and persons.

Secondly, being demanded by your Commissioners, satisfaction for the Book, wherein they declared grosse things were penned, they answered, that they would put it, as the former, to be judged by indifferent Judges, both the terms, & satisfaction.

To the third, for satisfaction for wrong done, both to *Indians* and

and *English;* they answered, they would give full satisfaction.

Concerning the fourth, wherein was great expence and charges required; they answered likewise, as in the former, that they would pay and give to the utmost satisfaction, if the Arbitrators judged, that they were the cause of raysing it, and would as fully and freely submit, as to eat and drinke: These being in short the heads, we leave the more ample relation to your Commissioners; Sir so faire Propositions offered, we hope will worke your affections to the utmost end, of preventing blood-spilling: Nay, we hope, if it be but upon the point of honour, rather that you will be losers, then take the utmost; the case we cannot but be sadly affected with, knowing it will be dishonourable to the Lord, if those who professe themselves Christians, should not take the best means for peace; we hope you will not in the least measure take it unkindly for any hint unto you; neither that you will despise *Abigals* counsell, for *Nabals* churlishnesse; let the Lord smite them, and his hand be upon them, if they sinne against him; *If one man sinne against another, the Iudge shall judge him, but if a man sinne against the Lord, who shall intreat for him?* 1 *Sam.* 2. 25. Now their Proposition is for man to judge, as that first part of the alleadged Scripture doth declare; some of their wives and children (if a mornfull Spectacle might move you) doe begge for a serious consideration of their husbands, and fathers Propositions; which if not hearkned unto, were like in mans eye to be left miserable; we would they were able to write their owne griefe, which now in pitie we have respect unto: Oh, how grievous would it be (we hope to you) if one man should be slaine, considering the greatest Monarch in the world cannot make a man; especially grievous, seeing they offer termes of peace: Sir, vve knovv not hovv to end, nor vvhat to say, vve must abruptly leave desiring your vvisdoms to cover our defects with love, and answer for us, if any shall challenge us, 2 *Tim.* 2. 7.

Chad. Browne. Thomas Olney.
William Field,
William Wickenden.

Here

Here followeth a true Copie of a Letter written by the Governour of the Massachusets, *in answer to the men of* Providence, *of their Letter written unto him, in way of mediation for peace, which is here set downe* verbatim, *the Letter being extant under his owne hand.*

Neighbours of Providence,

I Have received a Letter subscribed by four of you, whom I hear are not of the confederacie with *Gorton*, *Holden*, and the rest of that company, wherin as Mediators you intercede between them & us, in the differences now between us; the return of the Messenger is so hasty, that I cannot make a full answer to every thing you have mentioned in your Letter; only you may rest satisfied with this, that the Commission, and instructions given to the Commissioners now at *Providence*, was not rashly and inconsiderately drawn up; but by the mature advise of the wisest and godliest amongst us, assembled in a generall Court, which I have not power to reverse or alter; and for the justnesse of the Courts proceedings therein, you may doe well to take further notice, that besides the Title of Land, between the *Indians*, and the *English* there, there are twelve of the *English*, that have subscribed their names, to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against God, and all Magistracie, who are rather to be judged as Blasphemers, (especially if they persist therein) rather then that they should delude us, by winning time, under the pretence of Arbitration; I doubt not, but you well know, that we have often sent to them, to plead their title to the Land, and to make answer for their Blasphemies, and that we lately sent them safe Conducts for their comming, and returning, [r] for all which we have received from them, nothing but scorns, contempt, and revilings in the worst expressions they could cast them into; so that the promise of protection made by us, to *Pumham*, *&c.* the vindication of Gods honour, and many reasons concerning our safety, have necessarily put us upon this course with them; notwithstanding which, if any of them will in peaceable manner, repaire unto us, under the conduct of our Commissioners, no violence shall be offered to them, by our souldiers there, and our justice here; but if they refuse, and offer violence, let the hurt they receive be upon their owne heads; further (which I had forgotten) where you say their offer of arbitration is faire, you may doe well to be better informed, and to know that the botome

r Which was only words expressed in their paper formerly sent unto us.

botome of it is easily sounded, which is to win time, to discourage the *Indians*, [s] under our subjection, and to give them time, and opportunity, to stir up (as much as in them lieth) the other *Indians* against [t] us; for to whom would they referre their matters? to your selves whom we know not, but have just cause to feare, in respect of your vicinitie unto them, and your now mediation for them; and to those of *Road*-Iland, divers of whom we know too well, to referre any matters unto; [u] the best office you can performe unto them, is to perswade them to attend their owne safety, by yeelding to the lawfull demand of our Commissioners, from which as I said before I cannot vary. So I rest

Your loving Neighbour,

Boston 8. 3, 1643. *Io: Winthrope.*

s Fearing lest the true and naturall Prince of these their Indian subjects should shew them their folly in this their subjection, and to win them again unto himselfe, and thereby leave them without this colour and pretence to worke out their own ends upon us.

t Behold here their guilt, in that they had unjustly drawn by insinuation the Indians from their lawfull Prince, as also that subtill wrong they did to us, suggesting secretly unto the people, as though there were feare of some combination between the Indians and us, to stir up souldiers by that means to come out against us. *u* Behold how these men can evade all faire Propositions to prosecute, and bring forth their own spirit; yea, even to the death of their countrey men, if it be but by casting aspersions upon those that hold not just length and breadth in religion with them.

Now after the enterchange of these Letters, between the men of *Providence,* and the Governour of the *Massachusets*, which we at the present were ignorant of, when certaine dayes were expired, the Messengers sent by the Commissioners unto the *Massachusets* to acquaint them with our Propositions, returned, which we perceived by their shooting off of Guns at his comming: And the first thing we discerned in them, they sent out and gathered all our Cattle together, and tooke them into their owne custody, sending two souldiers unto us to give us notice, that the time of truce was expired, and that our Propositions could in no cause be accepted or imbraced by the *Massachusets;* we then desiring to speake with the Captain and the officers, they utterly denyed to have any speech with us; but immediatly intrenched themselves, and the same day gave fire upon us; whereupon to shew our allegeance to the State of old *England*, we hung out the English colours, which they perceiving shot the more violently against us, shooting the colours many times, through and through: Now when the Messenger from the *Massachusets* returned, comming through the Towne

of

of *Providence*, two of the men of *Providence* came along to *Shaw-omet*, to see how things were carried, and what the newes was at his returne; and however the Commissioners would not speake with us; yet the men of *Providence* went unto them, & had speech with them, whom they warned to come no more unto us, upon their perill, for they were resolved of their course; therefore who ever came neer unto us, they would take them for their enemies: For when the Governour and Assistants of the *Massachusets* perceived that the Commissioners had declared their errand unto us in plainer termes then, then they intended it should have beene; they thought to make the house we were in our grave, was the best vvay to vindicate the moderation of their equall Justice tovvards us, as plainly appeared by their practise, and course held concerning us.

Here followeth a true Copy of the testimony of the two men of PROVIDENCE *who came to* SHAVV-OMET *at the return of the Messenger out of the* MASSACHUSETS verbatim, *extant under their own hands.*

WE testifie that upon the return of the Answer, from the Bay, the Captain refused the former offer of appeale to *England*, or Arbitration in the Country, with the said *Samuel Gorton* and his company, but immediately dissolved the truce, and the same day proceeded to give fire upon them.

Richard Scot
William Harrisse.

And so continued for divers days together in their fierce assalt, the Sabbath approaching, we imagining they would not have continued their assalt upon that day, and were very confident that they would go about no such work upon the night before the Sabbath; being we knew well that they held the Sabbath begins in the evening going before, and that they had no lesse ground for it then Master *Cottons* judgment; as also that it was one of their laws that the breach of the Sabbath is to be punished with death. Now what they may judge the killing of their Countrymen causlesly upon that day is, whether to keep or break the Sabbath, we leave to all men to judge.

But contrary to our expectation, early in the morning, having prepared their fire-works, they attempted to burn the house wherein we were, seconding their fire with the discharge of

above

above four hundred shot against us, according to the Souldiers account, who afterwards told us how many shots they had made that morning, according to the emptying of their bandaleers; all which time they told us Captain *Cook* stood behind such a great white oak tree, whom we heard incouraging his souldiers to come on with courage, thinking himself in safety, and so he was, for we discharged not a Gun that morning, nor of al the time of their siege, but only two in the nighttime at random, to scar them from working their trenches neer unto us; for we had concluded to take away the lives of none of our Countrymen, unlesse they offered to enter violently upon us, which we only fitted our selves to prevent such assalt, or else that we were forced out upon them by the firing of our house; only we perceived our words to be shot good enough to keep them aloof. For we called cheerfully upon the Captain to come on and bring up his men; for he should find vs very cheerfull spirits to deal with, and that we would make him as good a Sabbath days breakfast as ever he had in his life; our care was only to quench the fire which they had laid to the wall before we were aware; But we saw the wind took the flame so from the wal that it kindled not upon the house; vvhen the day began to break Captain *Cook* called to the souldiers to go on with a fresh assalt; but we heard some of his Souldiers deny to come on again, being the fire took not; and the day beginning to be light they thought we might shoot from the house at some certainty; we called on the Captain to animate his soldiers, for we understood (we told him) his charret wheels began to drive very heavy, and were in danger to fall off, and that was all the violence we offered to our Countrymen in this their so eager an assalt, though we heard the Captain in the beginning of it, give strict charge to the souldiers that they should not let one escape alive, but to put all to the sword, thinking the fire would have taken, and so we have been a prey for them: But however we discharged not a peece against them, being loth to spill the blood of our Countrymen, though to the hazard of our own lives, yet were we well provided and could easily have done them much hurt; only stood upon our defence so, as they durst not make entry upon us; after which assalt they sent back into the *Massachusets* for more ayd: But in the mean time another parley was procured wherein we consented to go down into the *Massachusets* upon Composition to prevent the spilling of blood, which we could no longer refrain in the defence of our selves, they having approached so neer unto

unto us; The condition whereof was this, that we should goe along with them, as free men, and neighbours, as though sueh passages had never been betwixt us, which the Captain and his Company consenting unto, beat up the Drum, and gathered his souldiers together, seeming joyfull that things were so concluded; whereupon the Captaine desired to see our house, which request we lovingly imbraced, thinking he intended to refresh himselfe and his souldiers with such provisions as we had, before we set upon our journey towards the *Massachusets;* but no sooner was he come into the house, but contrary to the Articles of our agreement, he seized upon our Armes, using us as captives, and presently carried us away, not suffering us to dispose of any of our goods, that were in or about our houses, having not so much as a servant left behind, and so left them all as pillage to the *Indians*, [x] the Captain giving charge unto the souldiers, that if any of us spake a word in our journey, to give any of them discontent, that they should presently knock us downe, and if they saw any of us step aside, out of the place designed unto us, that they should run us through, and he would beare them out, in that their action: And withall they drove away our cattle into the *Massachusets*, dividing and disposing of them amongst themselves; only some of them they had disposed of to such of their subjects, as lived near unto us, who had been instruments and assistants unto them, to bring about and effect this worke. The number of cattle which they took from us was foure-score head, or thereabouts, besides Swine and Goats, which they, and the *Indians*, lived upon during the time of their siege, also breaking violently into our houses, taking away our corne with other provisions provided for our Families to live upon.

x Which they had promised to do as they came on the way towards us to incourage the *Indians* to come with them against us, in the hearing of some of our friends.

Here

Here followeth an other Testimony, of divers of the men of Providence, *given under their hands, set downe here* verbatim, *for the clearing of these matters, which writing is extant.*

Providence this present *Ianuary* the 30. th. 1644.

We whose names are here under written, Inhabitants of the town of Providence *in the* Nanhyganset-*Bay in* New-England, *being requested by* Samuel Gorton, Randal Houlden, John Wickes, *and* John Warner, *with divers others of our countrey men, to testifie what we know concerning their late sufferings, from the Bay of the* Massachusets, *we take our selves bound in conscience, to answer their request, and in a word of truth, impartially to witnesse.*

FIrst, that our Countrey-men aforesaid, were peaceably possessed of a Plantation, at *Shaw-omet*, amongst the Natives, some ten or a dozen miles beyond this Towne of *Providence.*

Secondly, that the Bay of *Massachusets*, sent up through this Towne of *Providence*, one Captain *Cooke*, and his company, in warlike manner, who actually assaulted, and besieged our foresaid Countrey-men, who stood upon their own defence.

Thirdly, that the wives and children, of our fore-said Countrey-men upon these hostile courses were affrighted and scattered in great extremities, and divers since are dead.

Fourthly, the said Captaine *Cooke* and his company, carried captive our fore-said Countrey-men through this Towne of *Providence*, to the Bay of *Massachusets.*

Fifthly, Their goods, cattle, houses, and plantations were seized upon, by the fore-said Captain, and his company; their cattle were part killed by the souldiers, and the rest by Agents from the Bay disposed of, and driven away to the said Bay of *Massachusets.*

Richard Scot.	*William Barrowes.*
William Harris.	*Ioshua Winssor.*
William Field.	*Iohn Field.*
Stutley Wastcote.	*Thomas Angel.*
Hugh Bewit.	*William Reighnalds.*
Thomas Harris.	*Adam Goodwin.*

Now

Now as we passed along on the way to the *Massachusets*, which was about three-score, or three-score and ten miles, in the common account of men, from our Plantation at *Shaw-omet*, after they were come into the Townes within their own jurisdictions, in some Townes their Minister which the souldiers brought along with them against us, gathered the people together, in the open street went to prayers, that the people might take notice, what they had done, was done in a holy manner, and in the name of the Lord; and when they came to *Dorchester*, there being many people gathered together, with divers of their Ministers, as Master *Cotton*, and Master *Mather*, &c. there they placed us at their pleasure, as they thought fit to have us stand; and made vollies of shot over our heads in signe of victory, [z] and when we were come to *Boston*, and brought before the Governours doore, the souldiers placing themselves and us, as they thought fit, and orderly; the Governour comming forth, walking throughout, all the company of souldiers blessed them; the word which he used as he still passed along was this, God blesse you, and prosper you: God blesse and prosper you; [y] when this was done, we were brought into the Governors Hall, before the Governor, Mr. *Iohn Winthrope*, unto whom we complained, how the Captain had used us, contrary to our Articles; but he told us, what ever the Captain might expresse unto us, his intent was to have us as captives, and their captives now we were; and unto the common Goale we must goe, without either Baile or Mainprize, where we continued untill the Court sate, and the Countrey comming in on every side, to understand the cause, why they had so proceeded against us; and they labouring to give the countrey satisfaction, rehearsed in the ears of the people, divers grosse opinions, which they had complied together, out of our writing, which we abhorred: As that we should deny the humane nature of Christ, which they gathered from this, that we professed his death to be effectual to the Fathers, before the time of his incarnation in the wombe of the

z A great triumph for a whole countrey, to carry away eleven men (and that upon faire composition also, if they had kept touch with us; for one of us, that is *Sampson Shotton*, was dead before by hardship, which some of their spirit had put him upon) and but ten of us that handled arms.

y We thought he did it to imitate *Melchisedeck*, comming out to blesse *Abraham*, when he came from the slaughter of the Kings, in the rescue of *Lot*, he did it so gravely and solemnly, only the Captain wanted the spirit of *Abraham* for all his good successe, yet we thought he was not uncapable to communicate, in that prayer or blessing of the Governour; for his errand to us was, to utter and exercise the spirit of the government in his Commission made manifest.

the Virgin; also that we denyed all the Churches of Jesus Christ, because we could not joyne with them in that way of Church order which they had established amongst them; Againe, that we denyed all the holy Ordinances of Christ, because we could not joyn with them in their way of administration; as also, that we denyed all civill Magistracie, because we could not yeeld to their authority, to be exercised in those parts where we lived, (that place being above foure and twenty miles out of their bounds) which we should not once have questioned, if we had beene within the compasse of their jurisdictions, as it well appeared by our carriage, all the time we were amongst them, as also by our sundry appeals unto this state, which have been denyed unto us; yea, and since that great favour granted, and given unto that people of *Providence* plantations, in a late Charter of civill government, from this State, our humble respects unto al such authority, hath been made manifest to all men: not only in our unanimous and joyfull imbracing of it, but also some of us by the generall vote of the whole Colonie, have been chosen into the place of Judicature, for the orderly execution of the authority of the Charter; yea, some of us that are now here present, at the publication hereof: Now when we desired liberty to speak in the Court, to answer to such things as were alleaged, and read in the ears of the people, such as is above, with divers more to the number of about six and-twenty, all drawn from our writing formerly mentioned in this Treatise, we denyed that we either held, or had writ any such thing, and desired our writing might be read in open Court, that it might appear what was in it, which was denyed unto us; only their charges must appeare, by the affirmation of the Bench; for no other man nor woman appeared to testifie a word against us; and when wee continued to deny the constructions they had given of our writings, and abstracted from them, denying them to be ours, we were commanded silence; Master *Thomas Dudley*, one of the Bench, standing up, charging us to be silent, and told us if we were not, they would lay irons upon our legs, and upon our hands, and also upon our necks; whereupon the Court for that time was dissolved, no man objecting against us in the least, in any wrong or injury betwixt man and man; neither at that time, nor in any time of all our tryall amongst them. After which they brought us forth divers time before their Court, which then sate more privately in a Chamber, the door being kept very carefully, that none should enter, but only whom they thought fit to permit, their Court

Court then consisting of about a dozin Magistrates, and about fortie Deputies chosen out of severall Towns, as were thought fit, and many of their Ministers usually present with them to assist in the worke; they then questioned, and examined us apart, to the uttermost they could, to get some matter against us from our owne mouths, and also usually sending their Agents as Elders, [z] and Members of their Churches, [a] unto us in prison, frequently putting questions unto us to get occasion against us, thus continuing for the space of two or three weeks together, during which time Master *Wilson* ordinarily in his Sermons, pressed the Magistrates and the people to take away our lives, from that text of the King of *Israel* letting *Benhadad* goe, applying it unto them; that if they let us escape with life, their life should then goe for our life, and their people for our people, urging them from that of *Samuel* and *Agag*, to hew and cut us in peeces; Master *Cotton* also in his Sermons, incouraged the people in the lawfulnesse of their dealings with us, from that in the *Revelations*, where it is said, the Kingdoms of this world are the Kingdoms of the Lord, and his Christs, whence he observed, that they being the Kingdom of Christ, they were bound to goe out against all people, to subdue all such unto themselves as are weaker then they; otherwise they might stay at home within themselves, and serve God with all their hearts; but they could not serve him with all their might, unlesse they went out to subdue others, and so would be guilty of the breach of that command, *viz. Thou shalt serve the Lord*

[x] Old M. *Ward* once Lecturer at S. *Michael* in *Corne-hill*, London, came to the prison window, and called to him one of our society, namely *Richard Carder* who had once lived near together in *Essex*, Mr. *Ward* seemed to be much affected, being a man knows how to put himselfe into passion, desired the said *Richard*, that if he had done or said any thing that he could with good conscience renounce, he desired him to recant it, and he hoped the Court would be very mercifull; and saith he, it shal be no disparagement unto you, for here is our Reverend Elder, Mr. *Cotton* who ordinarily preacheth that publickly one year, that the next year he publickly repents of, and shews himselfe very sorrowful for it to the Congregation, so that (saith he) it will be no disgrace for you to recant in such a case. (*a*) Vsually comming to us into the prison, many of them together; As also, when we were put apart in the time of our examination, one of the Members of the Church of *Boston*, telling some of us in his own house, that he was perswaded, that we did not worship the true God; for, saith he then, he would not have permitted you to be brought down from your own Plantation amongst us; for (saith he) I am perswaded, that our Churches shal not be over-come by any people that should come out against them; his wife standing by, being an ingenuous woman, made answer to our content, before we could speak; Husband (saith she) pray doe not boast before the victory be known, it may be the Battle is not yet ended,

thy

thy God with all thy strength. Now after our many consultations, and debating of matters with the Magistrates and Ministers, not only in the Court, sometimes one of us answering and declaring of his mind, only in matters of Religion a whole day together, yea part by Candle-light, besides all their more private conferences in the prison, and at other houses, where we vvere put apart, in custody one from another in the time of our examination; at the last the Court sent for *S. Gorton*, out of prison, to appeare before them; and when he came before them, the Governour told him, he heard there was exception taken, that there should be a rumour, that it was for some civill things they had so proceeded against us, and yet no man appeared to object the least against us, in any civill respect; unto which the Governour himselfe gave ansvver (not expecting an ansvver from *Gorton*) that they had set their subjects the *Indians* in their own Land, and that was all they looked after in that respect, but they never questióned in publicke, whether it was right or wrong, to take it from us, only had privately called one of us, which was one of the Interpreters, at the buying of it, and the *Indians* their subjects together, to see what could be said in it, and found the *Indians* by their own confession, to make things so clear on our behalfe, that they thought it not fit to bring it into publick scanning of the matter.

The Governour then told *Gorton*, he was now to answer some things that should be propounded unto him upon his life, for it was upon his life that now he was to answer; unto which *Gorton* made answer, that he was to shew unto them all dutifull subjection that might be, being under the government of their jurisdiction, as he had done since his comming amongst them, to give them their due honour and respect to the utmost, which he could not doe but as he looked upon them with relation unto the State of old *England*; by vertue of which power, they sate there, as executioners of justice, unlesse he looked at them, and carried himselfe towards them, as they had respect unto that State, (from whom what power they had was derived) else he could not give them their due honour and respect; for it could no way appeare to be such, but as it was derived from that noble State of old *England*; and therefore, however he had according to what they had demanded, for the clearing of any thing, been free to answer unto them: So now if it was his life that they would now put him upon, he did as freely, and in the presence of them all, appeale to the State of old *England* for his tryall in that point, by vertue of which State only he conceived

conceived they sate there as Ministers of justice; and therefore might not deny unto him his just appeale (understanding that the deniall of an appeale, must either presuppose a superiority in them that deny it, or an equality at the least, with the State appealed unto) unto which the Governour made answer, as also Master *Iohn Indicote*, deputy Governour, and bad *Gorton* never dream, or think of any such thing, for no appeale should be granted unto him.

Now the Ministers and Magistrates, having weighed better our Writings, our Examinations in Court, answers to questions more privately, with any thing, spoken in the prison amongst our selves, which daily ear was lent unto, or our carriage and demeanure in any respect; they had now summed up, and drawn all into four questions, which were now to be answered in case of of life and death.

The Questions were these that follow, not a word varying in any one of them.

1. Q. Whether the Fathers, who dyed before Christ was born of the *Virgin Mary*, were justified and saved only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered after his incarnation.

2. Q. Whether the only price of our Redemption, were not the death of Christ upon the Crosse, with the rest of his sufferings, and obediences in the time of his life here after he was borne of the *Virgin Mary*.

3. Q. Who is that God whom he thinks we serve.

4. Q. What he means, when he saith, *We worship the Star of our God Rempham, Chion, Molech.*

To these four questions the Court told *Gorton* he must answer speedily upon life and death, and that under his hand writing; he told them he was not willing to answer in any thing but as before he had done; they told him he must give in speedy answer under his hand writing; he asked what time he must have for the answer of them; they told him a quarter of an houre; he told them he could answer them in so short a time, but he knew not whether it could give them satisfaction; for it was as much as for a man *to describe Iesus Christ what he is*, and the way *of Antichrist also*, which might be done in few words; but not to be clear to every man; for a man may describe the whole world in these words; *in the beginning God created*

created heaven and earth, and the earth was without forme and void, and darknesse was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; all the whole worke of creation is in this masse or heape; but to set out the glory and beauty that comes out of this, needs many Phrases to expresse it; even so it is in the description of the *Son of God, Iesus Christ, borne of the Virgin*, it may be done in few words; but to lay out the *nature, benefit, and glory of it*, no smal speech, or time can serve to expresse: and therefore desired in word (as before he had manifested his mind unto them) so he might give that present answer which God gave unto him in this point also; but they told him it must be done in writing, and so commanded the Goaler to convey him to an other room to dispatch the same; but as he was going out from them, they called unto him, and told him he should have the liberty of halfe an hours time to performe it in; when he was come into an other room, pen, inke and paper being brought unto him, as he was going to write, word was sent from the Court, that if it was brought in, on the second day in the morning, it should suffice, for the Court considering of it, that many of them had farre home, and it being the day of Preparation for the Sabbath (for it was now Saturday in the afternoon) and they thought not fit to sit any longer; so *Gorton* was conveyed againe into the Prison to the rest of his friends; who continued cheerfully together, all the Sabbath day, as they had done before in the Prison; only some part of those dayes, they brought us forth unto their Congregations, to hear their Sermons, of *occido* and *occidio*, which was meat not to be digested, but only by the heart or stomacke of an *Ostrich:* But upon the Munday morning, *Gorton* tooke pen and inke, and writ in answer to every one of the four questions given unto him, as here followeth.

This

This is a true Copie of answers, given to the Court of the Massachusets *to the four questions, which they required to be answered in writing upon life, and death, in case of Blasphemy, which we were charged with, and sentence so farre passed, as to take away our lives by the sword, in case of not disclayming of our Religion, or erroneous opinions, as they were pleased to call them; the answers are truly set down,* verbatim.

TO the first question we answere affirmatively (only assuming the liberty of our explanation) namely, *The Fathers who dyed before Christ was borne of the Virgin* Mary, *were justified and saved, only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered,* [b] in

b Note, that in this answer there is a word added to their question, which was done of purpose (knowing how they looked) to regulate them, if it were possible, as it was declared unto them, in the first reading of the answer, how they fell short in it, which they yeelded unto; they say, the death which he suffered (after) his incarnation, the answer saith (In) and after his incarnation. For to speake of the sufferings of Christ, after his incarnation, without respect unto that which was before, we may as well speake of his sufferings before his incarnation, without respect to that which is after; for the Crosse of Christ is not, but with respect, both to humane nature and divine, and we cannot know the two natures in Christ, what they are distinctly in themselves, to give each its proper due, and what they are joyntly united in one, no otherwise, but as they are considered in the very act of Incarnation, in which appears the Sufferer, and that which is suffered, the Sufferer is the Son of God made man, the creator becoms a creature; the thing suffered, is to be made a curse, that is to be made such a thing as is in it selfe, by nature accursed, and so Christ was made a curse; the sufferings of Christ then, and the shedding of his blood (as he is known after the spirit) are properly in that one act of his incarnation, which is the proper act of the humiliation of the Son of God, so that to speak of his sufferings after his incarnation, you may as well speake of his sufferings before his incarnation, for it is no suffering of Christ, but with respect, both to the one, and the other, and only in the act of incarnation they are made one; and to speake of the sufferings of Christ visibly, in his humane nature, in the dayes of *Herod*, to be the proper sufferings of the Son of God, any further, but as a true doctrine (as in all other holy Writ) to teach what that suffering is, in the act of his incarnation, you may as well speak of sufferings of Christ invisibly, before that act of his incarnation, for the Crosse of Christ is not, but with respect, both to divine and humane nature; nor can it be said to be in time, no more then it may be said to be before al time; for the humiliation of the Son of God, admits not of any bounds or limits, for then were it not of infinit value; and if not of infinit value and vertue, then not the humiliation of the Son of God, nor could it be said to be the blood of God, as the Apostle cals it; so that as he himselfe is not, but as the first and the last become one, even so his sufferings are not, but in that one act, of the curse and blessing, being made one. This being premised which was signified unto them by word of mouth, the answer runs clear, to understand Christ according

according to the spirit, otherwise a man may carnalize the answer unto himselfe as he knows Christ after the flesh, as the world doth the whole word of God, so also the seed of *Abraham*, is to be understood as *Abraham* himselfe is; *Abraham* is the Father of Christ, as in the Genealogy it appears; so saith *David* in the person of Christ, our Fathers trusted in thee, meaning *Abraham* for one, and Christ also the Father of *Abraham*, therefore hee is called the everlasting father; and Christ himselfe saith, before *Abraham* was I am, such also is the seed of *Abraham*, it produceth and brings forth the Son of God, and the Son of God produceth and brings forth it; so is it with the Virgin, she is the mother that gives form, and being to Jesus Christ, he also gives form and being unto her; therefore she cals him her Lord and Saviour; the woman brings forth the man, a Virgin conceives and bears a Son; the man brings forth the woman, made of a rib, out of his innocent side; so that the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord; these two being separated, the Contract is broken, the Devorce is made, and not being rightly united, the word is adulterated, we are in our sin. The mysterie of this answer then lies in this, (which Pharasies understand not) if Christ be the Virgin *Maries* Son, conceived in her womb, and born of her, how doth the Virgin *Mary* in spirit call him her Lord God, and Saviour?

and after his Incarnation (that is on this wise; that the guilt and stain of man is not, but with respect unto the holy word of God, the disobedience whereof, *by eating the forbidden fruit, breeds an infinit distance, between God and his owne worke, without the least defect or blame to be found or imputed unto the Word of God*, but the sole defect and blame is in the creature, *even in man himselfe*, yet could he in no case be so miserable, but with respect unto the holy Word; even so the justification and salvation of the Fathers, was by the holy word of God, *not but with respect and relation unto the seed of* Abraham, *and the Son of* David, (*conceived and borne of the Virgin* Mary) *in whom they were justified and saved*, and yet no vertue nor power, arising out of any thing that is humane; man therefore is a sinner of infinit guilt, with respect unto that word, which was before all time, and no fault to be found in the Word at all; the word of God is a Saviour of infinit value, with respect unto the seed of the Virgin *Mary*, borne, suffering, dying, and rising againe in the fulnesse of time, and yet no vertue in that seed at all, *unto whom all the Prophets bear witnesse*, having an eye unto him in all their holy Writings, and the faith of the Fathers comprehending Christ, both in the one, and in the other respect, *were justified and saved by him alone*, his death being reall and actuall unto faith, God having the same coexistance with the creature in all ages, though the creature cannot have the same with him but in time.

To the second Question depending upon, or rather involved in the former we answer.

Mans

Mans rejection of the Word of God, being his sinne and separation from God, is the only forfeiture of himselfe, *which could not be, but with respect unto the word of eternity;* even so Gods Righteousnesse revealed by taking man into unitie with himselfe, *is the only price of our Redemption*, with respect unto the death of Christ upon the Crosse, with the rest of his sufferings, and obedience, from the time of his Incarnation, in the womb of the Virgin *Mary*, to his ascention into Heaven, without which there is no price of our Redemption.

To the third Question, who we thinke that God is, that men serve, that are not of the faith above-said: we answer that all mens hearts are awed (by the true God) to bow in worship: therefore when the Apostle looking upon the inscription upon the Altar at *Athens*, it is said, *he beheld their devotion* (or as the word is) *the God which they worshipped, though ignorantly*, yet it was he only *that he declared unto them:* So the Apostle *Iames, thou beleevest, that there is one God, thou doest well, the Devils also beleeve and tremble.*

The fourth Question therefore is the explanation of the third, namely what we mean *by Molech, and the Star of that God Remphan:* to which we answer, that the Scripture alluded unto,* makes difference between those Gain-sayers of the Fathers *which fell in the Wildernesse*, and those of the true seed, *that gave faithfull Testimony unto the Oracle of God;* the Rebels of the sons of *Levy*, would not take up, *nor beare the Arke of God*, as their duty was, *nor give the light and lustre of a Star in the Tabernacle*, when it was pitched (*for the seven Stars are the seven Angels:*) But as they had the power of a worldly Ruler, or Governour to defend them in their worke, and to subdue all that were not of their mind under them: therefore *they tooke up the Tabernacle of* Molech, *or bore the Booth of the King, and gave the light of Remphan* (alluding unto *Rapha*, who in *Davids* dayes had four sonnes, were mighty Gyants, warring only by the strength *of the Arme of flesh*) so that they would not give Testimony unto the holy way of God; *but as they had a King set over them*, besides *Moses*, to defend them, *when as a greater then* Moses *was there: And in this they turned backe in their hearts, unto Ægypt*, looking unto the way of *Pharaoh*, that would subdue all that were not of his own way, and be a defence unto his *wise men in what ever they wrought;* but the faithfull seed of *Abraham, had the Tabernacle of witnesse, or witnessed unto the Tabernacle*, even in the Wildernesse, where there was no worldly

Act. 7. 43.

worldly Governour to defend them, but all came out against them, *Ammon* and *Amaleck*, *Balack*, *Ogg*, and *Sihon*, and the rest; in the which condition *Stephen perceived himselfe*, when he witnessed unto the word of truth, in alleadging that place of the Prophet *. *Samuel Gorton.* *Amos.* 5. 26.

Upon the finishing of these answers on the Munday morning, the Court sent for *S. Gorton* to come before them; and when he was come, the Governor asked him, whether he had brought in his answer to the questions propounded unto him (at their last sitting) in writing, he answered he had brought them; then the Governor asked him, whether he had put his hand unto them, he answered he had not, not thinking it would be required, else he had done it; the Governour called for pen and inke, and caused him to put his hand unto them, and then demanded them of him, *Gorton* desired he might have liberty to read them first in the Court, that he might pronounce the Phrases and words according to the true meaning, and intent, having had experience of wrong done, in reading (in way pronunciation of things not plainly) before, to the giving of true intelligence to the hearers, when the answers were read in the audience of the Court, the Court paused, and no man said any thing unto them, only bade *Gorton* with-draw, which being done, they hade some consultation among themselvs, and shortly after called for *Gorton* to be brought in again: Master *Saltingstone* found fault, that it was written in the answer, what is the Star of (*that*) God *Remphan*, whereas it was in the writing (*your*, *God Remphan*) *Gorton* answered, the Phrase was only changed for modesty; for indeed (saith he) it is the phrase of the Apostle, *your God Remphan*, and so it rested to clear that scruple. The Governour told *Gorton*, that they were one with him, in those answers; for they held as he did; *Gorton* answered he was very glad of it, for he loved not differences and divisions amongst men: the Governour then asked him whether he would retract the writing that was formerly written unto them; *Gorton* answered, that nothing was written before, but would suit and agree, with these answers; so that if there was cause to retract one, there was cause to retract all; the Governour said, no, these answers they could agree with him in; but not in the former writing; whereupon Master *Dudley* stood up, seeming to be much moved, and said he would never consent to it whilst he lived, that they were one with him in those answers; the Governour then asked *Gorton*

what

what Faith was; to which he answered, that was nothing that concerned what they had formerly written, and that he and the rest had only undertaken to answer to any thing that was in their writing: the Governour told him, he was bound, and ought to be ready to give an answer to any that should aske him a question of the hope that is in him; *Gorton* made answer, that the difinition which the Apostle gives of faith, was sufficient, as he thought to give any man satisfaction; he asked him what that was, he told him it was this; *that faith is the* hypostasis *or substance of things that are hoped for, and the evidence* (*or argument demonstrative*) *of things that are not seen, nor demonstrated at all;* the Governour told him that was true, but he could say more of faith then so; *Gorton* told him, it gave him satisfaction, and being an other point then they had to deale about, since their comming amongst them, and being no question produced from former writings, desired to be spared from any further answer then the plain words of the Apostle; whereupon Master *Broadstreet* made answer, that he thought it was not fit to put him upon any new questions, unlesse he were free to speake unto them, and so they dismissed him from the Court to the Prison againe.

Shortly after this, there was a day appointed, wherein wee were to receive our sentence from the Court, which was to be given in the afternoon, and in the forenoon Master *Cotton* preached, having gathered up the minds of the people, in what they had observed, and perceiving the people took notice, that in what we dissented from them, was out of tendernesse of conscience, and were ready to render a reason and ground for what we held and practised, & divers such like things; to which he answered, that if we had done it out of ignorance, then there had been hopes of regaining us; but if out of tendernesse of conscience, and able to render reason for what wee did (*and other things of like nature*) *then were we ripened for death,* urging them to agree together, and consent in one thing, that so it might be, *else would not the Angels carry their soules to heaven;* for he was then speaking of the office of the Angels in that point; and when by all their *examinations* in Court, *Inturgatories* put upon us in Prison, and publicke *preaching*, they could find nothing against us, for the transgressing of any of their Lawes, *they then proceeded to cast a lot for our lives,* putting it to the major vote of the Court, whether we should live or die, which was so ordered by the providence of God, *that the number of two votes carried it on our side;* and whereas both

both by Law, Equitie, and act of Providence, they ought to have set us forthwith at liberty, yet notwithstanding they proceeded further to censure; namely, *confined us to severall Towns, and to wear bolts and irons, and to worke for our livings, though it was in the extremity of the winter, and not to speake of any of those things which they had dealt with us about, and all this during the pleasure of the Court, and that upon pain of death.*

Here followeth a true Copie of the censure, and of the charg as it was given unto us in writing by the Court, being extant, and here set down verbatim, *as it was given to* Samuel Gorton, *the rest being the same, but onely the change of the names.*

For *Samuel Gorton.*

IT is ordered that *Samuel Gorton* shal be confined to *Charlstowne*, there to be set on worke, and to wear such bolts or irons, as may hinder his escape, and so to continue during the pleasure of the Court; provided, that if he shall break his said confinement, or shall in the meane time, either by speech or writing, publish, declare, or maintaine any of the blasphemous or abominable heresies, wherewith he hath been charged by the generall Court, contained in either of the two [c] books sent unto us by him, or by *Randall Houlden:* or shall reproach, or reprove the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these united Colonies, or the civill government, or the publicke Ordinances of God therein (unlesse it be by answer to some question propounded to him, or conference with any Elder, or with any other licensed to speak with him privately, under the hand of one of the Assistants) that immediatly upon accusation of any such writing, or speech, he shall by such Assistant, to whom such accusation shall be brought, be committed to prison, till the next Court of Assistants, then and

c Whereas they name two books written unto them, there was an other writing sent unto them by us, but it was no ground of any of their proceedings against us, therefore we thought it not fit to bring it into this treatise; for they had concluded upon, what they would doe unto us, and were gone out for execution before that writing came unto them for it onely met the souldiers on the way towards us, with

Commission to put us to the sword; we shall desire to publish it by it selfe; for we are willing to have it known, and we made answer to any thing in it, they could seem to object, when wee were amongst them. The *Massachusets* promised the people, that however they might not hear our writings read then among them, yet they should see them shortly in print, but they put us to the labour and cost of it; else they cannot be content to have them lie buried, but render them, and their dealings with us, in all places wher they come, to be other things then indeed they are.

there

there to be tryed by a Jury, whether he hath so spoken or written, and upon his conviction thereof, shall be condemned to death, and executed.

Dated the 3°. *of the* 9°. *Moneth*, 1643. *Per. cur.*
Increase Nowell, Secret.

A Copie of the Charge.

SAmuel *Gorton*, being convict as a blasphemous enemy to the true Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and all his holy Ordinances, and also to all civill authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction, as appeareth by writings and speeches.

This charge being laid upon us, at the Barre before we heard of the censure (though they came as above in writing to us:) the Governour asked us, *whether we bowed under it, and whether we would retract;* we answered and told them (*as in the presence of God*) that the charge *neither bowed no touched us at all*, for we were free, and farre from being guilty of any such things, and for our retractation, we told them *we came not there to deny our Religion, in any point of it, but to testifie and bear witnesse unto it;* then did they reade our censure, for our confinement, as is above said; and when the bolts and chains were made ready, they put them upon us, in the prison at *Boston*, that so we might travell in them to the severall Towns to which we were confined, some of us having fifteen miles, and some thirty to goe from *Boston;* only we were to stay till Master *Cotten* his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the Congregation in that our iron furniture, for the credit of the Sanctuary, which had set the sword on work to such good purpose, and after that were with all speed sent away; yea, some of us among the people that went from the Lecture, that so we might be a spectacle unto them.

In which condition we continued a whole winter season; in which time their Ministers stirred up the people in their publick Sermons *to famish us to death*, out of that place of the Prophet *Zephany*, 2. 10. 11. *This shall they have for their pride, because they have reproached, and magnified themselves against the people of the Lord of Hosts; the Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will famish all the Gods of the earth, and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Isles of the Heathen.* *Samuel Gorton* having intelligence, from *Boston*, to *Charles*-Town, to which he was confined; that Master

Master *Cotton* preached from that text in the prophecie of *Zephany*, and how he applyed the doctrine from it to have all necessaries with-held from him, telling some eminent members of the Church, that if they either went unto us, to visit us, or sent unto us, to minister to our wants, the curse of God would abide both on them and their posterity, for so doing; the said *Gorton* hearing of these things, writ a Letter to the ruling Elder in *Charles-Towne*, [d] a Copie whereof (*verbatim*) here followeth, which was consulted upon, by the Ministers immediatly, together with the Governour, as intelligence was brought unto him, but never answer given unto it, neither by word nor writing.

d We had liberty to speak or write to Elders, or such as the Magistrates lycensed to speake with us, in way of question, whom they thought were fittest to insnare us, so that this writing is but a question, only it hath a large preface.

Charles-towne, Ianuary the 12. 1643.

Mr. *Green*

FOr as much as we know that the Ruler of the Congregation hath power to give utterance, and to authorise speech unto edification, [e] and that none ought to hinder, where ever or whomsoever he permits or giveth Lycense unto, [f] and in as much as we also professe, that there is one thing that is needfull, and whosoever shall make choise of that, it shall never be taken away from him [g], which is to hear the words of Christ. Neither are we ignorant, that none are truly sensible, or know the necessity, use, and benefit of *hearing the words of Christ*, but only such as are sensible, and see the necessitie; (yea, and that in the same subject) *of speaking and delivering the words of Christ* [h], for the heart of every Saint is equally ballanced with these two; the same necessitie he finds *to speak*, he also finds to *heare;* the same necessity he finds to *heare*, he finds to *speake also the word of God*, for *faith is in hearing, and hearing is in speaking the word of God* [i;] if we deny either of these unto a Christian, we deny him the power of faith, which doth consist in them both; nay, if he want a tongue to speake, or an eare to heare (and that equally, the one as the other) we deny him to be *compleat in Christ* [k,] who as he had *an ear open to the voice of the Father in all things* [l,] so had he *a tongue to divulge and declare them unto the world;* [m] even so *with the heart*

e *Psal.* 6. ii. *Mat.* 28. 19. 20.
f *Act.* 4.18.19 20.
g *Luk.* 10. 41. 42.
h 1 *Cor.* 9. 16.
i *Rom.* 10. 17.
k 2. *Cor.* 4. 13. *Collos.* 2. 10.
l *Psal.* 40. 6.
m *Ioh.* 17. 6. 26.

heart man beleeves unto righteousnesse, [n] that is, gives credit to that which he hears, to be in another, *and with the mouth confession is made to salvation*, [o] that is, preacheth, or professeth *that which God hath made him to be by faith*, [p] *therefore if thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and beleeve in thine heart that God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved* [q,] nor am I ignorant of the minds of the people, (amongst whom I now sojourne, *and am a stranger as all my Fathers have beene*) [r] Hovv earnest they are I should get my bread vvith servile vvorke, or else to have *hunger and famine to cleave unto my bonds*, vvhich they professe themselves to be very clearly instructed in, though in times past it hath been thought sufficient work for a man to be exercised in (at one time) to lie in fetters and irons amongst strangers, *though wife and children were not deprived of all necessaries at home*. Nor doe I doubt, but they may find a time to alter their judgement (it may be before they are aware) *especially if the Bride-groom be at the door* [s,] and it is well known, that I have not been accustomed to any servile worke in any part of my life till now of late in *New-England*, where through the kindnesse of my countrey men, in taking from my family the things of this life, (which God had bestowed on us) I have been necessitated thereunto, which I am so upbraided with in this place.

n *Rom.* 10. 10.
o *Rom.* 10, 9, 10.
p *Psal.* 116. 10.
q *Rom.* 10. 9.
r *Psal.* 39. 12.
s *Mat.* 25. 6. 10.

But it is not grievous unto me, whilest they cannot but see in it (*if God have not blinded their eyes*) the vanity of those Idol shepherds of the Church of Rome *, who cannot speak unto the people, but in a way of so much study and ease; nor had I ever desire, to be set up in the world, through gatherings and contributions of the people: *Therefore have these hands ministred to my necessities* [t]. But however I have been exercised *about the bread that perisheth* [u], yet hath it not been but with respect *unto that which endureth unto everlasting life* [w], which I have endeavoured *to break* [x], and faithfully to impart unto my wife, children, and servants, and to any that had an ear open to listen unto *that wholesome word of life* [y], which hath made all other travells or losses, whatever, to be light and easie unto me (as at this day) [z], *which*

* Wheresoever the doctrine, spirit, & power of it doth appear.

t 1 *Cor.* 4. 11, 12. *Acts* 20. 34.
u *Job.* 6. 27.
w *Job.* 6. 33. 36. 51.
x *Acts.* 20. 7.
y *Job.* 6. 63, 68.
z Mat. 11. 28 29, 30.

I

I professe to be the only errant I have to do in this world: and however *we do preach the Gospel, yet have we nothing to rejoyce in* [a] *or to glory and praise our selves for,* to lift up our selves above our Brethren: *for necessity is laid upon me* [b]; That is, I am in want, and stand in need of all things; *and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel:* That is, if I receive not this grace from Christ, as wel as any other: for the same necessity I have of any other grace, I have of this grace also: *For of his fulnesse we all receive, and grace for grace* [c], for *the graces of God are a bundle of life in Christ Iesus* [d]: So as, that if I reject, or neglect, or put off any one of them to another, as no priviledge or prerogative of mine, I do the like to all: *For his seamlesse coat may not be divided, but all goeth by lot or portion the same way* [e]: And in like manner I am destitute of this, I am destitute of all other grace, that proceeds from him: *For if I preach the Gospel willingly, I have a reward* [f]: That is, if I do it out of any ability, skil, or wil of my own, gotten and acquired by any pains or industry, as men attain to arts, and trades, wherein they are to be preferred before, and above others, *then I have a reward:* that is, something is to be tributed and contributed to me for the same, then go I about to deprive my Lord of his right, *shewing my self an unfaithful steward* [g]: *for where an hundreth is due to him, I bid write fifty, that I may take the rest my self to live upon* [h], for even as I propound my own deserts, demerits, and eminency unto a people: *so do I propound the undeserving estate and condition of my Lord;* proclaiming his basenesse whil'st I set forth my pains and good-wil in so doing, *but if I do it against my wil.* [i]: That is, if it be contrary to the mind and will of all men, *to undergo the crosse of Christ, to preach the Gospel in necessities, reproaches, hard labors, and persecutions* [k], *then is the dispensation committed unto me* [l]: that is, the right of all administrations (*wrapped up in that fountain of dispensing, the Gospel*) do of right solely belong unto him, and not unto me in any case, *yea, it is the wil and power of another* [m] *and not my own,* unto whom the praise and glory of right belongeth and wholy appertaineth [n], and not unto the wil, ability, or skil of any man whatsoever [o]: and hence it is *that the*

[a] 1 Cor. 9. 16.
[b] Ibid.
[c] John 1. 16.
[d] 1 Sam. 25. 29. Cant. 1. 13.
[e] Math. 27. 35
[f] 1 Cor. 9. 17.
[g] Luke 16. 1.
[h] Luke 16. 4, 5, 6, 7.
[i] 1 Cor. 9. 17.
[k] 2 Cor. 23, to 28.
[l] 1 Cor. 9. 17.
[m] Rom. 1. 16.
[n] Psa. 105. 1.
[o] Iames 1. 18. Iohn 1. 13.

Crosse

Crosse is easie unto us [p], because we know that he, as truly, and totally taketh our reproaches and hardships *upon himselfe* [p], *which are only due unto us:* as he committeth the dispensation of his grace and glory unto us, that is none of ours, but only due and belongs unto himself, so that *we remembred him that suffered such gainsayings of sinners, least we should be weary and faint in our mind* [r]: yea further, *there is a necessity of preaching the Gospel upon every soul:* for as there is not any *that can beleeve, for another unto righteousnesse* [s], the party being destitute of that grace himself, so there is not any *that can preach or confesse for another unto salvation* [t], the party himself being destitute of that grace of *confession or preaching:* Indeed the Saints communicate in these graces one with another, as all of them being *heirs and inheritors of the grace in Christ* [u], but one cannot perform any office for another, as for such as are destitute *of the same grace and office themselves* [w]: for that were *instead of a girdle a rent* [x]: Therefore the preaching of the Gospel *is the discovering of what men are in Christ Iesus*, and not only what they may or shal be [y], also *what men are under the wrath of God that abides upon them, being out of Christ* [z] and not only what they shal be: So that every Christian having received this (*as an ingrafted word* [a] *growing up together with it*) that is, *that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communication of your faith & mine* [b], he grows up in this also, namely, *that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communication of your preaching and mine*, for in the day of the Lord *which is the day of salvation, and behold now the accepted time, behold now the day of salvation* (c) *wherein we give no offence*, or lay not any stumbling block before our brethren (d); we villifie not that sacrifice *once offered up for all* (e). *That our ministery may not be reprehended* (f). Or that our our ministery be not *blemished*, for so the word is (*momos*) that is we can acknowledge no sacrifice, but onely that *which is without either superfluity or defect; and in that day the feeblest in Ierusalem, is as* David [g]; *A King* [h], *a leader* [i], *a valiant warrier* [k],

p Math. 11. 28 29.
q. Math. 8. 17.
r Heb. 12. 3.
s Rom. 10. 10.
t Ibid.
u Rom. 8. 17.
w 1 Cor. 12. 2.
x Isa. 3. 24.
y 1 Iohn 4. 17
z Iohn 3. 36.
a Iames 1. 21
b *Rom.* 1. 11. 12.
c 2 *Cor.* 6. 2.
d 2 *Cor.* 6. 3.
e *Heb.* 9. 26. 27.
f 2 *Cor.* 6. 3.
g *Zech.* 12. 8.
h *Psal.* 2. 6.
i *Psal.* 78. 70. 72. 73.
k 2 *Sam.* 18. 3.
l *Sam.* 18. 7.

a sweet singer in Israel [l], *and the house of* David *as God*, or as the *mighties* (for the *word is* plurall) *yea as the angel of the Lord before them;* [m] every one is as the angel or messenger of the Lord, *before the rest of the congregation*, or as the angel of the Lord before (him) as the word will also beare, that is to say, as the messenger of the Lord, like unto his servant *Iohn, to prepare or make ready his way before him* [l] for the messenger of the Lord, and he onely knows how to bring down *the highest mountain, and how to lift up the lowest valley, and that only is a high way for the Royalty of our King to passe upon* [m] *in the wildernesse.* And this is a glory that the world cannot *receive*, neither can it *give it* [n]: and it is our rejoycing that we borrow nothing from the world, nor stand in need of any thing it hath, to make the Gospel of God glorious, *for it were better for us to die, then that any man should make our rejoycing vain, or emptie* [o]. For it were not full in Christ, if we borrowed any thing of the world, *which were death to us to think of; what is our rejoycing then, or our reward*, when as the whole world affordeth nothing at all unto us? verily this *that when we preach the Gospel, we make it free,* [p] *which could not be, if it laid claim to any thing the world hath in the publication of it self;* for then by the Law of relations, *the world might lay unto, and challange something from (it) which were to bring the Gospel into bondage*, But as the Lord Jesus wrought that great work of reconciliation *freely*, so as the world could challenge nothing of it at his hands at all, so is that word of reconciliation, *to whomsoever it is committed* [q], *published freely, so as the world can challenge nothing of them at all* [r]; So that *the servant of the Lord is free from all men, though he makes himself servant unto all, that he might gain the more.* [s] Thence it is *that he abuseth not his authority in the Gospel but keeps his power unspotted* [t], when the world can require nothing at his hands; hereby shewing also the transcendencie of that kingdome, wherein his authority is exercised, beyond the kingdoms of this world which must borrow one of another, else cannot be glorious *in the height of glory* concerning the things of this life; therefore had *Solomon* himself *Gold, Silver, Ivory apes, and*

l *Sam.* 23. 1.
m *Zech.* 12.8.
l *Mal.* 3. 1. *Mat.* 11. 10. m *Luk.* 1. 17. *Luk.* 3. 5. 6.
n *Iohn* 14. 17. 27. *Iohn* 16. 22.
o 1 *Cor.* 9. 15.
p 1 *Cor.* 9. 18.
q 2 *Cor.* 5. 18. 2 *Cor.* 11. 7. 8. 9.
r *Mat.* 10. 8.
s 1 *Cor.* 9. 1. 1 *Cor.* 7. 23. 1 *Cor.* 9. 19.
t 1 *Cor.* 9. 18.

and peacocks, brought from other nations to augment his glory [u], *But he that is greater then* Solomon [x] *beautifieth himself with none of the things of this life* [y], *though he had right to them all,* [z] that so he might make it manifest *that his Kingdome is not of this world,* [a] therefore gives charge unto his disciples, that *as they had freely received, so they should freely give:* [b] for by how much we injoyn people to contribute unto us for preaching the Gospell, by so much we proclaim, *that we have given unto God for what we have received of him,* [c] *and teach others: so to do,* [d] namely to bring some preparations, operation, or fitnesse *to receive his grace,* which is as far from man to attain unto, *as it was to prepare and fit himself for his creation at the first,* [e] so that the benevolence of the Saints in communicating of the things of this life, *is no part of the glory or beautifying of the house of God;* for then a wicked man might adde somewhat thereunto, nor shall the glory in the least measure be diminished, *when these things shall have an end.* But it is a declaration of their vilification of the things of this present life, as things of no account or reckoning, when they come into competition with the well being of the Saints; and as these things *are consumed, and turned into ashes, upon that golden altar,* [f] *so doth there ascend up a perfumatory sacrifice of sweet savour unto the Lord,* [g] *for according to our vilification of the things of this life, so is our valuation of the Lord Iesus, who is either all or none at all in our estimation and account,* and if he be all [h], *then he that gathereth much of the things according unto man hath nothing over,* [i] or above him that hath the least, and *he that gathereth little hath no lack* [k] or falls short of him that hath the most, for the one, and the other *consume them in the act of the present supply of their necessity,* knowing that if they keep them, in making any account or reckoning of them, for the time to come, *they presently putrifie and corrupt* [l]. Learn this parable therefore, *that there is that in the heavenly Manna that the rebells may eat in the wilderness and die eternally* [m], as wel as that *which whosoever eateth shal never die, but live for ever* [n], yea there is *a seed to be sown in giving away*

u 1 *Kin.* 10. 22. 2 *Chr.* 9. 21.
x *Mat.* 12. 22.
y *Mat.* 8. 20. *Isa.* 52. 14.
z *Rom.* 4. 13. 14. *Gal.* 4. 7.
a *Iohn* 18. 36.
b *Mat.* 10. 8.
c *Iob.* 35. 7. 8.
d *Mat.* 5. 19.
e *Gen.* 2. 7.
f *Levit.* 9. 24.
g *Phil.* 4. 18.
h *Col.* 3. 11. *Ephes.* 1. 23.
i 2 *Cor.* 8. 15.
k 2 *Cor.* 8. 15.
l *Exod.* 16. 19. 20.
m *John* 6. 5. 8.
n *John* 6. 58.

away to another, as well as food to receive *for the nourishing of our selves; and he that sows sparingly in that shall reap sparingly* [o], yea he that knows not *how to minister carnall things, cannot have spirituall things minis-tred unto him* [p], no more then a man can keep *his sinne*, and have the *righteousnesse of Christ also.* [q] These onely therefore that in giving and receiving know how to perform all in the same act, *as the woman in casting her two mites into the treasury,* [r] *and out of deep povertie can see the abounding of the riches of liberality* [s]; Such can perform an acceptable service to the Lord; but such as onely exercise themselves *in piece mealing of the things of God, and the things of man*, to serve at times and turns, *for advantage*, and reserve the rest, this is *as the cutting off of a dogs head, or the offering of swines blood in the house of God* [t] how ever else where they may be done without any such abomination, the Saints therefore depend not upon neither desire the worlds benevolence, knowing wel *what their mercies are in the winding up,* [u] nor can they expect from them ought else, *but bonds, imprisonments,* [x] *and spoyling of their goods* [y] (which through the secret supplies their master makes unto them) *they suffer joyfully,* [z] not looking for so much *as a shoe latchet from the King of Sodom to enrich themselves with all* [a] knowing that *the blessing of the Lord upon their indevours* [b] *shall yield sufficient to convey them through this valley of* Baca [c], which indevours, God directeth unto times and seasons to use according to strength, and constitution, *without any to lay tasks upon them,* [d] even as *he teacheth the husbandman when to throw in the cummin, and the fitches* [e], though they know (notwithstanding) *what it is to have power, not to work, and to lead about a wife, that is a sister as well as others.* [f] But I am longer in my introduction, then I did intend, my Question therefore in short is this, namely whether I may have liberty to speak and expresse the word of the Lord in the publick congregation freely without interruption, either on the Lords day, or the ordinary Lecture, now whilst I am kept from my family, and friends, with whom I have been formerly exercised: *for seeing our dayes as a shadow decline,* [g] *and*

o 2 *Cor.* 9. 56.
p *Rom.* 15. 27.
q 2 *Cor.* 14. 15. 16.
r *Luk.* 21. 2. 3. 4.
s 2. *Cor.* 8. 2.
t *Isa.* 66. 3.
u *Prov.* 10. 12.
x *Acts* 20. 22. 23.
y *Heb.* 10. 34.
z *Isa.* 43. 2.
a *Gen.* 14. 21. 22. 23.
b *Prov.* 10. 22.
c *Psal.* 84. 5. 6.
d *Exod.* 5. 6. *to* 14.
e *Isa.* 28. 23. 24. 25. 26.
f 1 *Cor.* 9. 3. 4. 5. 6.
g *Psal.* 102. 11.

we

h *Psal.* 102. 4. i *Psal.* 39. 5. 13. *we are presently withered as grasse,* h *when in a moment we go hence, and are no more* i: We are earnest therefore to expresse *the word of life that* k *Psal.* 102. 25. 26. 27. *fadeth not, nor waxeth old as doth a garment,* k *that* l *Psal.* 102. 12. *Gods memoriall may abide with our posterity* l *when* m 1 *Kings* 2. 1. 2. *we are gone the way of all the earth,* m and that you shall not need to feare my touching upon any of those things which it seems *are to lie sealed* n *Mat.* 27. 65. 66. *as in the grave for the present,* n I shall tell you *Dan.* 6. 16. 17. vvhat Scripture urgeth my heart for the present to impart, *if God lead not into another,* o before the o *John* 16. 13. opportunity be attained, *for we cannot treasure up to bring forth at our pleasure unto profit,* no more than vve can *fetch down at our pleasure for our supply,* but onely as our God performeth, both the one and the p *John* 14. 26. other, p for vve depend not upon *Baa Oboth as* q 1 Sam. 28. 7. *Saul did,* q but upon *the Lord Iehovah as David* r Psal. 36. 9. *did.* r The Scripture intended is the sounding of the fifth trumpet, *Revel.* 9, out of vvhich I desire (as God shall assist) to open and declare the points followving.

Point. 1. 1 *What the sound of the trumpet is,* 2 *who the angel is,* 3 *why the fifth.*

P. 2. 1 *What that starre is that falls from heaven to the earth,* 2 *what the fall of it is,* 3 *how it falls from heaven unto the earth.*

P. 3. 1 *What the key of the bottomlesse pit is.* 2 *To whom it is given.* 3 *The manner how it is given.* 4 *How the pit is opened.* 5 *How it can be said to be bottomlesse, seeing nothing can be without banks and bottome but the Lord himself.*

P. 4. 1 *What the smoke of the bottomlesse pit is.* 2 *The cause and manner of its rise, even as the smoke of a great furnace.*

P. 5. 1 *What the Sunne and the aire are.* 2 *How they are darkened by the smoke of the pit.*

P. 6. 1 *What those locusts are that come out of the smoke.* 2 *The nature of their power, as the scorpions of the earth have power,* 3 *how this power is given unto them, seeing that all power is of God.*

P. 7. 1 *What the injunctions are, that are laid upon the locusts.* 2 *The rise of those injunctions:* 3 *The exercise of them:* 4 *The extent of them.*

P. 8. 1 *What the nature and property of the locusts are,*

are, declared by the severall formes ascribed unto them, furniture, ornaments, and their carriage in them.

What their King is, as he is described, 1 *by his office assigned,* 2 *by his titles given unto him.* 3 *How he is a King, seeing the locusts are said to have no King over them.* P. 9.

1 *What that woe is, that is said to be past, and how it can be said to be past, seeing there is ever wo to the wicked.* 2 *What the two woes are, which are to come, and how they can be said to come hereafter, seeing the wrath of God abides upon him already, that believes not.* P. 10.

Thus you have my question, both with its introduction and Sequel, and I attend your answer, which I hope will not onely be speedy in respect of time, but speeches also in regard of matter, to the satisfying and fulfilling of my desires,

Per me Samuel Gorton.

Now during the time of our confinement, being dispersed abroad into severall towns in the countrey, the people came to be informed of the truth of proceedings, whereupon *they were much unsatisfied with what they had done against us*, which being perceived, they called a generall Court, and without any appearance, or questioning any of us, concluded upon our release sending us a writing of it, together with a further banishment, not onely out of all their own jurisdictions, but also that we should not come in, nor near *Providence*, nor our own plantations at *Shawomet*, with other parts thereto adjoyning, out of all which places we were to depart within the space of fourteen dayes, and that upon pain of death, which were places out of all their jurisdictions, as Master *Iohn Indicote* (at that time deputy Governor) confessed, standing up in publick Court, and professed *that God had stirred them up to go out of their own Iurisdictions, to fetch us from our own places unto them.*

Here followeth a true Copie of our release and banishment, sent to us from the Generall Court, set down verbatim, *and is extant under their hands,*

At a Generall Court at Boston *the* 7th *of the first moneth* 1643 *or* 1644.

IT is ordered that *Samuel Gorton* and the rest of that company, who now stand confined, shall be set at liberty, provided that if they or any of them, shall after fourteen dayes after such

such inlargement, come within any part of our Jurisdiction, either in the *Massachusets*, or in, or near *Providence*, or any of the Lands of *Pumhom*, or *Soccononocco* * or elsewhere, within our Jurisdiction, then such person, or persons, shall be apprehended wheresoever they may be taken, and shall suffer death by course of Law; provided also that during all their continuance in our bounds inhabiting for the said time of fourteene dayes, they shall be still bound, to the rest of the Articles of their former confinement, upon the penalty therein expressed.

These were their two Indian subjects lately enticed to renounce their own Prince, thereby to finde a way to subject us unto their own wills, or else to execute death upon us.

Per Cur. Increase Nowel *Secret.*

When this order of the Court was presented to *Samuel Gorton*, by the Constable of *Charles* town, bringing a Smith with him, to file off his bolts, he told the Constable *he was not willing to part with his irons on these termes*, but expected other news in fairer termes of release, then were therein expressed, desiring him to go to Master *Nowel* who lived in that town, and declare so much unto him. In short time, the Constable returned, bringing divers of the chief men in the town with him, *and commanded the Smith to fall to work to file off his bolts*, who did accordingly, and so took them from him, leaving the said *Gorton* either to walk abroad, on such conditions, or else to stay at his perill.

Now two or three dayes after our release, Some of us being returned to *Boston*, desiring to stay for the rest of our friends, that we might return together, accompanying each other in our journey, *the people shewing themselves joyfull to see us at liberty*, and entertaining us kindly into their houses, which the Governor perceiving presently sent out his warrant, with strict charge to depart from the town, within the space of two hours, (it being about ten of the clock in the forenoon when the warrant came unto us) otherwise further penalty should be laid upon us.

This is a true Copie of the Governors warrant extant still under his hand, word for word.

To the Marshall or his deputie,

I Am informed that *Samuel Gorton*, and his company are now abiding in the town, and go to divers houses, giving offence thereby, and cause of suspicion, of attempting to seduce some of

of our people; you are therefore to command them to depart out of the town, before noon this day, upon pain of being apprehended and further proceeded with, according to their deservings. (i)10.--43.

Iohn Winthrop Governour.

Now although by the Generall Court, we had fourteen dayes allowed unto us to inhabit within their Jurisdictions, *not limited to any place, nor excluded from any place for the space of so long time* yet notwithstanding upon notice given unto us by this warrant we presently departed the town * though upon a sudden when we were unprovided for victuals & other provisions for our journy, & being there was no place inhabited by the *English* near the place where our wives and children were scattered, out of which they had not expelled us, but onely a little Island, called *Road Island*, situate in the *Nanhyganset* Bay, upon which we arrived, within the time limited unto us, but the night before we came to *Road Island* we lodged at *Shawomet in our own houses there*, and considering of the act of their court in our expelling and banishment out of those parts, we observed that they had not expressed our land at *Shawomet*, but onely named the lands of *Pumhom*, and *Soccononocco*, (the Indians whom they claimed as Subjects) we thought good therefore to write unto them for a further explanation of the Courts act, that so we might understand their true intent being very unwilling to discover their dealings towards us in seeking redresse, if we could but see a way, that through our hard labours, our wives and little ones might find a way to subsist.

As we passed along the way a matter of three or foure miles from Boston, we came to some Indian wigwammes, the Sachim being the prime Sachim, that lives neare them, and familiar among them, we came into his wigwam accidentally, and he having taken notice of us amongst them how we had been dealt with, as soon as we came in, called some of us by our names) his name being *Coshanakin*, we asked him

whether Captain *Cook* were a good Captain, he answered I cannot tell, but Indians account of those as good Captains, when a few dare stand out against many.

Here

Here followeth a true Copie of the Letter sent unto the Governour of the Massachusets, verbatim, *as it is still extant under the hands of the witnesses, which were taken, lest they should put us off, and not make answer to our letter.*

Shawomet, March the 26. 1644.

THe order of your Court last held, made concerning us, being darke and obscure, which beseems not a matter of that concernment, which you have now entred upon, and made some short progresse therein; the issues whereof are pressing on unto perfection, whose arrivall is waited for, *with that hope that never makes ashamed*, we may not therefore forbeare *To require an explanation of what you intend, by the Lands of* Pumhom *and* Soccononocco, *for we know none they have, or ever had within your jurisdiction;* if you should therefore, so farre forget your selfe, as to intend thereby *our Land lawfully bought, and now in our possession, and inhabited by us, called* Shawomet, *together with other parts near adjoyning:* Give us your minds, and meaning in plaine terms, under your hands: And whereas you conclude, for such our lawfull aboad, and residence, to prosecute against us by course of Law unto death; we resolve upon your answer, with all expedition, to wage Law with you, and try to the uttermost, *What right or interest you can shew to lay claime, either to our Lands or our Lives;* and shall take it as your own Act, urging us and constraining us thereunto, to looke after our right, in the havock and spoyls, you have already made among us, which otherwise God hath taught us, *to suffer joyfully the robbing and spoyling of our goods*, if you did not necessitate us to look after recompence from you: We expect your answer by this Bearer, and in case you returne it not speedily, we conclude your order of Court to intend no such thing, as to drive us from our lawfull possessions, as above-said, but that you used such termes, as scarcrows, imagining you had children to deale with, or as a starting hole to evade part of that danger that may insue: nor can you put us off for answer, till the Court sit againe, being a generall Act, and you but one; now to answer, for we know you may better open unto us the intent of the Court for our satisfaction, then you could expell us out of any part of your jurisdiction,

jurisdiction, before the time set by the Court, contrary to the liberty it had given unto us.

By the order or government of Shaw-omet, John Warner, *Secretary. Sufficient witnesse being taken of our plaine and man-like dealing with you herein.*

A true Copie of a Letter sent to the Government, and Governour of the Massachusets, *the day and year above-said: In witnesse of, or in presence of* Ralph Earle.
John Anthony.

Here Followeth a true Copie of the Governours answer to our Letter above-said, set downe here verbatim, *and is extant under his own hand.*

To Samuel Gorton, John Warner, *and the rest of that company.*

FOr satisfaction of what you require, by your writing of *March*, 26, 1644. This is to let you know, that the expression and intent of the order of our last generall Court, concerning your comming within any part of our jurisdiction, doth comprehend all the Lands of *Pumhom*, and *Soccononocco*, and in the same are included the Lands which you pretended to have purchased, upon part whereof you had built some houses, (be the place called *Shaw-omet* or otherwise) so as you are not to come there upon perill of your lives. This I testifie to you.

Boston 2. (i) 1644 *Iohn Winthrope.*

You must know withall, that the Court did not intend their order should be a scar-crow (as you write) for you will find it reall, and effectuall, if you shall transgresse it.

Thus far the Governors *Letter, written with his own hand.*

Now upon our comming to *Road-Island*, the Indians of that great Countrey of the *Nanhyganset* hearing of our return without the losse of our lives, they wondred, having observed the causelesse cruelty they had offered unto us, some of them being within the hearing of the shot of the Guns, whilst they lay intrenched

trenched against us, as also how we were used in the *Massachusets*, and the constant report, whilst we lay amongst them, that some of our lives should be taken away, or else kept as slaves so long as we lived; considering these and the like things they marvelled much at our deliverance and release, from amongst them: Now our countrey men having given out formerly, amongst the *Indians*, that we were not English men, to encourage them against us (because the awe of the English, hath been much upon them) and being they could not father the name of any Sectary, or Sect upon us, but we could clearly demonstrate, we were no such *opinionated persons*, they then called us *Gortoneans*, and told the *Indians* we were such kind of men, not English: now the *Indians* calling the English in their language *Wattaconoges*, they now called us *Gortonoges*, and being they had heard a rumour of great war to be in *Old-England*, and that it was a land so furnished with multitudes of people, they presently framed unto themselves a cause of our deliverance, imagining that there were two kinds of people in *Old-England*, the one called by the name of English men, and the other *Gortonoges;* and concluded that the *Gortonoges* were a mightier people then the English, whom they call *Wattaconoges;* and therefore the *Massachusets* thought it not safe to take away our lives, because how ever there were but a few of us in *New-England*, in comparison of those that came out against us, yet that great people, that were in *Old-England* would come over, and put them to death, that should take away our lives from us, without a just cause.

Whereupon the *Sachims* of the *Nanhyganset* consulting together, presently sent Messengers unto us, to come and speake with them, and being they were those of whom wee had bought our Land (which now the *Massachusets* had taken away from us,) *as all that inhabite upon that Bay have done*) they being very importunate to have us to come over to speak with them, we not knowing what the occasion was, yeelded unto their request, a matter of halfe a dozin, or seven of us took boat to goe over the *Bay* to them, they seeing the vessel come, newes was brought to the *Sachim*, who sent a band of lusty well armed men, who met us, as soon as we were come to Land, to conduct us to old *Sachim Conaunicus his house*, multitudes of *Indians*, as we passed along, coming forth, and seemed joyfull, which we taking notice of, (neither the one nor the other being usuall amongst them) some of us began to be a little jealous, that the Agents of the *Massachusets*, who lived near unto us, had

had gone about to betray us into their hands, upon some false suggestion concerning the death of their *Sachim Myantonomy*, who lost his life immediatly before the *Massachusets* came against us; and however he was suddenly slaine by an *Indian* coming behind him, as he marched upon the way, yet there were English present at the doing of the act, which we were a little jealous, the above-said Agents might have suggested, that we might be consenting thereunto, which all the *Indians* tooke for a most injurious act, not onely because he was so famous a Prince amongst them, but also how ever he was taken in a stratagem of warre by the *Indians*, *yet a great ransome was paid for his Redemption, and his life taken away also*, and they are very consciencious, to recompense the shedding of blood, (*especially of such personages*) *with blood againe:* But when wee were come to the old *Sachims* house, we were courteously entertained, and from thence conducted to the house of *Sachim Pessecus*, Brother, and successor in government to the late *Myantonomy*, when we were there, divers *Sachims*, and their chiefe Counsellors, took us aside to consult with us, and asked what we intended to doe, or how we could live, seeing the *Massachusets* had not onely taken *our estates from us in goods and chattels, but also our houses, lands and labours, where we should raise more, for the preservation of our Families*, and withall, told us that their condition, might (in great measure) be paraleld with ours, else they would willingly have done any thing for our helpe, in regard that our Land was bought of them, *and we had faithfully paid them for it, according to our contract:* But they told us, they had not only lost their *Sachim*, so beloved amongst them, and such an instrument of their publick good; but had also utterly impoverished themselves, by paying such a ransome for his life, (as they then made us an account of) notwithstanding, his life taken away, and that detaine also; we made answer unto them, that for our parts, we were not discouraged, in any thing that had befalne us, for we were subjects to such a noble State in *Old-England*, that however we were farre off from our King and State, yet we doubted not but in due time, we should have redresse, and in the mean time we were resolved, to undergoe it with patience, and in what way we could, labor with our hands, for the preservation of our wives and children: the answer that they made unto us was this, That they thought we belonged to a better Master then the *Massachusets* did: whereupon, desiring our stay, they called a generall Assembly, to make known their minds, and to

see

see the minds of their people, and with joynt and unanimous consent, concluded to become subjects to the State and Government of *Old-England*, in case they might be accepted of; we told them, we could promise them nothing, nor take any ingagements upon us, not knowing the minds of that Honourable State; but if they would voluntarily make tender of themselves, as they themselves thought meet, we would endeavour to convey it safely (in cese we went over about our own occasions) and bring them word what was the pleasure of the State therein; whereupon they chose four of us, as Commissioners in trust for the safe custody, and conveyance of their Act and Deed unto the State of *Old-England.*

The Act and Deed of the voluntary and free submission of the chiefe Sachim, *and the rest of the Princes, with the whole people of the* Nanhygansets, *unto the government and protection of that Honourable State of Old-England, set down here* verbatim, *the Deed it selfe being extant.*

KNOW ALL MEN, Colonies, Peoples and Nations, unto whom the fame hereof shall come; that we the chiefe *Sachims*, Princes or Governours of the *Nanhyganset* (in that part of *America*, now called *New-England*) together with the joynt and unanimous consent of all our people and subjects, inhabitants thereof, do upon serious consideration, mature and deliberate advise and Counsell, great and weighty grounds and reasons moving us thereunto, vvhereof one most effectual unto us, is, That noble fame vve have heard of THAT GREAT AND MIGHTY PRINCE, *CHARLES*, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, in that honorable and Princely care he hath of all his servants, and true and loyall subjects; the consideration vvhereof moveth and bendeth our hearts vvith one consent, freely, voluntarily, and most humbly, to submit, subject, and give over our selves, Peoples, Lands, Rights, Inheritances, and Possessions whatsoever, in our sèlves and our heires, successively for ever, unto the protection, care, and government of that WORTHY AND ROYALL PRINCE, *CHARLES*, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, his Heirs and Successors for ever, to be ruled and governed according to those ancient and honourable

Lawes, and customs established in that so renovvned Realme and Kingdome of *Old-England;* vve doe therefore by these Presents confesse, and most vvillingly, and submissively acknovvledge our selves to be the humble, loving, and obedient servants, and subjects of His Majesty to be ruled, ordered, and disposed of, in our selves and ours, according to his Princely vvisdom, counsel, and lavves of that honourable State of *Old-England,* UPON CONDITION OF HIS MAIESTIES ROYALL PROTECTION, and righting of us in what vvrong is, or may be done unto us, according to his honourable Lavves and customs, exercised amongst his subjects, in their preservation and safety, and in the defeating, and overthrow of his, and their enemies; not that we find our selves necessitated hereunto, in respect of our relation, or occasion we have or may have with any of the natives in these parts, knowing our selves sufficient defence, and able to judge in any matter or cause in that respect, but have just cause of jealousie and suspicion, of some of His Majesties pretended subjects: Therefore our desire is to have our matters and causes heard, and tried according to his just and equal Laws in that way, and order His Highnesse shal please to appoint; NOR CAN WE YEELD OVER OUR SELVES UNTO ANY, THAT ARE SUBIECTS THEMSELVES IN ANY CASE, having ourselvs bin the chiefe *Sachims,* or Princes successively, of the countrey, time out of mind, and for our present, & lawful enacting hereof, being so farre remote from His Majestie, we have by joynt consent made choyse of four of his loyall and loving Subjects, our trusty and well beloved friends, *Samuel Gorton, Iohn Wickes, Randall Houlden,* and *Iohn Warner,* whom we have deputed, and made our lawfull Atturnies, or Commissioners, not only for the acting and performing of this our Deed, in the behalfe of His Highnesse: but also for the safe custody, carefull conveyance, and declaration hereof unto his grace, being done upon the Lands of the *Nanhyganset,* at a Court or Generall Assembly called and assembled together of purpose, for the publick enacting, and manifestation hereof: And for the further confirmation, and establishing of this our Act and Deed, we the above-said *Sachims,* or Princes, have according to that commendable custome of English-men, subscribed our names, and set our Seales hereunto, as so many Testimonies of our faith and truth, our love and loyaltie to that our dread Soveraigne, and that according to the

the English mens account. Dated the nineteenth day of *Aprill*, One thousand six hundred and forty foure.

Pessicus his Marke, Chiefe *Sachim* and Successor of that late deceased *Myantonomy*.

The Marke of that Ancient *Conaunicus*, Protector of that late deceased *Myantonomy*, during the time of his nonage.

The Marke of *Mixan*, son and heir of that above-said *Conaunicus*.

Indians { Witnessed by two of the chiefe Counsellors to *Sachim Pessicus*.

Auwashoosse his Mark

Tomanick his Mark

Sealed and delivered in the presence of these persons

English { *Christopher Helme.*
Robert Potter.
Richard Carder.

Here

Here followeth a Copie of a Letter sent to the Massachusets, *by the* Sachims *of the* Nanhygansets (*shortly after their subjection to the State and Government of* Old-England) *they being sent unto by the* Massachusets, *to make their appearance at their Generall Court, then approaching.*

We understand your desire is, that we should come downe into the *Massachusets*, at the time of your Court now approaching; our occasions at this time are very great, and the more, because of the losse (in that manner) of our late deceased brother, upon which occasion, if we should not stirre our selves, to give Testimony of our faithfulnesse unto the cause, of that our so unjust deprivation of such an instrument, as he was amongst us, for our common good, we should feare his blood would lie upon our selves; so that we desire of you, being wee take you for a wise people, to let us know your reasons why you seeme to advise us as you doe, not to goe out against our so inhumane, and cruell adversary, who tooke so great a ransome to release him, and his life also, when that was done. Our Brother was willing to stirre much abroad to converse with men; and wee see a sad event at the last thereupon: Take it not ill therefore, though we resolve to keepe at home (unlesse some great necessitie call us out) and so at this time doe not repaire unto you, according to your request: And the rather because we have subjected our selves, our Lands and Possessions, with all the right and inheritances of us and our people, either by conquest; voluntary subjection, or otherwise, unto that famous and honourable government, of that Royall King *Charles*, and that State of *Old-England*, to be ordered and governed according to the Laws and Customs thereof; not doubting of the continuance of that former love that hath been betwixt you and us, but rather to have it increased hereby, *being subjects now*, (*and that with joynt and voluntary consent*) *unto the same King and State your selves are:* So that if any small thing of difference should fall out betwixt us, only the sending of a Messenger may bring it to right againe; but if any great matter should fall (*which we hope and desire will not, nor may not*) then neither your selves nor we are to be Judges, but both of us are to have recourse, and repaire *unto that honourable and just Government;* and for the passage of us or our men, to and againe amongst you, about ours or their own occasions, to have comerse with you, we desire and hope they shall have no worse dealing or entertainment

tainment then formerly we have had amongst you, and do resolve accordingly to give no worse respect to you or yours, then formerly you have found amongst us, according to the condition and manner of our countrey.

Nanhyganset this present, May the 24. 1644.

PESSICVS his Marke.

CONAVNICVS his Marke.

Now before the assembling of the next generall Court, in regard the *Indians* had expressed themselves as above we heard, there were feares and jealousies raised up in the minds of the people, of the *Massachusets, and other of their united Colonies,* as though there was some danger of the *Nanhyganssets* comming against them to doe some hurt unto them: So that when we heard their Court was assembled, we writ unto them, as follows.

A true Copie of a Letter sent to the Massachusets, *at a generall Court held shortly after the submission of the people of the* Nanhygansets, *unto the State of* Old-England, *by the Commissioners put in trust, for the further publication of their solemne Act.*

THese are to let you understand, *that since you expelled us out of your Coasts,* the *Sachims* of the *Nanhyganset* have sent for certaine men of the Kings Majesties subjects, and upon advised Counsell amongst themselves (a generall Assembly being called of purpose for that end) they have joyntly voluntarily, and with unanimous consent, submitted and subjected themselves, with their Lands and Possessions inherited by lineall discent, voluntary subjection, right of Conquest, purchase or otherwise, what ever lands or priviledges appertain and belong

long unto them, unto that honourable and famous Prince *Charles*, King of Great *Britain*, and *Ireland*, in that renowned State and Government of *Old-England*, to be ruled and ordered, according to those honourable Laws and Customs, in themselves and their Successors for ever, which is performed and done, *in that solemn, durable, and commendable custome of Record, under divers and severall hands and seals, witnessed sufficiently, both by the Natives and English, solemnly delivered and received on His Majesties behalfe, holding correspondencie with the Laws and Customs of that honourable State of* Old-England *in all points:* We thought good therefore to give notice hereof, at your generall Court now assembled, that it may serve to informe your selves, and all your united Colonies, of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains or trouble, that so not our selves only, that are eye and ear witnesses hereof (but you also) may follow our occasions and imployments, without any extraordinary care, or feare of the people above-said, to offer to make any in-road, or give any assault upon us: *But with that indignity offered and done unto their Soveraign, which cannot be borne, nor put up, without a sharpe and Princely revenge;* nor may we upon the like penalty, offer to disturbe them in their bounds and territories, in their ordinary and accustomed imployments among themselves, or with any of their neighbouring Natives, *whose grounds of proceed causes and occasions are better known unto themselves, then we can be able to judge of.* But if either you or we find any thing amongst them too grievous to be borne: they not making any violent assault upon us, we know whither, and to whom we are to repaire, and have recourse for redresse, *as we tender our allegeance and subjection unto our King and State*, unto which they are become fellow subjects with our selves; and therefore of necessity his Majesties Princely care must reach unto them. Furthermore, that it may appeare, that our dealings towards you, and all men, have been, and shall prove just, and true, *whatever your dealings may, or have manifested themselves to be towards us:* Know therefore, that being abroad of late about our occasions, we fell to be where one of the *Sachims* of that great people of the *Maukquogges was, with some of his men*, whom we perceive are the most fierce and warlike people in the countrey, or continent where we are, furnished with 3700. guns, men expert in the use of them, plenty of powder and shot, with furniture for their bodies in time of warre, for their safety, which other Natives have not; we understand that of late they have

slain

slain a hundred French, with many Indians, which were in league with the French, putting many of them to cruell tortures, and have but lost two of their own men; these being as we understand deeply affected with the *Nanhygansets*, in the losse of their late *Sachim*, unjust detaining also of so great a ransome, given and received for his life, and else, are resolved (that if any people offer to assault them in their accustomed courses amongst the Natives, or seeking after their ancient rights and priviledges, not offering wrong to any of His Majesties subjects, nor violating their subjection to that *Noble State*, which they seem to respect, and much to adore) to wage warre with them unto the uttermost, which it seems is the very spirit of that people to be exercised that way, which as we desire to make use of it our selves, so doe we hereby give notice to you also, to make the best use of it unto your selves in all your Colonies united.

June the 20th, 1644. *By us the true and lawfull owners of* Shaw-omet.

John Warner, Secret.

These things being done, we residing upon *Aquethneck*, alias, *Road-Iland*, hiring houses and grounds to plant upon, for the preservation of our Families: The Governour of the *Massachusets* perceiving that we still aboad among the English, and were not gone to the Dutch as others formerly did, he then writ a Letter privately to some in the Iland, *whom he thought they had interest in*, being he continued a Member of their Church, however removed from them, telling him, that if he and others (who were in like relation unto them) *could worke the people of the Iland to deliver us up into their hands again (at least some of us) it would not only be acceptable unto the Court then sitting, but unto most of the people in generall;* the people of the Iland having notice of this Letter, *did altogether dislike and detest any such course to be held with us*, knowing very well what they had already done, and how causelesly; So that we abode still upon the Iland, and followed our imployments, untill such time as there appeared amongst us a Charter of civill government, granted by the State of *Old England*, for the orderly, quiet, and peaceable government of the people inhabiting in those parts of the countrey, *called Providence Plantations, in the Nanhyganset Bay*, which Charter being joyfully imbraced, and with all expedition, an orderly and joynt course was held for the investing of the people into the power and liberties

liberties thereof unanimously, for the exercise of the authority, in the execution of Lawes, for the good and quiet of the people, which thing gave great incouragement unto the Planters, to goe on in their imployments, hoping to enjoy their lawfull rights and priviledges without disturbance, which the *Massachusets*, together with *Plymouth* understanding, they go about by all means to discourage the people, by their endeavouring to weaken, and invalid the authority of the Charter, in the eyes of the countrey, intrenching upon those places, to frustrate and make void the Charter, as by maintaining their *Coadjutors*, as aforesaid in opposing of us, giving them order to set up writs upon our houses, where formerly we lived, prohibiting all men for entermedling with those Houses, Lands, Peoples, either *English* or *Indians* (which they call their own people) without their consent and approbation in those parts, which all plainly fall within the confines of the fore-named Charter, and far out of all their jurisdictions.

Here followeth a true Copie of a Warrant set upon our houses at Shaw-omet *verbatim, being extant, which was done after the Charter appeared amongst us.*

WHereas we understand that some of our countrey-men about *Providence*, or those parts, doe intend to sit down upon our Lands at *Shaw-omet*, or those parts: This is therefore to give notice to any such, that they forbear, without license from us, to attempt the same, or to meddle with any of our people there, either *English* or *Indians;* for let them be assured, that we resolve to maintain our just rights.

Given at the Court at Boston, *the* 16th. *of* the 8th. *Mo*, *Ann.* 1644.

By me *Increase Nowell*, Secret.

After this they ceased not to send out their Warrants amongst us, after the Charter was established amongst us, sending divers, and serving them upon the men of *Providence*, expresly commanding their appearance at their Courts in the *Massachusets*.

A Copie of one of their Warrants to the men of Providence *here followeth word for word, and is extant under their hand.*

To the Executors of Francis Weston.

YOu are required to take notice of an Attachment against the Lands of *Francis Weston*, so as to bind you to be responsall, at the next Court at *Boston*, to answer the complaint of *William Arnald*, * for withholding a debt of thirty shillings due to him, and hereof not to faile at your perill.

One of their new coyned subjects amongst us.

Dated the 5. (4) 1645. Per cur. *William Aspinwall.*

And as they thus goe beyond their bounds, not only to intrench upon the liberties and labours of their countrey men, (*but also upon that authority transferred upon that people by the State of Old-England, for the quiet and peaceable ordering and government of themselves*) not only in *Providence* and *Shawomet*, but likewise upon *Road-Island*, both in *Portsmouth*, and *Newport*, specified in the Charter; the Colonie of *Plimouth* joyned in league with the *Massachusetts*, to such ends and purposes, sent their Messengers to *Road-Iland, as namely, one Master* John Brown, *an Assistant in government amongst them there*, who went from house to house (both in *Portsmouth* and *Newport*) discouraging the people for yeelding any obedience unto the authority of the Charter, giving them warning (*as from the Court of* Plimouth) *not to submit unto any government that was established by vertue of a late pretended Charter*, (as he very presumptuously called it) *nor unto any other authoritie, or government, but only such as was allowed and approved of by them*, although formerly they have many times confessed and acknowledged both by Word and Writing, that it was out of *their Jurisdictions*, without which acknowledgement, the people would never have adventured to lay out their estates, and to have planted themselves and families in those parts, *some of them having too great and costly experience of* Plimouths *dealings with their countrey men, to be such as may be fitly paraleld with the dealings of the* Massachusetts, *and their practise springing from the same spirit, hath brought them into league and band*, when they were clearly manifested

manifested each to other, who before at the time of their first Neighbour-hood there, they were at a distance, and stood aloof, one from the other, *as each thinking I am holier then thou*, the men of *Plimouth*, comming thither from *Amsterdam*, and the other out of *hot persecutions* of the Bishops in *Old England*.

Now that these men doe not onely intrench causelessly upon their countrey-men, but also upon poore *Indians*, inhabiting in those parts, it is very plaine by their proceedings against that people of the *Nanhyganset*, whose countrey fals within the confines of the Charter, which people only going about to right themselves upon such *Indians* as they conceive have mightily wronged them in taking away *the life of their Prince, after so great a ransome given, and received for his rescue;* this they make their occasion to go out against them to cut them off, and so to take their countrey into their own jurisdiction; whereas the *Indians*, of our knowledge hold themselves bound, to revenge the blood of their Prince, it being so unlawfully (in their eyes) taken away; nay, they are not quiet in themselves, unlesse they doe revenge it, or else spill their own, in their endeavours thereafter; in the mean time they are in a continued act of mourning, as we know, for the space of one whole year, and an halfe, they mourned continually, not only by blacking their faces, in token thereof; *but every day their mourning women, morning and evening upon their knees, with lamentations, and many tears along time together*, as our selves have been eye-witnesses, when we have had occasions amongst them, and in houses that were more publick, where the wife and children of the diseased Prince were, *there did a man continue a speech (during the time of the womens praying, sighing and lamenting with abundance of tears)* declaring what their losse was in being deprived of such a Sachim, and how wrongfully it was done by the enemy, as also how they were all of them ingaged to revenge his blood, *else would it so lie upon their own heads, as to bring more miseries, and evils upon them:* Now for this their proceeding against their adversary the *Indian*, that thus deprived them of their Sachim, and so wrongfully (*as they conceive*) *the Massachusets, and Plimouth have offered to goe out against the people of the* Nanhyganset, *to cut them off by the sword*, sending word to *Providence* Plantations, that if they should stand as Neuters, and not goe out with them in this worke, they would make plunder of them: So Captain *Standish* sent word in the name of *Plymouth* (now since we came out of those parts) unto the men of *Providence*, as wee are credibly informed by

by Letters from divers hands, as also by word of mouth from persons of good note, who were in the countrey there present amongst them, when these things were done, informing us of many passages, of the proceedings of the *Massachusets*, and *Plymouth*, both towards the people of *Providence* Plantations, as also the *Indians* of that countrey of the *Nanhyganset*s; only one Letter that concernes the *Indians*, wee desire to set down, to give further intelligence to the Reader of these mens dealings, who seemed so meek, and so mild in their native countrey, *Old-England*, in the time of their aboad there, *as though they could not heave a hand, or wag a tongue against anything but a Bishops Ceremony*, that being onely offensive unto them.

Here followeth a true copie of a letter sent unto us since our coming from those parts of America *called* New England.

WE are all in health at this present and chearfull, (the greatest want is your company) *though men generally more invective then ever*, the Bay had provided an Army to go against the *Nanhyganset*s, had they not been prevented in the very *interim thus*, Captain *Harding* informed the Court of the difficulty of the enterprise, upon which the Court employed him, & Mr. *Wylbour*, to go to *Nanhyganset* and take *Benedick* * to interpret; when they came to *Benedick* he refused to go without a hundred men in arms, onely to possesse them with danger, *to effect his bloody plot*, upon which Mr. *Williams* being sent for to *Nanhyganset*, and also my self, to inquire of us, *what the minds of these mad people were to kill men for nothing;* upon which I went to *Providence* [a], thinking to goe with Master *Williams*, but, when I came there, he was gon, with the Captain and Master *Wylbour*, upon *Benedicks* refusall; I stayed their return, and their agreement was to have *Pessecus* ([a]) go into the Bay, and Master *Williams* was necessitated to put himself Hostage till his return; this news coming into the Bay did so vex the Ministers, that Master *Cotton* preached upon it, *that it being so wicked an act to take Master* Williams *with them, being one cast out of the Church, It was all one as to ask counsell of a witch, and that those that did it, were worthy to die;* upon which Master *Wylbour* was ready to die, for feare he should be hanged; so then the Indians went down, *and they compelled them to cease warres with*

* One of their aforesaid subjects or agents, dwelling in Providence.

[a] Chief Sachim of the *Nanhyganset*.

with Unkas [b] *and to pay them five hundred pounds for charges of Court, and provision for Souldiers* [c], *and to leave foure of the chief Sachims children, till the money be paid, and to leave foure of his chief men till the children came, and to promise them not to sell any land without their consent:* [d] this being done they came home again, and sent a man to tell me what was done, telling me that if the Lords in *England* help them not, they are like to suffer at present, but still they say they are not afraid of them, but onely give them their demands, rather then to war, before the Lords hear of it, that all may see they mean no hurt to *English*, but will submit to the Lawes of *England*, concluding it is but lent, it will come home with advantage both to their wisdome and profit. *Pessecus* hath been often with me to desire me to inform you of these things with great desire to see you again. Thus in haste I rest,

Your ever-loving friend

This 20th *of* November 1645. J. W.

b That is, the the Indian who slew their Sachim *Myantonomy*, when he had received a ransom for his life.

c The Court called to consult how to cut them off, and Souldiers they had raised up for that purpose.

d Thus to get interest in their land, either to people it with whom they please, or else to get occasion to go out against them again.

Thus have we given a true report, and made a faithfull relation, as briefly as we could, of what passages have fallen out betwixt the people of *Providence* plantations, and the rest of our countreymen inhabiting about them, which we have sensibly felt, and our families are now pressed under, laying it unto heart, and seriously taking it into consideration, hath not onely occasioned, but necessitated some of us to be here at this present with the consent of many others, according to our bounden duty, and allegeance, to present the truth hereof to this State.

LONDON the 14th of *Ianuary* 1645.

Here cometh a letter to hand, was written in the time of our confinement, & lying in bolts, & irons in the *Massachusets*, occasioned by one of our wives, she hearing doctrine delivered (in that part of the countrey where she was driven with her children) questioning the truth of it, writ to her husband to desire his thoughts of it; it was gathered from *Mat.* 24. 29. & alluding also to *Heb.* 12. 26. 27. for the explication of it, the substance of the doctrine was, that such a time of reformation, & restauration of the church of God, here on earth, was coming, the

the glory vvhereof should darken the Sun and Moon, & cause the stars to fall from heaven, that is, saith he, make the Apostles doctrine & order of the Churches in those dayes to appeare as darknes in comparison of that light vvhich should now appeare, shewing also, that the ministery of the Apostles vvas that vvhich might & should be removed, that a more excellent glory might be brought in, and remain, concluding that the ministery of the Apostles, was but a ministery of witnesse, but one should hereafter appeare having the presence and reality of that which they but onely witnessed, and gave testimony unto.

Here followeth a true copy of the answer given unto the things propounded as above, in way of satisfaction, how we are to think of such kind of doctrine, which the world is so taken up with, and seems to stand in such expectation and hopes of.

COncerning thāt point you writ from *Mat.* the 24 29. as also *Heb.* the 12. 26, 27. Namely, *that the Apostles ministery, was a ministery of witnesse,* we readily grant; *but that it was on more then a ministery of witnesse, we utterly deny,* for it had not onely *witnesse, but judgement also of condemnation and absolution in it,* therefore the Apostle saith, *God shall judge you according to my Gospel;* for the Apostles are not, but through the Spirit of the Sonne, *who is that faithfull and true witnesse,* yea, *and the judge of all, also;* and higher then his ministration (*who comes out of the bosome of the Father*) *we look not nor ever desire to go,* Therefore we onely confesse him, *who is, and who was, and who is to come,* and therefore reject such a Gospell as professeth *such persons, times, and ministrations past,* as never shall come again, and *such persons, times and ministrations to come as yet never were,* as a cunning device and sleight of Sathan to beguile the soules of men, *either to stand in expectation of things to come, or else in admiration of things past,* whiles in the mean time they are kept void of faith, *which gives being unto the things, yea even at the present time;* otherwise it is but to know persons and things after the flesh, *but henceforth know we no man after the flesh, no though we have known Christ Iesus after the flesh, yet henceforth know we him no more.*

And for the Sun being darkened, to be the ministery of the Apostles becoming dark in respect of a greater light appearing,

ing, *we may in no case allow;* for the Sunne there spoken of, is *that Sunne of righteousnesse*, a greater then which shall never appear, *but when the crosse of Christ* (spoken of in that Chapter) is evidently set forth, and declared to be that which indeed it is; *then is that sunne of Righteousnesse, that is light in itself, turned into darknesse, in all the men of the world,* even as the Saints, *which are darknesse in themselves, become light in the Lord;* for as the wicked *turn the truth of God into a lie,* which is truth in it self, and ever will be, so they transform *light of the Lord into darknesse, which in it self is light and can never be darknesse:* the Moon also, whose time is to appeare, and her place *to have dominion in the night,* shall not give her light, she shall fail in her office to shine, waxe, waine, and to set bounds to times and seasons, that is, *the wicked shall see themselves deprived of all hope to attain to a change, time or season, which shall alter their wofull condition, or remove the wrath of the Lord from them,* yea in their looking back to the changes of their life before, wherein they have thought themselves so well exercised, *the Moon in that respect shall be turned into blood* (as *Ioel* speaks in the same case) all times shall afford them nothing else but to see how they have been practising *the shedding of that innocent blood, even from the blood of Abel, whom his brother slew in the field,* where they were exercised in ordinary imployments, in the things of this life, *unto the blood of* Zacharias *slaine* (*between*) *or in the middle of the temple and the altar, even in the very height of their worship and ordinances, so much stood for at this day.* Nothing but such manner of light, or such a time or season (shall that light of heaven) the times and changes which they have passed through afford unto them, *yea the starres shall fall from heaven,* even cease to afford their various glories and lights, yea *that day starre shall never give notice of that day springing from on high to visit them, or the rise of that Sunne of righteousnesse, with healing under his wings,* nor shall their severall operations, and vertues yield any refreshment unto these terrene & sublunary things, that is, all those severall glories, and various vertues and operations that are in *that bright morning star the Lord Iesus, and in those seven starres which he holds in his right hand,* they shall all fall off, and lose their lustre, light, and influence, in and towards *the earthly sonnes of Adam,* as though they had never been; for as *the rejoycing of the lamp of the righteous is a putting out and cessation of all sinne and sorrow,* even so *the putting out of*

of the candle of the wicked, is a cessation, and utter demolishing of all the vertues and excellencies of Christ unto them, as though they were not at all, nay more then so, *for as the sinne and miseries which men are by nature subject unto, are made through the wisdome of God, a meanes whereby we see the height and depth, yea all the dimensions of the love of God do appear unto us,* so are the excellencies that are in Iesus Christ, made (through the wisdom of that serpent) *means of torture & torment to the wicked for ever,* even as the excellencies of these visible heavens *would be a greater torture to man to lose them then if he had never seen or enjoyed them;* and thence it is, *that the powers of heaven are shaken* or the dominions of heaven; for every thing in the heavens hath its *Lordship,* the Sunne *hath dominion of the day,* the Moone and the starres; *the dominion of the night;* the Sunne hath *Lordship* in shining, when the Moon hides her face; but not in setting bounds to times and seasons; for the Moon hath *Lordship in that,* but not in affording vertue and influence to herbs & plants, for *the stars have power and dominion in that,* yea every *starre hath its particular power and vertue,* yet can they not water the earth. The clouds *have their dominion in that,* yet cannot they serve man to breathe in; *the aire hath dominion in that;* so it is *in the heavenly powers of our Lord Christ,* whatsoever is in him *hath its dominion,* so as all the rest have not their glorie without it, so that whatsoever is declared in the Kingdome of heaven *it is the first and the chief, and all the rest do serve to make up all its power or chieftie,* so *as all the Elders cast down their crownes before it;* all the excellencies that are in Christ Jesus, *as love, wisdom, righteousnes, holines power & glory,* all things in him *have dominion and power,* & all these heavenly powers whatsoever *are shaken,* that is removed out of their places, not to appeare in them any more, for *the place wherein God declared his image at the first, in the beginning was man;* but when the crosse of Christ is truly declared, then are all these *heavenly powers shaken out of man,* yea, *removed out of that proper place given unto them in the beginning;* therfore it is said, *immediately after these tribulations,* or immediately with these tribulations, (as the word wil also beare) that is, *the preaching of the crosse and these things are inseparable;* no marvell therefore, that whenever the crosse is preached, *the champions of that man of sinne come out against it, striving to retain their god;* for as it would be to nature in things of this life to see all *chief powers and heavenly bodies so shaken, as to remove*

remove them out of their place for ever; the very thoughts whereof are dismal to the mind of man; so, & infinitely more is it to the soul of a man to have *the excellencies & noble powers and dominions of God removed out of his heart where he placed them in the act of his first creation, are* so that the excellencies of Christ, *are ever shaking and ever removing out of their place in the wicked,* that the height of their torment may ever appear and remain: for these things are shaken and removed in them, through the wisdom of the Serpent, *that those things that cannot be shaken,* namely, *the wrath and vengeance of God may remain;* even so it is in the godly, their sins and miseries *are ever shaking and removing out of their proper place, that those things that cannot be shaken,* namely, *the grace and righteousnesse of Christ may remain for ever;* therefore the voice of the Gospel *shakes both heaven and earth,* in that place alluded unto in your letter *Hebr.* 12. 26, 27. alluding both *to Mount Sinai, and Mount Sion,* so that the word *yet once more* declares a double removall, yea, *and that of things that are made;* for *man was made in the image of God,* yet the wisdome of the Serpent removed this image, that mans righteousnesse which is nothing *but abomination in the sight of God, might ever remain,* So also *Christ was made sin,* but the wisdome of God *removed this sin in the very act of his being made so* that the righteousnesse of God *might remain and abide for ever;* and then, and then onely *shall or doth appear the signe, or the miracle or wonder of the sonne of man in heaven, in those clouds of, witnesse, or in that cloud of witnesses with power and great glory, so as all earthly kindreds shall mourn and wail before him, Even so* Amen. Now the signe or wonder of the Son of man is this, that God made him a world of life at the first, *for he breathed into his face, the breath of lives,* (as the word is) *for the life of all the world was in him;* and yet this world of life is become nothing else but a world of death in the wicked, *and no life of God found in them at all;* so is that son of man in the second *Adam made a world of sinne and death,* and yet this world of sinne and death is become *a world of righteousnesse and life unto the godly, and no sin nor unrighteousnesse of man found in them, for never was guile found in his mouth, Even so. Amen,* and this is the signe or miracle of the Son of man, which the world knowes not of, and therefore hath so many empty conjectures what it may be thought to be, gazing up into Heaven after it: when as it is come down unto us, and they know it not, *Rom.* 10. 7. 8.

Thus

Thus have I given you my thoughts as brief as I could concerning what you propounded unto me, and blesse the Lord that you ministred occasion to look into the text. *However we are set apart as a forlorn people in the eyes of, & by the world,* yet doubt I not, but our God hath singled us out for other ends and uses, *who hath put us into the Isle of* Patmos, *or among the nation of the dead, or deadly,* (as the word signifies) *to reveal unto us the great mysteries of his Kingdome, that we may declare unto those that now be here, how to have their hope in God, & that it may be told unto our childrens children that noble work that he hath wrought for us in our Lord Christ, who is over all, God blessed for ever* Amen.

Your loving husband
in bonds, and yet free,

Samuel Gorton.

A

A Post-script.

DIvers Letters were written to friends in answer to questions, and resolution of Scriptures, which now are not at hand; otherwise we are very free to publish them to be seen of all, that the wise hearted might iudge of what our spirits and practises rellished, and how they were imployed in the time of our durance amongst these men, that were so eagerly minded to make us blasphemers, that so they might take away our lives, as a part of the glory, and beautification of their Religion.

Only we desire the Readers pains to take a view of one other Letter, in answer to a friend, who seemed to be troubled about that Scripture, in *Iohn* 6. 53, *verse*, what the meaning of it might be, desiring resolution therein, since we arrived in *England.*

The words are these.

Then Iesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, ye have no life in you.

IN these words consider, first the occasion of them. Secondly, the summe of them, and thirdly the parts.

First for the summe, it is a divine sentence exclusive, of all men, from the life and spirit of God, save only such *as doe eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood.*

Secondly, the parts of them for order sake are foure. First the occasion of this sentence, in these words, *then Jesus said unto them;* secondly, the confirmation of this sentence, laid down in these words, *verily, verily;* thirdly, the manner of the sentence, contained in these words, *I say unto you,* fourthly, the sentence it selfe, excluding all from the life of God, such only excepted *as doe eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood.*

For the first, which is the occasion of this divine sentence; that

that is, the reasonings within themselves, which the Jewes had in the operations of their naturall hearts, upon the delivering of this manner of doctrine unto them, *even by the sonne of God himselfe*, implyed in this word (*Then*) looking back upon the verse immediately going before, from which Christ takes occasion to utter this sentence; whence we observe, *That the word of God takes occasion, to utter and make it selfe manifest, even from the naturall reasonings, and argumentations framed in mens minds;* though they are not the cause, yet they are the occasion of the manifestation of it, even *as the truth, righteousnesse, power, and authority that is in God*, breedeth occasionally, *feare, terrour, jealousie, and wrath, in mens hearts and minds*, though these excellencies that are in God, are no proper cause hereof, but onely an occasion, without which they would not be; For *if there were no Iudge, the Malefactor would not have terrour;* even so, the very naturall reasonings of mens hearts, are the occasions of the manifestation of the word of God in us, but no proper cause of it, for the cause is only in God himselfe; but without such reasonings, and *Characteristicall impressions in mans mind*, the word of God could never have been *implanted, written, or translated in us, whereby we come to have the argumentations, and conclusions of sonnes of God, and not simply, or meerly of creatures in our minds*, being once enlightned by him *who is God, and the Father of lights, where ever it appeareth:* So that the soule of man is of farre greater sublimitie, and naturall excellencie in its creation, then any other creature under heaven ever had vouchsafed unto it; *So that there is an utter impossibility that any creature should receive the impressions of God, but man alone.*

This is a large field to walk in, for according to the variety of the reasonings of the mind of man by nature, which is set forth in all those wayes, wherein men have walked, and manifested themselves in this present world, *such is that wonderfull Epistle of Iesus Christ, in the various writing and expression of it in the souls, hearts, and lives of the Saints that are in light through Iesus Christ;* instance in one for all, the spirit of a naturall father reasons thus, *if my child ask bread* (to supply nature in the suppressing of hunger) *I cannot put a stone into his mouth*, (*that were cruelty*) but bread; if so be that I have it or can procure it; *if the child ask fish*, the father cannot put *a serpent into his bosome* to bite and sting him, but somewhat to cure and refresh him, if he have it. Now do but change this argument into the way of Christ, *and let God be the father,*

ther, and my self the child, and then is God, not man, the father; the bread heavenly and not from the earth; the writing, reasoning or argument, divine and eternall, not humane and temporary; and so the reasonings and dictates of our spirits are translated into *the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God*, and the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God are translated *into a mind and spirit that speaks the very same things naturally in it self*, though onely in a way of death, through its naturall ignorance, *that now it speaketh in that way of life, through that light and knowledge that is in the Lord;* and thus, *Christ by sinne condemnes sin in the flesh:* for by those reasonings wherewith we justifie our selves naturally, *through that ignorance that naturally is in us*, by the very same arguments and reasonings we condemn our selves, and justifie the Lord, *through that light and knowledge we have in him by Iesus Christ.*

2 The second thing to be observed, is the certainty of this sentence laid down in the form of an oath, *verily, verily*, that is, *so it is* or *so it shall be*, as if he should say *Amen, Amen*, so it is and so it shall be *without alteration or change*, and in that the word is doubled, it is for the certainty of the thing, *as Ioseph said of Pharaohs dreame*, and of no lesse certainty is all true exposition and interpretation of holy Scripture, whatever men may dream as *Pharaoh did and knew not the meaning of it*, and speak at uncertainties not being resolved whether things may come to passe now or then, or fall out to be thus, or so in the things of God; for the same spirit of truth and certainty, that gives the Prophesie, Proverbe, Parable, and advise, that records the History, or gives sentence divine, must also interpret, expound, and declare the meaning thereof; else is the Booke shut and sealed up unto us; great folly therefore to conclude of certaintie of Scripture, and of no infallibility in the interpretation thereof; For no more then we know the truth of an interpretation, no more doe we know the truth and certainty of any History, Prophesie, Proverbe, or Parable, which is propounded unto us, but take things upon report, as we doe other Chronologies of this world, *having only the traditions of men for the ground of our worship of God.*

The third thing, is the manner of pronunciation of the sentence, *I say unto you*, or as the word is, *I say (in) you;* the word used here, translated (*I say*) signifies such a saying *as a Iudge speaks upon the Bench, when he gives sentence in a cause, upon due proofe and evidence, which stands fast in Law, being*

being irrevocable; such is the saying and speech of Christ, *the truth whereof can never be altered;* and whereas he saith, *I say unto you,* or as the word is, *I say* (*in*) *you,* it signifies that what ever the Saints utter in point of Religion, it is, and must be, the voice of the Sonne of God, and not of themselves; so that as he suffereth in them, else can hee have no death at all, and then no Saviour; even so he speaks in them, or else hath no voice, nor language at all; and therefore without them, no Revealer of the will of his Father; for where Christ is silent, there can be no Revelation; therefore is he the word, or expression of the Father; and what he saith of him, he saith it in them: therefore he saith, *I say in you,* as in that very Epistle, or writing, *wherein I expresse my self in the Father unto the world, for my Father and I are one.*

The fourth thing to be observed, is the sentence it selfe, excluding all from the life of God, such only excepted *as doe eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood;* wherein observe five things briefly, first why he is called *the*
2. *Sonne of man,* secondly, what is meant *by his.*
3. *flesh and blood* in this place; thirdly, what we are
4. to understand by *eating and drinking;* fourthly,
5. what is meant *by life* in this place; and fifthly how we are to understand, that exception or limitation, seeing *That of our selves we are not able to thinke a good thought,* how can we then performe such a weighty worthy, and unknown action, that is no lesse *then life it selfe,* in the doing of it.

For the first, *viz. why he is called the Sonne of man?*

1. *Answ.* Not only, nor properly, because *he had a soule and a body as all men have,* which indeed was good in the creation, and so *man is called the sonne of God:* But he is called *the son of man,* because he is so produced and brought forth, as none can be, but such as proceed of man alone: Nor can he be a *Saviour,* but in way of such production and son-ship, for Christ in respect of his death (*without which no Saviour*) is brought forth and produced no other way, *but only in, and by man;* for there is no death to be heard of in God, nor can he bring forth or produce of himselfe, any thing that is deadly, for *he is that Fountaine of life; yea, life it selfe, in the abstract;* nor can it be proper, or competible to the Sonne of God, to be brought forth in his death, in any, No, nor in all other creatures in the world, but only in man; for as no other creature in the creation was made in the

Image

Image of God, but man alone, so no other creature in regard of degeneration, can beare the Image of death and hell but man alone: Therefore it is that Christ is said, *to descend into the lower-most parts of the earth for our redemption, which is wrought in us, or in our nature only;* Therefore he saith, *thou wilt not leave my soule in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption;* therefore of necessitie must he be brought forth, in respect of his death by man alone.

The second thing to be observed, is, What is meant by *flesh and blood?* 2.

Answ. By flesh in Scripture, sometimes is meant, that which our Lord, or any of his were never nourished, nor in the least refreshed by; and that is the Arme of flesh, which is a curse to all them that strengthen themselves by it in the things of God; for in that sense, *shall flesh and blood never inherit the Kingdome of God;* nay adde further, in that sence it is true, *That if you live after the flesh, it is death,* which is to live according to the wisdome, skill, strength, study, and fore-cast, about the things of God, that a creature (meerly as he is a creature) is able to produce and bring forth, which is to live according to the wealth, power, and honour of the creature, whose goodlinesse is as the flower of grasse that withereth, consumeth, and is brought to nought; for the best thing that is in it (which is his wisdom) *is enmitie with God, for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be.* But secondly, we are to understand by flesh, that weaknesse, frailty, and imbecillity of man, when he is deprived, and laid waste in himselfe, of all created glory, which is only then, *when the spirit of the Lord blowes, or breathes upon him;* and so becoms nothing in himselfe but weaknesse and infirmity: And in this sense the Prophet saith; *Now the Ægyptians are men, and not God, their Horses flesh, and not spirit:* So saith the Psalmist in the same sence, *my flesh also resteth in hope,* that is my weaknesse, and *tired out condition, hath rest,* and strength in an other, though not in my selfe; *for hope that is seen is no hope,* so that my nature affords no such thing, but only that nature to which I am *united:* And in an other place, *Thou art a God that heareth prayers, and unto thee shall all flesh come,* that is, thou art strength, and able to supply abundantly in all things, for thou art God, and we bring nothing but weaknesse and infirmitie unto thee, *for unto thee nothing but flesh comes;* and so the Sonne of God is truly said, *to be made flesh,* that is weak

weak and frayle, in regard of our nature which he tooke, or (as a continued act) takes upon himselfe.

Againe, by blood is here meant *the life, spirit, and power of the Sonne of God*, as he descends from the Father, even as the vigour, life and spirit of the creature runs in the blood, in the heat thereof: such is the life, spirit, power, vertue, and vigor of the sonne of man, as he is of the life, descent, and power of the Father from above, and so is God blessed for ever *Amen;* and in this sence is blood taken by our Apostle, where he saith, *This is he that came by water and blood*, that is, *by weaknesse and strength, not by water only, but by water and blood;* that is, not by weaknesse only, but by weaknesse and strength, that is, weaknesse in us, or in our nature, but power in God, or in that nature divine; so is he said in the like sense, *to be crucified in the flesh, but quickned in the spirit;* and so is it also said, *That what the Law could not doe, in that it was weake concerning the flesh, yet the Sonne of God taking upon him that similitude, and by sinne condemned sinne in the flesh, that the righteousnesse of the Law might be fulfilled in us*, that is, even as he became flesh in us, so doe we become spirit, and life in him, *which is the fulfilling and perfection of the Law.*

The third thing observed is, what it is *to eat this flesh, and to drinke this blood?*

Answ. Is that as it is in the body of a man naturally in that respect, even so also it is in that mysticall body of Christ spiritually; for if a man should eat, or communicate in (as the meaning is) only in food for the body, and not take in moysture, or drinke, for the digestion thereof, it is the destruction of the body, because moysture, as well as heat, must be maintained, those being the two *Radicall humours;* else doth the Lampe goe out, and is extinct; yea, meate without moysture doth suffocate, and choak the spirits, to the surfetting of the body, and so becomes the over-throw of it, which otherwise would maintaine and uphold it. Againe, if wee should take in only drinke, without meat, upon which it operateth, and worketh, then doth the moysture presently overflow to the quenching of the heat, and so breedeth either some dropsie in the body, to the sinking and overthrow of it in that way, or else it fumeth up into the head, and breeds madnesse, and giddinesse in the brain, unto all foolish, wanton, and lascivious wickednesse: Even so it is in that mysticall body of Christ: And hence it is said

said (*by an elegant allusion*) to eating and drinking naturally) *that we eat the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood;* that is, if we eat or communicate with that weaknesse and frailty which is naturally in man, and which the Sonne of God assumed and tooke into unity with himselfe, without alike drinking in, or communication with, that *spirit and life wherein he visits us, and comes into our nature from on high* (*even out of the bosome of the Father*) then doe we surfeit, & suffocate the spirit, and die in our selves, and in our sinnes, and so also, *if we neglect that weaknesse that is in us* (as though no such thing were) and dream of a high and spirituall estate, *which doth not arise out of, and is the result,* (through the wisdom of God) of that weaknesse that is in us, then doe we either sinke in our folly, and become sottish in the things of God, being drunke up only with the things of this naturall life, else are we puffed up, and become giddy in our selves, thinking we know something, *when as indeed we know nothing as we ought to know,* but are meerly, *and vainly puft up in a carnall, aspiring, proud, vaine-glorious, and fleshly mind.* So that to eat the flesh, and drinke the blood of the Son of man, is to communicate in the things that are of Jesus Christ, both as he is God, and as he is man, and to hold the unity of strength and weaknesse; that is, how he is made weak in taking our nature, and so carries and bears our infimities away for ever (he being that scape-Goat, whose office it is so to doe:) And also, how our nature is, thereby made strong and mighty, through that strength of the Sonne of God, in whom we find no infirmity, but are furnished with his power everlastingly, so that death which is naturally in us (as we are the sonnes of men) *is swallowed up of that victory and life,* which is in him, *as he is that victorious, and eternall Sonne of God,* and without a sutable correspondent, and hermonious feeding of these two, *as in one indiviuall subsistance,* we cannot have life in us, no more then our bodies can be sustained by meat without drinke, or by drinke only without meat: and that is the fourth particular, *else we cannot have life in us,* that is, *we can have no life, spirit, or breathings of the Sonne of that living God in us:* For *as the body without the soule is dead, so also the soule without the life, and spirit of the Lord Iesus is dead,* and as the body lives not without meat and drink, heate and moysture, so the soule lives not without communicating alike, *in this strength and weaknesse,* or *in this life and death, which is in the Sonne of God, who dies concerning the flesh, but is quickned* 4.

quickned in the spirit, and the spirit of God proceeds ever from these two, when ever it uttereth it selfe, *in that lively Oracle or speech, from off the covering Mercy-seat, it is ever from between these two Cherubims*, and never speaks evidently, *what perillous times are in the last dayes*, but only as it proceeds from these twain, that is, from a dying unto the flesh, and a being quickned in, and living unto the spirit, by which *life, spirit, or breath it ever preacheth, from the dayes of* Noah, *even untill now*, both in our selves, and by our selves to others; for as it is a Maxim, that the spirit proceedeth both from the Father and the Son, so is it here, for the *flesh*, or infirmity of Christ is the *Father*, & the spirit or power is the *Son*, as he is brought forth in that way of his death, without which he had never been a Saviour, and the *Spirit* or power is the *Father*, and the flesh is the *Son*, in as much as he brings forth life in this death, without which he had never been as he is *man*, in respect of that *life, by which hee liveth the life of God, never to dye any more*, so have we eating and drinking made one in that way *of the faith of the Son of God*, without which we cannot live the life of that *Saint or holy one of Israel.*

5. The fifth particular in this point is, how it can be said, *that we eat this flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood;* in which consider two things, first who are meant in that he speaks plurally, except *ye eat*, &c. Secondly, how we can be said to eat and drink in such a high nature, seeing *that we of our selves cannot thinke a good thought*, much lesse performe such an act as this.

For the first, who are meant in that he speaks in the second person plurall, *Ye.*

Answ. It is not properly to be understood, as being meant *of man and man*, no not as of Saint and Saint, but of one Saint *as he consists of a two-fold nature*, according to that faith of the Sonne of God; so is it, *Yee*, that is, every one that is in Christ, and so *through those precious promises, or gracious Covenant, is made partaker of that nature divine;* yea, who ever is one *of those children that have flesh and blood, of which the Sonne of God also tooke part with them*, namely, they *that are partakers of those two natures by faith*, that are in Jesus Christ, to every one of those this is spoken, as to such as are eaters, and drinkers in this case; for Christ as he is God, feeds upon nothing but our infirmities; that is, strengthens himselfe in point of our salvation, with nothing but our frailties and imperfections, and so of weak becoms strong, yea of an abject, the

the Lord of all, *For he in no case taketh hold on Angels*, that is, of any power or excellency in the creature to deliver us thereby, *but only on the seed of Abraham* (a Pilgrim and stranger in the Land) *he taketh hold;* that is, on our weaknesses, and imperfections, and out of them he brings his owne power and strength and other food the Sonne of God never tooke into unitie, nor digested, to gather strength unto himselfe by. Againe, as he is man he *drinketh the blood*, that is, takes in, or receives that *blood, life, spirit, and power of God, whereby he is inabled to doe all things, according to the purpose of his will*, and other drinke he never drunke, as he is man; for our poor nature is of that *vast emptinesse*, that nothing but *the fulnesse and power of an infinit and al-sufficient God, can possibly supply and perfect it*, and so there is a compleat eating and drinking, which is that full satisfaction and nourishment, that can be found in none, *save only in the Sonne of God himselfe*, for it is a weaknesse of that nature and latitude, that nothing can supply and make up but God himselfe; and it is a power of that fulnesse and perfection that can take nothing into unitie with it selfe that may be thought to adde any thing (no not in the least) unto that strength and vigour that is in God; for then it were not an Almighty power of God that saves us.

And so it is (*We*) that eat and drinke, that is, *We*, humane nature and divine; for *in eating*, the word eats up, and consumes our infirmities, and so there is a plurality in the act, not only of natures in that one act, but of eating also in sundry kinds and wayes; for as our infirmities are multiplyed, and that aptitude that is in us to fall, such is the multiplication of that restoration which is in that good word of God; it is (*We*) also in drinking, that is, our *vast emptinesse*, drinks and takes in that fulnesse, power, and spirit that is in the word of God, in which we are expressed and made manifest to be the sonnes and daughters of God, and in that mutuall eating and drinking our life, strength, and comfort doth consist.

The fifth particular, how it is said (*that we doe eat*) that are not able to doe any thing; alike answer is to be given to this as to the former, when he saith, *Yee*, he means not only divers men, but he meaneth every one as considered, in him, who is not only of man, but also of God; so that if we speak of man separated from the Word of God (which hath sufficient power in it selfe) we misse of the meaning, and of the mind of God, and so of that communion or eating that is in the faith of Jesus Christ;

Christ, and if we speak of God divided and separated from man, we commit the like errour, and are in the same default; but we must hold and maintain the unity of them both, in that way of faith in the Sonne of man, then is there power and ability, both to eat and to drink, even as there is power and ability in the Heavens and the earth, united in their operations, to bring forth fruit plentifully, which worke cannot be done, if either of them were set apart, and separated one from the other: So that the word of God is made strong through our weaknesse, that so it may appeare and make manifest it selfe: and our weaknesse appears, and is acknowledged through that word of God, that so all may be given unto God, and he may be all in all; so that it is (*Yee*) as man considered, in and with the power and spirit of God, in which he is inabled to doe all things, and not (*Yee*) as considered one man, in and with an other, for so all flesh is grasse, surely in that respect the people is vanity.

S. G.

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SAMUEL GORTON'S

LETTER TO

NATHANIEL MORTON.

WARWICK, *June 30th*, 1669.

[MSS.]

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 7.

Nathaniel Morton

I Vnderstand that you haue latly put forth a Booke of records, whether of Church or State I know not, perticuler or vniuersall, but this I know that I am vniustly inrouled because I was neuer free nor member incorporate in your body or any of your territories, Therfore I may not refraine to make a short returne only as it concernes my selfe;

And *first* concerning your peremtory iudging of one you know not, for I am a stranger to you, Besides that, your vnderstanding reacheth not, the things wherin God excerciseth his people, * with wishes of better things in you and all men, I must giue you a true description of your vnderstanding from the apostle Jude verse 10; therfore I have no railing speech to returne, or iudgment of blasphemy (as the wordes are) either to seeke any revenge of my selfe, or to comply with any such spirit I dare not; but I dare not but comply with the spirit of the apostle in this his saying The Lord rebuke thee, " Jude; Know that all our contention is about the body of Moses, as Moses hath respect vnto all Israel being King in Jeshurun Moses as a deliuerer out of bondage, Moses as a conducter of Israel through the wildernesse, Moses as imbodied in the law, and the law in Moses, in and about this body stands all our strife;

* 1 Cor. 2. 14

" Jude ver. 9

Whether this body is to be vnderstood carnally or spiritually, whether Pharisaically or apostolically, whether according to Antichrist which is the law of workes, the misterie of iniquitie, or according to Christ which is the law of the spirit the mistery of God, in this case I contend concerning the whole body of the holy scriptures against the Deuill in the whole body of Antichrist, which takes the word and law of God humanly and not spiritually, hipocritically to make merchandise of the word and not apostollically to spend themselues and be spent for the flock of God; Antichristianly to multiply and make themselues strong to persecute & kill the poore weakling and such as haue no of man at all, and not Christianly that plentifully feeds the hungry refresheth the weary without any respect of persons either

either in the vppermost seates in the synagogues gold ring on the hand, or gold in [the] bagge, of which carnall Antichristian and Diabollicall spirit I say with the prophet the Lord reproue thee, O Sathan, euen the lord that hath chosen Jerusalem reproue thee * and such as are plucked as brands out of that Satanicall fire though they be branded by a whole world that are of that wicked one " as the apostle himselfe was stigmatized † yet we know that God standeth at the right hand of the poore and skillfully performes all their workes in them & for them, " It is also most aparant and plaine that Sathan himselfe standeth at the right hand of cruell and dissembling hipocrites whether Doeg or Judas by whose craft and power they prosecute all their desighnes and enterprises†

* Zech. 3 : 2

" 1 John 5 : 19

† Gal 6 : 17

" Psalm 109, 30 : 31

Isay : 26 11 : 12

† Psal : 109 6 ;

My *second* word concernes your eminencie in assuming authoritie to Canonize and put into the ranke and number of Saints such men when they are dead which in their life time were persecutors especially you hauing acknowledged them to be such your selfe, As also to thrust downe under your feet and make as bruit beastes hauing only hope in this present life, such as are knowne to be fearers' of God worshiping him instantly day and night, Though they be not acknowledged to be such by some perticuler sectaries as your selfe, for you are no Orthodox Christian because you deny the whole and compleat word of God to be concerned in the present state of the Church of Christ, but haue chosen a part of it only to concern your present profession therfore a sectarie and no Catholique Christian, for such as hold a temporary word, they hold a temporary worship, and such as hold a temporarie worship they hold a temporary God, for god and his word are one, † and if you worship a temporary God my portion is not with you, for if you chuse but some part of the word to be your rule then you chuse but a part of Christ for a Saviour, for the whole word of god is nothing else but a description of Christ, and if you diuide Christ you make anullity of him, but this your teachers cannot know though it be told them " Therfore that which you charge upon me returnes into your owne bosome, and more if more may be, for you hold not only a temporary state of mankind, but a temporary word also, which made man and all things, yea a temporary god which is the greatest Athisme that

† John 1. 1:

" Hab : 1. 5

I know, and of such sectaries I passe little to be
iudged or by man's day † But for these things you † 1 Cor: 4. 3:
seeke to besmeare [me] with which returne iustly
upon your selfe, mine aduersaries shall be my iudges where any
sparke of hmanitie remaines ;

I haue often wondered in my younger dayes how the Pope came to such a height of arogancie, but since I came to New England I haue perceiued the height of that tripple crowne, and also the depth of that Sea, together with the multitudes that flock together through the one and the other under the vizard of the ascention and descention of Christ whence such things arise, and not from the personall presence of Peter, but from corrupting the apostollicall Doctrine, bending and bowing it to comply with corrupt Auarice, pride superstition and vaine imaginations of the minds of men, setting vp their gods at Dan and Bersheba (if you understand the etimologie of the words) and the glory apearing there is no other but that which the leuiticall priests carue below the mount of God, forming it of the eare and heart iewels of the egiptians, adorning carnall Israel who turne back in their hearts into the house of bondage, whence they were deliuered ; yea I see and feele that Idolatry hath an illimitted originall, and that Antichrist that did work doth now worke and shall worke so long as men are inhabitants vpon the earth without intermission, yea that carnall and Popish interpretation of the fifth monarchie shall not hinder him but incourageth the men to play the part of the Deuill, that being a maine piller to set him vp, kindling his rage against the Saints of god that cannot conforme to his tyranie ; of like effect is your carnall opinion of the calling of the naturall Jewes, and bringing in a certaine fullnesse of the gentiles ;

A *third* word I haue to say concernes your office of record, mistake me not, I medle not with your records further then they concerne my selfe, do not wrest my words as once they were in a letter taken in pieces, and what was plainly exprest to be spoken of the Clergie, was aplied to the magistracie to make me obnoxiouse among men, and when the truth apeared it was professed that it was done by a reuerend Diuine, before the State of England, who got no honour there by that ; who euer he was ; deale fairly with me as I shall do with you and all men, I then affirme that your record is fetched further then Cape Cod, namly from him who is a lyer from the beginning and a murtherer also ; and truth he aboad not in, nor can he abide it, and I take it to be the highest point of murther, to strike

strike at the life of the Soule, which life is the Spirit of Christ, which I professe to liue by, and account all other
† Gal. 2: 20 life not worthy the name of life with respect unto that,†

Your record therfore comes from farre with an intent to kill Abell that Cain's offering may be in your highest esteeme, yea your Record ariseth out of the bottomlesse pit, the smoake whereof is as a stifling fog of darknesse in your booke, It is vntruly recorded concerning Plimouth's government dealing with my selfe, for it is a false record that conceales many passages that were acted, and falsifies things expressed, A difference betweene Mr Ralph Smith and my selfe was not the ocation of Plimouths dealing with me, I say Mr Ralph Smith as you please to call him, but why is not your Canonization not exercised upon him, he was your ancient pastor and of my knowledge as pure and precise in your religion as any of you all, What was he not rich enough, or was he not honourable enough, or had neither himselfe nor his poets made verses enough to bring him into the ranke, What a wofull neglect was that, yet I neuer knew it before that without poetrie we cannot be esteemed holy and honourable; neither gray haires nor pastorall charge will bring vs into holy order no not so much as to be numbred among the Chemarims; If you had recorded truly you should haue made report of Plimouths dealing with me had bin their threatning of a widow one Ellin Aldridge whom they said they would send out of the Collony as a vacabond by some of your inferiour officers, when as nothing was laid to her charge, only it was whispered priuatly that she had smiled in your congregation, whervpon it may be the Church grew iealous that she did not well like your Doctrine and graue pollished Church order, And she hauing bin a woman of good report in England and newly come ouer, being carefull of her credit she fled into the woods to escape the shame which was threatened to be put upon her, there remaining seuerall dayes and nights, at the least part of the nights and absented her selfe againe before people stirred in the morning; my speaking on her behalfe (she being then my wiues servant) was the ocation that Plimouths government tooke to deale with me, whervpon they called me to a Court more priuatly held to examine me, and one of them inlarging vpon a point agravating the matter more then it deserued, I said he spake hyperbollically whervpon they asked your Elder then present, what was the meaning of that word, and he was pleased to expound it that I told the magistrate that he lyed;

and

and this was the dealing with me, and accordingly they gaue their owne constructions of what I spake afterwards, only in your Court more publique the foreman of the jury (your Elders son Jonathan Brewster) befriended me so much as to moue the Court that I should not speake in my owne behalfe at all, and there was no Atourney to be had in those dayes that I knew of;

But if all the figures that the Rhetoricians haue invented should be so interpreted as the Hyperbole was the common ministry might be ashamed of their exposition of the numerous places of Scripture, and if they lay these figures aside they know not how to bring the Scriptures into a gramaticall sence as God's proper intent therin, I wonder what language they will vtter in heauen when humane sense failes, for I am sure the deuice of grammer is not part of the holy tongue for it neuer entred into the heart of humane reason† †1 Cor. 2 9: 10

In the time of these agitations Mr Smith tooke offence at me whether of himselfe or instigated I know not, neither know I any ocation I gaue him, vnlesse it was because his ancient wife and others of his family frequented mine vsually morning and euening in the time of family exercises, and so did a religious maid liuing then with your teacher Mr Reyner, mistriss Smith often expressing her selfe how glad she was that she could come into a family where her spirit was refreshed in the ordinances of god as in former dayes which she said was much decayed and allmost worne out of religion since she came to Plimouth; In this offence taken by Mr Smith he applied himselfe to the gouernment of Plimouth for help to breake his couenant made with my selfe, I hauing hired one part of his house for the terme of foure whole yeares, Whervpon I was perswaded to put the matter to arbitterment the men were apointed, my writings deliuered, as I Remember, John Cooke was one an eminent member of your Church; who shortly after said the writings were comanded out of their hands by the Gouernour, insomuch that they could doe nothing to issue the matter, neither could I procure my writings againe vnto this day, least the iustice of my cause should apeare to any, but the Court proceeded to fine and banishment, together with sentence giuen that my family should depart out of my owne hired house, † within the space of fourteene dayes vpon the penalty of another great summe of money (besides my fine paid) and their further wrath and displeasure, which Acts 28: 30

time

time to depart fell to be in a mighty storme of snow, as I haue seene in the country, my wife being turned out of doore in the said storme with a young child sucking at her breast (the infant hauing at that very time the disease called the measles breaking out upon it, which the cold forced in againe causing sicknesse neere vnto death) who had bin as tenderly brought vp as any man's wife then in that towne, And my selfe to trauell in the wildernesse I knew not whither, the people comforting my wife and children when I was gone with this, that it was impossible for me to come aliue to any plantation; I say no more of this now, though I can say much more, with the testimonie of mens consciences, but I haue bin silent to couer other mens shame and not my owne, for I could wish to be a bondman (so long as I haue to liue vpon the face of the earth) in humane respects that all the agitations and transactions that haue passed betweene the men of New England and my selfe were in print without diminution or extenuation without couert false dealing or painted hipocrisie; It should be my crowne yea a diadem upon my graue, if the truth in more publique or more priuate agitations were but in Prose though not in Poetrie, as it was acted in all the places wherein you seeke to blemish me, † I perceiue what manner of honour you put vpon me in Rhode Island, which the acters may be ashamed of, and you to be their Herauld to proclaime it, I haue bin silent of things done at Plimouth, Rhode Island and elsewhere, and am still in many respects, but haue not forgotten them, for then I should forget the Sumptoms of the crosse of Jesus Christ, and I haue heard that some of Plimouth then in place were instigators of the Island, I could name the parties of both places, being mett together at Cohannet; I caried my selfe obeidiently to the Gouernment of Plimouth, so farre as it became me at the least, to the great wrong of my family more then is abouesaid as can be made to apeare if need require; ffor I vnderstood that they had Comission wherin authoritie was deriued, which authoritie I reuerenced; but Rhode Island at that time had none, therfore no authoritie legally deriued to deale with me Neither had they the choice of the people, but set vp themselues, I know not any more tha[t] was present in their Creation but a Clergie man who blessed them in their inauguration, and I thought my selfe as fitt and able to gouerne my selfe and family, and performe the office of neighbourhood, as any that then was vpon Rhode Island; But such fellowes as you can bring men to the whipping post

† Job. 19; 23 24 & 31. 35 36;

post at their pleasure, either in person or name, without fault committed or they invested with any authoritie; Some of the men are liuing on Rhode Island still, tell them in print what I say and belye me not, my ancestors haue not bin so vsed, as the records in the Herauldry of England can testifie † And I would haue you know that I had rather suffer among some people then be a ruler together with them, according to their principles and manner of management of their authoritie; † Acts 22: 25

Againe I affirme you to be a deceitfull recorder (remember my abouesaid word viz as it concernes my selfe, for I know whom I haue to deale with, to whom I will not giue place no not for an houre † In that you declare that I have spoken words (or to that efect) that there is no state nor con[dition] of mankind after this present life; I do verily beleeue that there is not a man woman or childe vpon the face of the earth that will come forth and say that euer they heard any such word come out of my mouth; And I apeale vnto God the iudge of all secrets that there was neuer such a thought entertained in my heart, Therfore I do verily beleeue that it was hatched in the bosome of the proper author of that scrole; I perceiue in this scandall your endeauour is to make me apeare in the world as a bruit beast and not a man, by putting vpon me the opinion of generall saluation (as it is called) which thing I hate,† taking it to be no better then a beastiall opinion; Yet I know what the apostle saith and I beleeue it namly, that Christ is the propitiation, or couer for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world,† which word I shall neuer decline according to the sense of the apostle; but I am farre from vnderstanding it in the sense of the generallists, who for ought I know by their Doctrine in the intent of it do exterpate and roote out all name and memoriall of Jesus Christ, and hold no more eminent Diuine or eternall nature then is in the elements or beginnings of all earthly and transitory things, which Elements or beginings the divine power hath Created and giuen a being vnto them, yet is not he or his nature the proper begining of them, as Christ is the begining or head of the Creation of God, † for his headship stands not in any temporary or transient thing whatsoeuer, but in the eternall power manifest in that which in it selfe is temporary, namly in our nature; and such as by doctrine seeme to strike strongly at sin, † Gal. 2 4. 5 † Reu: 2: 6. 15 † 1 John 22. † Reu: 3. 14

at

at errours and adversaries of Christ, If they know not how to make that which they contend against to be the headship of Sathan whervpon all sin depends or is involued, either as he is the serpent a Dragon the beast or false prophet to bruise or crush that spawne or seed and giue Christ headship in euery perticuler in which all vertue consisteth as the seed of the woman, otherwise men may seeme to striue and contend against sin as things crosse their education, which is but a beating of the aire, and aplying phisick of no value, though they would be docters of the law yet know not what they speake nor wherof they affirme; *I am farre from that opinion you slander me with*, for I hold and shall through god maintaine, that he who takes vpon him to be an interpreter of the word of God and brings not eternity into the thing or matter wherof he speakes, that man is a false prophet or interpreter of the word of God, and hides and couers Christ that he apeares not in the Church; This is Ænigma to schoole diuinitie and carnall diciples, therfore it is like you will forbeare either to speake or thinke of it, yet it is as necessary to be opened as it is to shut vp and inclose the whole law of God in one word,† *you could not haue clothed me with any piece of Sauls Armor that would haue fitted me worse then this scandall*, and I know you haue many pieces therof among you, and of Goliah's also, therfore ioyne your terme of Athisme with this and take them both together to your selfe, for I know where one is the other is not absent;

† Gal: 5. 14

Wheras you charge me with *passion*, I know not your meaning in that word, it is an ambiguous phrase, but through god's goodnesse I know the passion of Christ, and the apostles saying, that he fullfills the rest of his passion in his flesh,* and his being in a multitude of passions † And I know that Eliiah was a man of passions yet he was strong in prayer; And here you extort a word from me which I thought would haue gone in secret to the graue with me, for I neuer vttered it with my to any though my heart hath Recented it many a time, *the* 33 *yeare is vpon expiration since I ariued first in new England*, in which tract of time I have washed my face with teares day and night, in the ordinances of Jesus Christ; as *often*, this word ouerslips me not I say as *often*, and *oftener*, then there are perticuler dayes according to mans account in so many yeares, vnder the scandalls, reproaches, Calumniations and wrongs, that the sons of Beliall haue put vpon me, for no other thing in the truth of the matter

* Col. 1. 24

† 2 Cor: 12: 23

matter (though couered with other vizards) but for my profession of Jesus Christ, yet haue not these passions bin in any imbittered sowernesse of spirit, but from inlarged desires, when the thing desired hath bin presented, as in Joseph when he saw his brethren, and in Jacob when Rachel apeared vnto him &c †) and I know they are reserued in a bottle of transparent glasse, and written not on the black lines of the oldnesse of the letter, but in the lines of the light of life, or newnesse of the spirit, and I well know that God hath turned mens dealings with me into Schooles of learning (ouershooting them in their owne bow) as God did in that carnall and cruell act of Joseph's brethren that the glory might be in themselues and not in him,† I say learning farre better then your ministers haue bin educated in if they were well examined; What their vniuersities haue bin thought of concerning any Nursaries of religion by such godly men as haue liued in former times, without whose labours the common ministry of the world would soone come to nought, but such points as abate the glory of the world in way of religion they can bury in obliuion because they cannot indure the crosse of Christ; I haue told you in this point a small part of my passion, yet more then was my purpose to haue done, Scandalize me for it, and tell the world of it againe, and also of what I haue lost by it, and whilst you are calculating and summing vp the number of dayes contained in so many yeares I will apeale vnto God the searcher of hearts as a witnesse of the truth which I now write, Let me tell you thus much more that I write now in passion, for it drawes teares from mine eyes to see the nature of man (which I my selfe by nature am) so euidently and perspicuously apeare in you, [fo]r he that writes or speakes of the word of god and cannot aply vnto himselfe (in a true sence) whatsoeuer is contained therin, he is no true minister of saluation but of condemnation, † But let this stand as a parable to you and your teachers, whilst you in the meane time vent your corrupting and Contagious poison beyond that they write of the basselisk which they say conveys it by his eye, but you convey yours vnto that which you neuer saw, nor heard, neither can you vnderstand what it is if you be told † And wheras you say in your Records that I am *become a Sordid man in my life*, I tell you what I say of that and do you hide it from none, That I dare be so bold as to lay my conversation among men to the rules of humanity with any

† Psal 126 : 5 : 6

† Gen. 45 4. 5 :

2 Cor : 9. 26 : 27 :

† 13 : 1 ;

any minister among you; in all the passages of my life which God hath brought me through from my youth vnto this day, that it hath bin as comly and inocent as his; according to present ocations, so that nothing shall be couered nor painted ouer with hipocrisie, whose oxe or whose asse haue I taken, or when or where haue I liued vpon other mens labours and not wrought with my owne hands for things honest in the sight of men, to eat my owne bread, But these things are beneath my spirit either to speake or write, but you force me to Apollogize, ffor would any men thinke that the spirit of one man should be so audaciously impudent as to bring forth such lies and falsities, vnlesse he assume the name of legion as taking himselfe to be many through his Canonizations; I would say somthing of the foundation of your Church at Plimouth if I thought it were not a matter too low to talke of, for when suit was made to the Church in Holland, out of which your Church came, to procure a dismission of a sister there to the Church of Plimouth, though the Gentlewoman vpon ocation had bin in New England diuers yeares; yet a dismission would not be granted, their preaching minister then with them, I knew to be a godly man and was familiarly acquainted with him *now aboue halfe a hundred yeares agoe*, in Gorton where I was born and bred and the fathers of my body for many generations, who I hope neuer followed hipocrites to be brought into heauen, that only lead downe into Sheoll; The *ruling Elders* when this dismission was earnestly sought for, as I take it *were frenchmen* zealously affected, the Church vnanimously being against a dismission, the Elders gave this ground and reason that they could not dismisse their sister to the Church of Plimouth in New England, Because it consisted of an Apostatized people fallen from the faith of the Gospell, and when through much importunitie a writing was procured properly of advice to their Sister how to carry her selfe among them being already married there her husband being the Solicitor, whom you know I need not to name, And I thinke you know after what manner the writing was read in your Church, by your ancient Elder part concealed and part expounded to the best, If you know not I doe, for I was then present, Now to haue this testimony or Assertion concerning the foundation of your Church by the mother out of whose belly you came, may be concidered, I thinke you can say little more or lesse of the Church of Rome;

A fourth word I haue to say to your Pamphlet, concernes *the Stuffe* as you Scttishly and contemptuously call it, you may

may be ashamed to put pen to paper to publish anything to the world in shew of religion not acknowledging the letter of the Scriptures but deriding it rather, What hath not the lord affirmed that he hath giuen Christ for a couenant of the people, and for a light of the gentiles; Deny him then to be the Couenant, and deny him to be the light, what Blasphemies are these† And doth not the apostle affirme that we were kept vnder the law before faith came; What was that comming of faith but the comming of Christ,† therfore he saith in the next words the law was our Schoolmaster to Christ to convince such ignorant malignant Cauellers,† And what doth the Spirit of God make faith to be in his description of it,† But that Hypostasis or Subsistance of things; Which is that inseparable unity that is in Christ; And for your derision of Sin to be the death of Christ, we beleeue the apostle (who affirmes vpon the solemne testimony of the Spirit of God,) that Christ was made Sin in vs, for so the word ought to be read, as apeares by the second member of the text or else the scripture answers not to its relative,† And we affirme that Christ was neuer made sin but in his dying to sin, and whosoeuer denies that manner of death which is by sin, he denies that manner of righteousnesse which the spirit of God relates vnto it, which is the righteousnesse of god, and he that seekes another Righteousnesse wherby to be iustified he shall bring nothing but filthy menstruous Clouts before God,† Which stuffe we abhorre; what stuffe soeuer you ignorantly make of the word of God, calling such things Allegories which are the intent † of the holy word of god, ffor the rest of your expressions which you charge vpon vs, you falsly aply them, we neuer called Sermons of Saluation Tales, nor any ordinances of the Lord an abomination or vanitie, nor holy ministers Necromancers; we honour Reuerence and practise these things; therfore through guilt you falsifie our intent, but if any be not resolued of our meaning let him put his hand into his bosome and see whether it come not out leprouse, But know this also, vnlesse it be done the first and second time acording to the command, he shall neuer be found a fit messenger to deliuer Israel out of Egiptian bondage of the law, but rather to cary them into Babilon after deliverance wrought, And let such be called belchers out of babilonish bondage and crueltie, vnder the name of orthodoxus or orthodoxia, with many thanksgiuings

† Isay 42 : 6 : & 49 : 8 :

† John 8 : 12 & 9 : 5 :

† Gal : 3 ; 23. 24 :

† Hebr. 11 : 1

† 2 Cor 5 ; 21

† Isay 64 : 6

giuings vnto their new formed gods who haue saved them and deliuered them from all pernisious and destructive wayes,† And howeuer you term me a Belcher out of Errours, I would haue you know that I hold my call to preach the Gospell of Christ, not inferiour to the call of any minister in this country, though *I was not bred vp in the Schooles of humane learning; and I blesse God that I neuer was,* Lest I had bin drowned in pride and ignorance through Aristotles principles and other heathen philosophers, as millions are and haue bin, who ground the preaching of the gospell vpon humane principles to the falsifying of the word of god; in the ruine of men's soules (I know what I say) yet *this I doubt not of but that there hath bin as much true vse made of the languages within this twenty yeares past for the opening of Scripture in the place where I liue, as hath bin in any Church in New England,* I know the manner of your preaching very well;

† Amos 9 : 7

When I was last in England through importunitie I was perswaded to speake the word of god publiquly in diuers as eminent places as any were then in London and also about London and places more remote, many times the ministers of the place being hearers, and somtimes many together at appointed Lectures in the countrey; I haue spoken in the audience of all sorts of people and personages vnder the title of a Bishop or a King, and was invited to speake in the presence of such as had the title of excellencie; and I was louingly embraced whereuer I came in the word vttered, with the most eminent Christians in the place, and for leaue taking at our departure not vnlike the ancient custome of the saints vppon record in the holy scriptures, And I dare say as euident testimony of gods power going forth with his word spoken, manifested, as euer any in New England had publiquely and imediatly after the word deliuered the people giuing thanks to god that euer such [a] word came to be vttered among them, with intreaty for stay and further manifestation, in as eminent places as are in England; where my selfe did know that Doctors of note had formerly preached, and at that time such as had more honour put vpon them then ordinarily preachers haue, who gaue me the call thither in way of louing and Christian fellowship, the like abounding in the hearers, Therfore I know not with what New England is leauened or spirited; Indeed once in London three or four malignant persons caused me to be summoned before a Committie of Parliament because I was not a vniversity man; I apeared and my acusers also,

also, one of them a Schoolmaster in Christs hospitall, another or two Elders of independant or seperated Churches; who were questioned what they had against me, they said I had preached; diuers of the Committie answered and said that was true they had heard me; the Chairman asked my accusers what I had said, they said I had spoke of the Cherubims, but they could not repeat any thing, but they said they were sure I had made the people of God sad, but the sum of all their accusation was brought out in a booke, which they said contained diuers blasphemies; The booke was only that which was printed concerning the proceedings of the Massachusets against my selfe and others; ffor these were children of the Jews who had corrupted themselues by false couenants with the nations and could mutter perversnesse,† Speaking part of the language of the three peoples but discerned not the language of the Jewes,* which I aply to independancie, Presbitrie and Prelacie but they know not the Christian language,† The honourable Committie tooke the Booke and diuers of them looked vpon it, and found no such thing there, as they ignorantly sugested, And though my adversaries could say nothing but only vent their spleene crying out vpon blasphemie, yet the Chairman and diuers of the board Knights and other gentlemen questioned me about my call to preach, and other principal points of Religion, and I answered to all of them, according to my knowledge and conscience;

† Isay 59: 3: v

* Nehem: 13: 23: 24

† Acts 11: 26

Then my accusers desired Mr Winslow might be called forth, whom they had procured to apeare there whom they thought would opose me strongly with respect to that booke; when he came out of the Crowd (for there was a multitude of people the place being spacious) he spake iudiciously and manlike, desiring to be excused for he had nothing to say concerning me in that place, his businesse with me lay before another Committie of Parliament, which gaue the table good satisfaction; my answers and arguments were honourably taken by the Chairman and the rest of the Committie, and my selfe Dismissed as a preacher of the Gospell;

Shortly after eminent preachers liuing remote from London being then present; sent unto me kind gratulations for my arguments vsed, and answers giuen before that Committie; Which act of that Committie I take to be as good an humane call to preach as any of your ministers haue; And other call I know none they haue, when I do I shall respect them accordingly;

cordingly; for in case they haue, you haue spent your time amonge them very badly, that haue not learned to know and speake better of the word of God;

And for a humane call, I take mine to be as good as the Degrees in Schooles, or to passe vnder the hands and ceremonies of a tituler Bishop, or vnder the naturall hands of a tituler Eldership, or to haue the call of a people by the power of Stipend, or contribution, without one of which no Contract, both parties are not agreed, all which I count as humane at the best; And do not you vpbraid vs (as some among you haue done) as not hauing the word of God with vs, because of our Paucitie, *I thinke those they call Quakers are as many as you, but I thinke them neuer the better for their multitude;* nor the Papists who couer that part of the earth called Christendome, it hath euer bin the way of the world to make it selfe great by multitude, † But Christ stileth his flock to be little and his Disciples were few.*

† Gen: 10 8. 9. 10

Hosea 7: 11

A fift word I haue to say, is in that you send the reader to a booke printed by Mr Edward Winslow for a more full and perfect intelligence; Mr Winslow and my selfe had humanlike Corrispondancie in England, and before the honourable Committie which he referred himselfe vnto, as aboue, and not to wrong the dead, I saw nothing to the contrary but that I had as good acceptation in the eyes of that Committie as himself had, although he had a greater Charter, and a larger Commission out of these parts then my selfe then had, and howeuer he was a man of more eminent parts then my selfe, yet the goodnesse and justice of my cause did equallize my selfe vnto him, in those ocations both in the mindes and demeanures of our Superiours;

Isay 30 1. 2.3.

Deut. 7-2

* 1 Chron. 16. 19:

I do professe, I do not know or remember any perticuler in that Booke he then put forth; for since the publishing therof I haue allwayes had my thoughts excercised about things of better and greater concernment; I saw it in London but read little of it, And when I came ouer into these parts my ancient acquaintance and freind Mr John Browne discoursing with me about those affaires in England told me he had read such a booke printed or put forth by Mr Winslow I told him I had seene it but read very little of it; Mr Browne you know was a man aproued among you, and elswhere (for ought I know or euer heard) whereuer he came; an Assistant in your Gouernment, a Commissioner for the vnited Collonies

Collonies &c who thus spake vnto me in our Discourse, I will not pervert nor alter a word of the will or words of the Dead ; I say he afirmed thus vnto me, That he would maintaine that there were Fortie lies printed in that booke, And I doubt not but Mr Brownes word or Judgment in his time would have and taken booke, Therfore adde thy writing vnto it if any sparke of humanity be left to informe your readers of the truth of things, or else take it to your selfe that you are he that goes about to seduce and corrupt the minds of men with lyes and falsities. And there I leaue you.

Only one whisper in your eare viz. if you find any thing in this present writing wherby you can glorifie your selfe, or put shame vpon me (which is the scope of your scurrilous pamphlet viz so farre as it concernes my selfe) let me heare of it, either by pen in manuscript, or from Presse by print, and I doubt not but I shall make returne more fully then this paper expresseth ; for I was in suspence whether this was worth an answer ;

per me,

Samuel Gorton.

Warwick June 30th 1669 ;

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Vol. 4
no. 8

COMMISSION

OF

KING JAMES THE SECOND

TO

Sir Edmund Andros

June 3, 1686.

MSS.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 8.

ames The Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the faith &c. To our trusty and welbeloved Sr. Edmund Andros Knt. Greeting whereas the Goverment of that part of our Territory and Dominion of New-England hereafter mentioned is now in our hands and being minded to give all protection and incuragement to our good subjects therein and to provide in the most effectuall manner for their security and welfare, Wee therefore reposing espetiall trust and confidence in the prudence courage and Loyalty of you the said Sr. Edmund Andros out of our espetiall grace certaine knowledge and meer motion have thought fitt to constitute and appoint, And by these presents Do constitute and appoint you the said Sr. Edmund Andros to be Our Capt. Generall and Govr. in Chief in and over all that our Territory and Dominion of New-England in America Commonly called and known by the name of Our Colony of the Massachusets Bay, Our Colony of New-Plimouth, and Our Province of Newhampshire and Maine, The Narraganset country otherwise called the King's Province with all the Islands rights and members to the said Colonies & Territories in any wise appertaining And for your better guidance and direction wee do hereby require and command you to do & execute all things in due manner that shall belong unto the said office and the trust wee have reposed in you according to the severall powers, Instructions and authoryties mentioned in these presents or such further power instructions & authoryties as you shall herewith receive, or which shall at any time here-

Constitu of Sr. Edmd. Andros to bo Capt. Genll. & Govr in Chief.

after

after be granted and appointed you under our Signet and signe Manuell or by our order in our PRIVY COUNCILL and according to such reasonable Laws and statutes as are now in force or such other as shall hereafter be made and established within that our Territory and Dominion aforesaid

Oaths of Allegiance & trust to be given Mutually by the Govr. and council.

AND our will & pleasure is that you the said Sr. Edmund Andros having (after your arrivall in New-England and publication of these our Letters pattents first taken the Oath of Allegience together with the Oath of duly executing the office of our Capt. Generall and Govr. in Chiefe of our said Territory and Dominion (which our said Councill there or any three of them are hereby required authorized & impowred to give and administer unto you) You shall administer unto such of the Members of our Councill as well the Oath of Allegiance as the oath of the due execution of their places and trust

Suspending Members of the councill for just cause

AND wee do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to suspend any member of our Councill from setting voteing and assisting therein as you shall find just cause for your so doing AND if it shall hereafter at any time happen that by the death departure out of our said Territory or suspention of any of our Councellors or that otherwise there shall be a vacancy in our said

Five make a Quorum

Councill any five whereof wee do hereby appoint to be a QUORUM our will & pleasure is that you signify the same unto us by the first oportunity. that wee may under our signet and signe manuall

Just seaven to be and to be chosen of the council where there is a vacancy

constitute and appoint others in their roome. BUT that our affaires at that distance may not suffer for want of due number of Councellors if ever it shall happen that there are lesse then seaven of them resident upon the place wee do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to choose as many persons out of the principall Inhabitants thereof as will make up the full number of our Councill to be seaven and no more which persons by vertue of such choyce shall be to all intents and purposes our councillers within our said Territory untill they be confirmed by us, or that by nomination of others by us under our signe manuall and

Signet

Signet the said Councill shall have seaven persons in it. AND wee do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority by and with the advice and consent of our said Councill or the Major part of them to make constitute and ordine Laws statutes and ordinances for the publique peace wellfare good Goverment of our said Territory and Dominion and of the people and inhabitants thereof, and such other as shall respect thereto, and for the benefit of us our heirs and successors which said Laws statutes &. ordinances are to be as neer as conveniently may be agreeable to the Laws and statutes of this our Kingdom of England PROVIDED that all such Laws Statutes and ordinances of what nature or duration soever be within three months or sooner after the making of the same Transmitted unto us under our seale of New-England for the allowance or disapprobation of them, as also duplycates thereof by the next conveyance AND wee do by these presents give and grant unto you full power and authority, and with the aduice & consent of our said Councill or the Major part of them to Impose and assesse & raise and levy such rates and Taxes as you shall find necessary for the support of the Goverment within our said Territory and Dominion of New-England to be collected Levied, and to be employed to the uses aforesaid in such manner as to you and our said Councill or the Major part of them shall seeme most equall and reasonable, AND for the better support of the charge of the Goverment of our said Territory and Dominion our will and pleasure is and wee do by these presents authorize and require you the said Sr. Edmund Andros and our said Councill to continue such taxes and impositions as are now layed and Imposed on the inhabitants thereof and to Levy and distribute or cause the same to be Levyed and distributed to those ends in the best and most equall manner untill you shall by and with the advice and consent of our Councill agree on & settle such other taxes as shall be sufficient for the support of our Goverment there, which are to be applyed to that use

Laws to be made by the Govr. and Councill

Agreable to the Laws of England.

To be transmitted in 3 months

Power to raise mony by the Govr. & Coull. or majr. part

To constitute taxes for the support of the Govermt.

and

and no other And our farther will and pleasure is
Publique money issued out by the Govrs. warrant
that all publique money raysed or to be raysed or appointed for the support of the Goverment within our sd. Territory and Dominion be Issued out by warrant or order from you by and with the advice and consent of our Councill as aforesaid And our
Seale kept and used
will and pleasure is that you shall and may keepe and use our seale appointed or to be appointed by us for our Territory and Dominion And wee do further give and grant unto you the said Sr. Edmund Andros full power and authority from time to time and at any time hereafter by your selfe or
Oath of allegiance given by the Govr. & others by him in authority
by any other to be authorized by you in that behalfe to administer and give the Oath of Allegiance now established within this our Realme of England to all and every such person as you shall think fitt, or shall at any time or times pass into our said Territory or shall be residing or abiding there,
Govr. & council a court of records
And wee do by these presents ordaine constitute and appoint our Govr. and Councill of our sd. Territory and Dominion for the time being to be a constant and setled Court of Records for the administration of Justice to all our Subjects inhabiting within our said Territory and Dominion in all
Criminall & civil causes In civill actions reall personall and mixt
Causes as well civill as criminall with full power and authority to hold pleas in all causes from time to time as well in pleas of the Crown and in all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishmt. of offendors as in civill causes or actions between party and party or betweene us and any of our subjects there whether the same do concerne the realty and relate to any right of ffreehold & Inheritance or whether the same do concerne the personalty and relate to matter of debt contract damage or other personall injury And also in all mixt actions which may concern the realty and personalty And therein after due and orderly procedings and Deliberate heareing of both sides to give judgment and to award execution as well in criminall as in civell cases as
Forms and Judgmts. to be
aforesaid SO always that the formes of proceedings in such cases and the judgment thereupon, be as consonant

consonant and agreeable to the Lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of England as the present state and condition of our subjects inhabyting within our said Territory and Dominion and the circumstance of the place will admitt AND we do farther hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority with the advice and consent of our said Councill to erect constitute and establish such and so many courts of Judicature and publike Justices within our said Territory and Dominion as you and they shall think fitt and necessary for the determining all causes as well criminall as civell according to Law and equity and for awarding execution thereupon, with all reasonable and necessary powers authorities fees and previledges belonging unto them As Also to appoint and commissionate fitt persons in the severall parts of our said Territory to Administer the Oath of Allegiance unto such as shall be obliged to take the same. AND wee do hereby grant unto you full power and authority to constitute and appoint Judges and in cases requisite Commissionors of oyer and Terminer Justices of the peace Sherriffs and other necessary officers and ministers within our said Territory for the better administration of Justice and putting the Lawes in execution and to administer such Oath and Oaths as are usually given for the due execution and performance of offices and places for the cleareing of truth in juditiall cases AND our farther will and pleasure is and wee do hereby declare that all actings and proceedings at Law or equity heretofore had or done, or now depending within any of the Courts of our said Territory and all executions thereupon be hereby confirmed and continued so farr forth as not to be avoided for want or defect of any legall power in the said Courts BUT that all & every Juditiall actings proceedings and executions shall be of the same force effect and vertue, as if such Courts had acted by a just and legall authority AND wee do farther by these presents will and require you to permitt appeales to be made in case of error from our Courts in our said Territory and Dominion of

as consonant to the english laws as the present state of the place admitt.

Governor & council to erect courts of Judicature for determining criminall & civil according to law & equity.

Awarding Execution

Fitt persons to administer the oath of allegiance

Power to constitute judges commissionors justices of the peace sherriffs & officers

To administer the oath for executing offices & in juditiall cases

Proceedings & executions in court confirmed.

Not to be avoyded for defect of legall power and authority.

Appeale to Govr. &

New

council in civil cases value exceed 100 pounds security by the appealant.

New-England unto our Govr. and Council in civell cases PROVIDED the value appealed for do exceede the Summe of one hundred pounds sterling, and that security be first duly given by the appealant to answer such charges as shall be awarded in case the first sentance shall be affermed AND whereas wee judge it necessary that all our subjects may have liberty to appeale to our Royall person in cases that may require the same, Our will and pleasure is that if either party shall not rest satisfied with the Judgment and sentance of our Govr. and Council, they may then appeale unto us in our Privy Council PROVIDED the matter in differance exceed the reall value and Summe of three hundred pounds sterling and that such appeale be made within one fortnight after sentance, and that security be likewise duly given by the appealant to answer such charges as shall be awarded in case the sentance of the Governor and Council be confirmed AND PROVIDED also that execution be not suspended by reason of any such appeale unto us AND wee do hereby give and grant unto you full power where you shall see cause and Judge any offendor or offendors in capitall and criminall matters or for any fines or forfeitures due unto us fitt objects of our mercy to pardon all such offendors and to remitt such fines and forfeitures (Treasons and wilfull murther only excepted) in which case you shall likewise have full power upon extraordnary occasions to grant repreaves to the offendors therein, untill and to the intent our plea sure may be further known) AND wee do hereby give and grant unto you the said Sr. Edmund Andros by your selfe your Captains and comanders by you to be authorized full power and authority to Levy Arme muster command or imploy all persons whatsoever residing within our said Territory and Dominion of New-England as occasion shall serve, them to transferr from one place to another for the resisting and withstanding of all Enemies Pirats and Rebells both at land and Sea, And to transferr such forces to any of our plantations in America as occasion shall serve for the

Appeale to the King from the council value exceed 300 pound sterling.

The appeale must be within a fortnight after sentanco

Security given

Execution not to be suspended

Govr. may pardon offendors capitall & criminall remitt fines may repreive in treason.

Govr. to levy &c. inhabitants against pirats enimies & rebells

Transfer forces for the

the defence of the same against the invasion or attempts of any of our enemies, and them if occasion shall require, to pursue and prosecute in or out of the limets of our said Territory and plaintation or any of them, And if it shall so please god them to vanquish and being taken either according to the Law of arms to put to death or keepe and reserve alive at your discretion, ALSO to execute Martiall law in time of Invavason insurrection or warr and during the continuance of the same and upon Souldiers in pay to do and execute all and every other thing which to a Capt. Genrll. doth or ought of right to belong as fully and amply as any of our Capt. Generlls. doth or hath usually done. AND wee do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to erect raise and build within our Territory and Dominion aforesaid such and so many forts, platformes, castles, citties, burroughs and fortifycations as you shall judge necessary and the same or any of them to fortifie and furnish with Ordinance ammunition and all soarts of armes fitt and necessary for the security and defence of our said Territory and the same againe or any of them to demolish or dismantle as may be most convenient AND wee do hereby give and grant unto you the said Sr. Edmund Andros full power and authority to erect one or more Court or Courts Admirall within our said Territory and Dominion for the heareing and determineing of all Marine and other causes and matters proper therein to be heard and determined with all necessary power authorities fees and preuiledges. AND you are to execute all powers belonging to the place and Office of VICE ADMIRALL of and in all the seas and coasts about your Goverment according to such Commission authority and instructions as you shall receive from our selfe under the seale of our Admiralty, or from our high Admirall of our fforraign plantations for the time being AND for as much as divers mutynies and disorders do happen by persons shipped and imployed at Sea, and to the end that such as shall be shipped or imployed at sea may be the better governed and ordered Wee do hereby

defence of plaintations

Govr. to execute martiall law in time of invasion and upon soldiers & all power of capt. generll.

Govr. to erect forts

And the same to demolish

Govr. to execute power of vice Admirall.

give

Govr. to appoint mr. of ships and commanders and grant them commission to execute martiall law upon mutineers &c.

give & grant unto you the said Sr. Edmund Andros our Capt. Generall and Governor in Chief full power and authority to constitute & appoint Captains Masters of Ships and other Commanders And to grant unto such Captains Masters of Ships and other Commanders Commission to execute the Law Martiall and to use such proceedings authorities punishments correction and execution upon any offendor or offendors which shall be mutenous seditious disorderly or any way unruly either at sea or during the time of their aboad or residents in any of the ports harbours or Bays of our said Territory and Dominion as the case shall be found to require according to martiall Law PROVIDED that nothing herein contained shall be construed to the inabling you or any by your authority to hold plea or have Jurisdiction of any offence cause matter or thing committed or done upon the Sea, or within any of the Havens Rivers or Creeks of our said Territory and Dominion under your Goverment by any Captaine Commander Leift. Master or other officer seamen soldier or person whatsoever who shall be in actuall servise and pay in and on board any of our Shipps of warr or other Vessells acting by Immediate commission or warrent from our selfe under the Seale of our Admiralty or from our high Admirall of England for the time being. But that such Captain Commander Leift. Master officer Seaman Souldier and other persons so offending shall be left to be proceeded against and tryed as the merrit of their offences shall require either by Commission under our great Seale of England as the Statute of the Twenty eighth of Henry the Eight directs or by Commission from our High Court of Admiralty, according to the Act of Parliament passed in the thirteenth yeare of the Reigne of the late KING our most deare and most entirely beloved Brother of ever blessed memory entituled an act for the establishing articles and orders for the regulating and better goverment of his Majesties navie ship of warr and forces by Sea, and not otherwise. saving onely that it shall and may

Provided not to hold plea of offence done upon the sea or havens rivers &c. by any in actall service on board ships acting by immediate commission from the King or high admirall.

But he shall be proceeded against by commission according to Hen. 28th 8th from the high Admirall 13 ch : 2 :

may be lawfull for you upon any such Captaine or Commander refuseing or neglecting to execute or upon his negligence or under execution of any the written orders he shall receave from you for our servise and the service of our said Territory and Dominion to suspend him the said Captaine or Commandor from the exercise of his said office of commandor and comitt him into safe custody either on board his owne ship or else where at the discretion of you in order to his being brought to answer for the same by commission either under our great seale of England or from our said High Admirall as is before expressed. In which case our will and pleasure is that the Capt. or commandor so by you suspended shall during such his suspention and commitment be sucseeded in his said office by such Commission or warrent officer of our said ship appointed by our selfe or our high Admirall of England for the time being as by the known practice and discipline of our Navy doth and ought next to succeed him, as in case of death sickness or other ordnary disability hapning to the Commandor of any of our shipps and not otherwise You standing also accountable unto us for the truth and Importance of the crimes and misdemeanors for which you shall so proceed to the suspending of such our said Capt. and Commandors Provided also that all disorders and misdemeanors committed on shoar by any Capt. Commander Leift. Master or other officers seamen Soldier or person whatsoever belonging to any of our shipps of warr or other Vessells acting by immediate commission or warrant from our selfe under the seale of our Admiralty or from our high Admirall of England for the time being may be tryed and punished according to the Laws of that place where any such disorder offences and misdemeanors shall be so committed on shoare notwithstanding such offender be in our actuall servis and boarn in our bay on board any such our Ships of warr or other Vessells acting by immediate commission or warrant from our selfe

Power to the Govr. to suspend commanders refuseing or neglecting to execute.

Commit him

Suspended commander succeded by the nex comission officer.

Govr. accountable for the truth and importance of the suspended officers crimes.

Proviso for such misdemrs on shoare to be tryed by the laws of the place.

Notwithstanding the offender be in actuall servis in any such ship acting

or

or our high Admirall as aforesaid so as he shall not receave any protection for the avoiding of iustice for such offences committed on shoar from any pretence of his being imployed in our servis at Sea. AND wee do likewise give and grant unto you full power and authority by and with the advice and consent of our said Councill to agree with the plainters and Inhabitants of our said Territory and Dominion concerning such lands tenements and heriditiments as now are or hereafter shall be in our power to dispose of and them to grant unto any person or persons for such terms & under such moderate quit rents services and acknowledgments to be thereupon reserved unto us as shall be appointed by us which said grants are to pass and be sealed by our seale of New-England (being entred upon record by such officer and officers as you shall appoint thereunto) shall be good and effectuall in Law against us our heirs and successors. AND wee give you full power & authority to appoint so many FAIRES Marts and markets as you with the aduice of our said Council shall think fit As LIKEWISE to order and appoint within our said Territory such and so many ports, Harbours, Bays, Havens and other places for the conveniency and security of shipping and for the better loading and unloading of goods and merchandize as by you with the aduice and consent of our Councill shall be thought fitt and necessary and in them or any of them to erect constitute and appoint Customehouses, warehouses and officers relating thereunto, and them to alter and change place and displace from time to time as with the advice aforesaid shall thought fitt. And above all things wee do by these presents will and command you to take all possable care for the discountenance of vice and incuragement of vertue and good liveing that by such example the Infidells may be invited & desire to partake of the Christian relidgion. AND for the greater ease and satisfaction of our loving subjects in matters of Relidgion WEE do hereby will require and command that liberty of conscience

Govr. & council to agree with the planters for lands of the Kings

To grant them for terms and qitt rents to be appointed by his Majestie.

Grants under New England scale entred upon record

Govr. & councill to appoint faires and markets ports harbours.

Customehouses warehouses &c. officers to alter or displace.

Vice discountenanced

conscience be allowed to all persons and that such espetially as shall be conformable to the rights of the Church of England be perticulerly countenanced and incuraged And for as much as pursuant to the Laws and Customs of our Colony of the Massathusets Bay and of our other Colony and Provinces aforementioned divers marriages have been made & performed by the Magestrates of our said Territory our Royall will and pleasure is hereby to confirme all the said Marriages and to direct that they be held good and valued in the same manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever as if they had been made and contracted according to the Laws established within our kingdome of England And wee do hereby require and command all officers & ministers civill and Millitary and all other inhabitants of our said Territory and Dominion to be obedient Aiding and Assisting unto you the said Sr. Edmund Andros in the execution of this our commission and of the power and authority herein mentioned and upon your death or absence out of our said Territory unto the Commander in chief to whome we do therefore by these presents give and grant to all and singular the powers and authorities aforesaid to be exercised and enjoyed by him during our pleasure or untill your arrivall within our said Territory and Dominion And if in case of such death or absence, there be no person upon the place appointed by us to be commander in Chief our will and pleasure is that the then present Council of our said Territory aforesaid do take upon them the administration of the Goverment and exercise this Commission and the Severall powers and authorities herein contained and that the first counciller who shall be at time of your death or absence residing within the same do preside in our said Councill with such power and preheminances as any Forine president hath used and enjoyed within our said Territory or any other our plaintations in America untill our pleasure is further known or your arrivall aforesaid. And Lastly our will and pleasure is that our Commission bearing date the seaven and twentieth

Liberty of conscience Church of England perticulerly encuraged

Marriages confirmed

Officers civil & Millitary inhabitants to be obedient aiding and assisting

Powers to the commander in cheife upon the Govrs. death

Where no commandr. in cheife appointed the present councill to govern.

First councellor to preside

Commission 27th Sepr. 85.

Day

to cease from publication of this.

Day of September in the first yeare of our Reigne constituting our trusty and well beloved Joseph Dudley Simon Broadstreet William Stoughton Esqrs. and others to be our president and councill of our Territory and Dominion of New-England doe from the publication of these presents cease and become voide And that You the said Sr. Edmund Andros shall and may hold execute and enjoy the office and place of our Captain Generall and Governor in Cheif in and over our Territory and Dominion aforesaid with all its Rights members and Appurtenances whatsoever, Together with all and Singular the powers and authorities hereby granted unto you for and during our will and pleasure In Witness whereof wee have caused these our Letters to be made pattents Witness our selfe at Westminster the third day of June in the second yeare of our Reigne.

Per Breve De Privato Sigillo

BARKER

THE

REVOLUTION

IN

NEW-ENGLAND

JUSTIFIED,

AND THE

PEOPLE there VINDICATED

FROM THE

ASPERSIONS

Cast upon them by

Mr. JOHN PALMER,

In his PRETENDED ANSWER to the

DECLARATION

Published by the Inhabitants of BOSTON, and the Country adjacent, on the Day when they secured their late Oppressors, who acted by an ILLEGAL and ARBITRARY Commission from the late King JAMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A NARRATIVE of the PROCEEDINGS

OF

Sir EDMOND ANDROSSE and his Accomplices.

Who also acted by an ILLEGAL and ARBITRARY Commission from the late King JAMES, during his Government in NEW-ENGLAND.

By several GENTLEMEN who were of his COUNCIL.

Printed in the Year 1691.

BOSTON:

Re-printed and sold by ISAIAH THOMAS, near the MILL-BRIDGE. M,DCC,LXXIII.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 9.

TO THE

READER

IT is not with any design or desire unnecessarily to expose the late oppressors of that good protestant people which is in *New-England*, that the authors of the ensuing *vindication* have published what is herewith emitted. But the *agents* lately sent from thence could not be faithful to their trust, if when the people whom they represent are publicly (as well as privately) *aspersed*, they should not (either by themselves, or by furnishing some other with materials for such an undertaking) *vindicate* those who have been so deeply injured.

As for Mr. *Palmer* his account, which he calls *impartial*, he has wronged *New-England* thereby, in some other particulars besides those insisted on, in the subsequent *apology*. For he does endeavour to make the world believe that the *Massachusetts* refused to answer the *quo-warranto* prosecuted against their *charter*: Than which representation nothing can

can be more untrue or injurious. An account concerning that matter hath formerly (and more than once) been made public, in the which it is most truly affirmed, 'That when the *quo-warranto* was 'issued out against the governor and company of the '*Massachusetts* colony in *New-England* in the year '1683, the then King did by his declaration enjoin 'a few particular persons to make their defence at 'their own charge, without any public stock; which 'shewed that there was a resolution to take away 'that charter: yet the governor and company ap-'pointed an attorney to answer to the *quo warranto*; 'but the suit was let fall in the court of *king's-bench*, 'and a new suit began by *scire facias* in court of '*chancery*, where time was not allowed to make de-'fence. The former attorney for that colony brought 'several merchants to testify that in the time allowed '(which was from *April* 16, till *June* 18) it was im-'possible to have a new letter of attorney returned 'from *New-England*. The then lord keeper *North* 'replied, that no time ought to be given. So was 'judgment entered against them before they could 'possibly plead for themselves' By this the impartial reader may judge what ingenuity and veracity is in Mr. *Palmer's* account.

There is lately come forth another *scandalous pamphlet*, called *New-England's faction discovered.* The author has not put his name to it: But it is supposed to be written by a certain person known to be a prodigy for impudence and lying. The reflection in it not only on *New-England* in general, but on particular persons there as well as in *England*, are so notoriously and maliciously false, as that it must needs be much beneath a great mind to take notice of such *latrations*, or to answer them any otherwise than with contempt. When we are treated with the buffoonry

buffoonry and railery of such ungenteel pens, it is good to remember the old saying, *magnum contumeliæ remedium, negligentia.*

As for what Mr. *Palmer* does in his preface insinuate concerning the *New-Englanders* being *common-wealths-men, enemies to monarchy, and to the church of England,* that is such a *sham* as every one sees through it.

There are none in the world that do more fully concur with the *doctrine* of the church of *England* contained in the 39 articles, than do *the churches in New-England,* as is manifest from the confession of their faith published in the year 1680. Only as to *liturgy and ceremonies* they differ; for which cause alone it was that they, or their fathers, transported themselves into that *American desert,* as being desirous to worship God in that way which they thought was most according to the scriptures. The *platform of church discipline* consented unto by the elders and messengers of the churches assembled in a general synod at *Cambridge* in *New-England* in the year 1647, sheweth that they are as to *church-government* for the *congregational way.* The judiciously learned Mr. *Philip Nye* has long since evinced that no form of church-government (no not that which is episcopal) is more consistent with monarchy, or with the king's supremacy, than that of the *way-congregational,* which some will needs call *independent.* But there are a sort of men, who call those that are for *English* liberties, and that rejoice in the government of their present majesties, king *William* and queen *Mary,* by the name of *republicans,* and represent all such as enemies of monarchy and of the church. It is not our single opinion only, but we can speak it on behalf of the generality of their majesties subjects in *New-England,* that they believe (without

(without any diminution to the glory of our former princes) the *English* nation was never so happy in a *king*, or in a *queen*, as at this day. And the God of heaven, who has set them on the throne of these kingdoms, grant them long and prosperously to reign.

E. R.

S. S.

THE REVOLUTION IN NEW-ENGLAND JUSTIFIED.

THE doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, which a sort of men did of late, when they thought the world would never change, cry up as divine truth, is by means of the happy *revolution* in these nations, exploded, and the assertors of it become ridiculous.

No man does really approve of the *revolution* in *England*, but must justify that in *New-England* also; for the latter was effected in compliance with the former, neither was there any design among the *people in New-England* to reassume their ancient *charter-government*, until his present majesty's intended descent into *England*, to rescue the nation from *slavery* as well as *popery*, was known to them (for indeed to have attempted it before that would have been madness.) They considered that the men then usurping government in *New-England* were king *James*'s creatures, who had invaded both the *liberty and property of English protestants* after such a manner as perhaps the

the like was never known in any part of the world where the *English* nation has any government; and the *commission* which they had obtained from the late king *James* was more illegal and arbitrary, than that granted to *Dudley* and *Empson* by king *Henry* 7th. .Or than it may be was ever before given to any by king *James* himself, or by any one that ever swayed the *English* scepter, which was a grievance intolerable; and yet they desired not to make themselves judges in a case which so nearly concerned them, but instead of harsher treatment of those who had tyrannized over them, they only secured them that they might not betray that country into the hands of *the late king*, or of king *Lewis*, which they had reason enough to believe (considering their characters and dispositions) they were inclined to do. They designed not to revenge themselves on their enemies, which they could as easily have done as a thousand men are able to kill one, and therefore when they secured their persons, they declared (as in their *declaration* printed at *Boston* in *New-England* is to be seen) that they would *leave it to the king and parliament of* England, *to inflict what punishment they should think meet for such criminals.* Their seizing and securing the governor, was no more than was done in *England*, at *Hull*, *Dover*, *Plymouth*, *&c.* that such a man as Mr. *John Palmer* should exclaim against it, is not to be wondered at, seeing he was one of the governor's tools, being of his council, made a judge by him, and too much concerned in some illegal and arbitrary proceedings; but his confidence is wonderful, that he should publish in print that neither himself nor sir *Edmund Androsse*, nor others of them who had been secured by the people in *New-England*, *had any crimes laid to their charge*, whereas the foresaid declaration emitted the very day they were secured, doth plainly set forth their crimes. And in the preface of his book he hath these words; viz.

'*We appeared at the council-board where the worst of our* '*enemies, even the very men who had so unjustly imprisoned and* '*detained us, had nothing to say or object against us.*'—

By these enemies he speaks of, we suppose he means those who were lately sent as *agents* from *Boston* in *New-England*; he hath therefore necessitated us to inform the world, that the following objections (though not by his enemies, yet) by those *agents* presented at the council-board.

'*Matters*

'*Matters objected against Sir* EDMUND ANDROSSE, *Mr.* 'JOSEPH DUDLEY, *Mr.* PALMER, *Mr.* RANDOLPH, *Mr.* 'WEST, *Mr.* GRAHAM, *Mr.* FAREWELL, *Mr.* SHERLOCK '*and others, as occasions of their imprisonment in* New-'England.

'1. IT is objected against Sir *Edmund Androsse*, that he being governor of the *Massachusetts* colony, after notice 'of his present Majesty's intention to land in *England*, issued 'out a proclamation, requiring all persons to oppose any de-'scent of such as might be authorized by him, endeavouring to 'stifle the news of his landing, and caused him that brought 'this king's declaration thither to be imprisoned, as bringing a 'seditious and treasonable paper.

'2. That in the time of his government, he without form or 'colour of legal authority made laws destructive of the liberty 'of the people, imposed and levied taxes, threatened and im-'prisoned them that would not be assisting to the illegal levies, 'denied that they had any property in their lands without 'patents from him, and during the time of actual war with the '*Indians*, he did supply them with amunition, and several *In-'dians* declared, that they were incouraged by him to make 'war upon the *English*, and he discountenanced making de-'fence against the *Indians*.

'3. As to all the other persons imprisoned, they were ac-'complices and confederates with Sir *Edmund Androsse*, and 'particularly Mr. *Dudley*, Mr. *Randolph*, and Mr. *Palmer* 'were of his council, and joined with him in his arbitrary laws 'and impositions, and in threatening and in punishing them who 'would not comply. Mr. *West* was his secretary, and guilty 'of great extortion, and gave out words which shewed himself 'no friend to the *English*. Mr. *Graham* was his attorney at 'one time, and Mr. *Farewell* at another, both concerned in il-'legal proceedings destructive of the property of the subject. 'Mr. *Farewell* prosecuted them who refused to comply with 'the illegal levies, and Mr. *Graham* brought several writs of 'intrusion against men for their own land, and Mr. *Sherlock*, 'another person imprisoned, though not named in the order, 'acted there for some years as an high sheriff, though he was 'a stranger in the country, and had no estate there, during his 'sherievalty he impannelled juries of strangers, who had no 'freehold in that country, and extorted unreasonable fees.'

These

These particulars were not only presented at the *council-board*, but there read before the right honorable the lords of the committee of foreign plantations on *April* 17, 1690. when Sir *Edmund Androsse*, Mr. *Palmer*, and the rest concerned were present, and owned that they had received copies thereof from Mr. *Blaithwaite*. It is true that the paper then read was not signed by the agents aforesaid, for which reason (as we understand, nor could it rationally be otherwise expected) the matter was dismissed without an hearing; nevertheless the gentlemen who appeared as council for the *New-England* agents, declared, that they were ready to prove every article of the objections; which shall now be done.

1. That Sir *Edmund Androsse*, with others whom the people in *New-England* seized, and secured did, *after notice of his present majesty's intended descent into* England *to deliver the nation from popery and arbitrary power, to their utmost oppose that glorious design*, is manifest by the *proclamation* printed and published in *New-England*, *Jan.* 10, 1688, signed by Sir *Edmund Androsse* and his deputy secretary *John West*, in which King *James*'s proclamation of *October* 16, 1688, is recited and referred unto. Sir *Edmund's* proclamation begins thus; 'Whereas his majesty has been graciously pleased by his 'royal letter bearing date the 16th of *October* last past, to sig- 'nify that he hath undoubted advice that a great and sudden '*invasion from Holland*, with an armed force of foreigners and 'strangers will be speedily made in an hostile manner upon his 'majesty's kingdom of *England*, and that although some false '*pretences relating to liberty, property, and religion*,' &c. And 'then he concludes thus—— 'All which it is his majesty's 'pleasure should be made known in the most public manner to 'his loving subjects within this his territory and dominion of '*New-England*, that they may be the better prepared to *resist* '*any attempts* that may be made by his majesty's enemies *in* '*these parts*, I do therefore hereby charge and *command all* '*officers civil and military, and all other his majesty's loving* '*subjects within this his territory* and dominion aforesaid, to be 'vigilant and careful in their respective places and stations, and '*that upon the approach of any fleet or foreign force, they be* '*in readiness, and use their utmost endeavours to hinder any* '*landing or invasion* that may be intended to be made within 'the same.'

2. And that they used all imaginable endeavours *to stifle the news of the prince's landing in England*, appears not only from the

the testimony of the people there, and from the letters of those now in government at *Boston*, but from the deposition of Mr. *John Winslow*, who affirms that being in *Nevis* in *February* 1688, a ship arrived there from *England* with *the prince of Orange's* declaration, and intelligence of the happy change of affairs in *England*, which he knew would be *welcome news in New-England*, and therefore was at the charge to procure a written copy of that princely declaration with which he arrived at *Boston* about a fortnight before the *revolution* there. He concealed the declaration, from Sir *Edmund*, because he believed if it came into his possession, he would keep the people in ignorance concerning it; but intimation being given that Mr. *Winslow* had brought with him the declaration, he was therefore committed to prison (though he offered two thousand pounds bail) for bringing into the country *a treasonable paper*. For the satisfaction of such as are willing to be informed in this matter, Mr. *Winslow's* testimony as it was given upon oath before a magistrate in *New-England* shall be here inserted. It is as follows, viz.

'JOHN WINSLOW, aged twenty-four years, 'or thereabouts, testifieth and saith, that he being in *Nevis*, 'some time in *February* last past, there came in a ship from 'some part of *England* with the prince of *Orange*'s declara- 'tions, and brought news also of his happy proceedings in *En- 'gland* with his entrance there, which was very welcome news 'to me, and I knew it would be so to the rest of the people in '*New-England*; and I being bound thither, and very willing to 'carry such good news with me, gave four shillings six pence 'for the said declarations, on purpose to let the people in *New- 'England* understand what a speedy deliverance they might 'expect from arbitrary power. We arrived at *Boston* harbour 'the fourth day of *April* following, and as soon as I came home 'to my house, Sir *Edmund Androsse* understanding I brought 'the prince's declarations with me, sent the sheriff to me; so I 'went along with him to the governor's house, and as soon as I 'came in, he asked me why I did not come and tell him the 'news. I told him I thought it not my duty, neither was it 'customary for any passenger to go to the governor when the 'master of the ship had been with him before, and told him the 'news; he asked me where the declarations I brought with me 'were, I told him I could not tell, being afraid to let him have 'them, because he would not let the people know any news. 'He told me I was a saucy fellow, and bid the sheriff carry me away

'away to the justices of the peace, and as we were going, I told 'the sheriff, I would choose my justice, he told me, no, I must go 'before doctor *Bullivant, one pickt on purpose* (as I judged) *for* 'the *business*; well I told him, I did not care who I went 'before, for I knew my cause good, so soon as I came in, two 'more of the justices dropt in, *Charles Lidget* and *Francis* '*Foxcroft*, such as the former, *fit for the purpose*, so they 'asked me for my papers, I told them I would not let them 'have them by reason they kept all the news from the people, 'so when they saw they could not get what I bought with my 'money, they sent me to prison for bringing *traiterous and* '*treasonable libels* and papers of news, notwithstanding, I of-'fered them security to the value of two thousand pounds.

'*Boston* in *New-England*,
Feb. 4. 1689. sworn before ELISHA HUTCHINSON assistant.' JOHN WINSLOW.'

By these things it appears that it was absolutely necessary for the people in *New-England* to seize Sir *Edmund Androsse* and his accomplices, that so they might secure that territory for their present majesties king *William* and queen *Mary*.

3. That Sir *Edmund Androsse*, &c. did *make laws destructive to the liberty of the subjects*, is notoriously known, for they made what laws they pleased *without any consent of the people, either by themselves or representatives*, which is indeed to *destroy the fundamentals of the English* and to *erect a French government*. We cannot learn that the like was ever practised in any place where the *English* are planters, but only where Sir *Edmund Androsse* hath been governor: For whereas in *New-England* by constant usage under their charter government, the inhabitants of each town did assemble as occasion offered to consider of what might conduce to the welfare of their respective towns, the relief of the poor, or the like, Sir *Edmund Androsse, with a few of his council*, made a law prohibiting any town-meeting except once a year, *viz.* on the third Monday in *May*. The inhabitants of the country were startled at this law, as being apprehensive the design of it was to prevent the people in every town from meeting to make complaints of their grievances. And whereas by constant usage any person might remove out of the country at his pleasure, a law was made that no man should do so without the governor's leave. And all fishing boats, coasters, *&c.* were to enter into a thousand pounds bond

bond, whereby fees were raised for himself and creatures. This law could not pass at *Boston*, because many of Sir *Edmund*'s council there opposed it; but then a *juncto* of them meeting at *New-York*, passed it; and after that law was made, how should any dissatisfied persons ever obtain liberty to go for *England* to complain of their being oppressed by *arbitrary governors*?

4. But besides all this, they made laws for the *levying monies without the consent of the people either by themselves or by an assembly*; for in order to the supporting their own government, they did by an act bearing date *March* 3, 1686, raise considerable sums of money on the king's subjects in that part of his dominions, *viz.* a penny in the pound on all estates personal or real, twenty pence *per* head as poll money, a penny in the pound for goods imported, besides an excise on wine, rum and other liquors.

It hath indeed been pleaded that all this was but what the laws of the country before the change of the government did allow. But this is vainly pretended, for there was no such law in force at the time when these sums were levied, the former laws which did authorize it, were repealed *October* 10, 1683, some years before Sir *Edmund Androsse* and his accomplices had invaded the rights and liberties of the people there. Moreover, in those parts of the country where there were never any such laws in force, particularly in *Plymouth* colony, this money was levied, which they heavily complained of. Yet further, in another act dated *Feb.* 15, 1687, they did without any colour of ancient law make an additional duty of impost and excise, which raised the duty, some ten shillings, some twenty shillings *per* pipe on wines, and so on other things. Nay they levied monies on *Connecticut* colony contrary to their charter, which was never vacated, than which nothing more illegal and arbitrary could have been perpetrated by them.

5. They did not only act according to these illegal taxes, but they did *inflict severe punishment on those true English men who did oppose their arbitrary proceedings*, as shall be made to appear in many instances. When the inhabitants of *Ipswich* in *New-England* were required to choose a commissioner to tax that town, some principal persons there that could not comply with what was demanded of them, did modestly give their reasons, for which they were committed to goal, as guilty of high misdemeanours, and denied an *habeas corpus*, and were obliged to answer it at a court of *oyer* and *terminer* at *Boston*.

And

And that they might be sure to be found guilty, *jurors* were picked of such as were no freeholders, nay of strangers; the prisoners pleading *the privileges of Englishmen* not to be taxed without their own consent, they were told that *the laws of* England *would not follow them to the end of the earth*, they meant the privileges of the English law, for the penalties they resolved should follow them *quo jure quâque injuriâ*. And why should they insist on, and talk of the privileges of Englishmen, when it had been declared in the governor's council, *that the king's subjects in* New-England *did not differ much from slaves, and that the only difference was, that they were not bought and sold?* But to go on with the matter before us; in as much as the prisoners mentioned had asserted their *English* liberties, they were severely handled, not only imprisoned for several weeks, but fined and bound to their good behaviour; Mr. *John Wise* was fined fifty pounds besides costs of court, deprived of the means of his subsistance, and gave a thousand pounds bond for good behavior. And Mr. *John Appleton* was fined fifty pounds and to give a thousand pounds bond for good behavior, and moreover declared incapable to bear office, besides unreasonable fees. After the same manner did they proceed with several others belonging to *Ipswich*. Likewise the towns men of *Rowley*, *Salisbury*, *Andover*, &c. had the same measure. And the king's subjects were not only oppressed thus in the *Massachusetts* colony, but in *Plymouth*. For when *Shadrach Wildboar* the town-clerk of *Taunton* in *New-England* did, with the consent of the town, sign a modest paper signifying their not being free to raise money on the inhabitants without their own consent by an assembly, the honest man was for this committed close prisoner, and after that punished with a fine of twenty marks and three months imprisonment, and bound to find sureties by recognizance to appear the next court, and to be of the good behaviour. As to the matter of fact, the persons concerned in *these illegal and arbitrary judgments* will not have the face to deny them; if they do, there are *affidavits* now in *London* which will evince what hath been related when ever there shall be occasion for it.

It is a vanity in Mr. *Palmer*, to think that he hath answered this by affirming, but not proving, that the *Ipswich men* assembled themselves in a *riotous manner*; for that saying of his is very false. The world knows that *New-England* is not the only place where honest men have in these late days been proceeded against as guilty of *riots*, when they never deserved such

a censure any more than these accused by Mr. *Palmer*. But the truth of what hath been thus far related is confirmed by the following *affidavits*.

'Complaints of great wrongs done under the ill govern-
'ment of Sir *Edmund Androsse* governor in *New-England*, in
'the year 1687.

'We *John Wise*, *John Andrews*, *senior*, *Robert Kinsman*,
'*William Goodhue*, *junior*, all of *Ipswich* in *New-England*, in
'the county of *Essex*, about the 22d day of *August*, in the
'year above named, were with several principal inhabitants of
'the town of *Ipswich* met at Mr. *John Appleton's*, and there
'discoursed and concluded that it was not the town's duty any
'way to assist that ill method of raising money without a gene-
'ral assembly, which was apparently intended by abovesaid Sir
'*Edmund* and his council, as witness a late act issued out by
'them for such a purpose. The next day in a general town-
'meeting of the inhabitants of *Ipswich*; we the above named
'*John Wise*, *John Andrews*, *Robert Kinsman*, *William Good-*
'*hue* with the rest of the town then met (none contradicting)
'gave our assent to the vote then made.

'The ground of our trouble, our crime was the copy trans-
'mitted to the council, *viz.* At a legal town meeting *August* 23.
'Assembled by virtue of an order from *John Usher*, Esq;
'treasurer for choosing a commissioner to join with the select-
'men, to assess the inhabitants according to an act of his excel-
'lency the governor and council for laying of rates; the town
'then considering that the said act doth infringe their liberty,
'as free born English subjects of his majesty by interfering with
'the statute laws of the land, by which it was enacted that no
'taxes should be levied upon the subjects without consent of an
'assembly chosen by the freeholders for assessing of the same,
'they do therefore vote that they are not willing to choose a
'commissioner for such an end without said privilege; and
'moreover consent not that the select-men do proceed to lay
'any such rate until it be appointed by a general assembly con-
'curring with the governor and council. We the complainants
'with Mr. *John Appleton* and *Thomas French* all of *Ipswich*
'were brought to answer for the said vote out of our own county,
'thirty or forty miles into *Suffolk*, and in *Boston* kept in goal,
'only for contempt and high misdemeanors as our *mittimus*
'specifies, and upon demand, denied the privilege of an *habeas*
'*corpus*, and from prison over-ruled to answer at a court of *oyer*
'and *terminer* in *Boston* aforesaid. Our judges were Mr.
Joseph

'*Joseph Dudley* of *Roxbury* in *Suffolk* in *New-England*, Mr. '*Stoughton* of *Dorchester*, *John Usher* of *Boston*, treasurer, 'and *Edward Randolph*. He that officiates as clerk and at- 'torney in the case is *George Farewell*.

'The jurors only twelve men and most of them (as is said) 'non-freeholders of any land in the colony, some of them 'strangers and foreigners, gathered up (as we suppose) to serve 'the present turn. In our defence was pleaded the repeal of 'the law of assessment upon the place. Also the *Magna* '*Charta* of *England*, and the statute laws that secure the sub- 'jects properties and estates, *&c.* To which was replied by 'one of the judges, the rest by silence assenting, that we must 'not think the laws of *England* follow us to the ends of the 'earth, or whether we went. And the same person (*John* '*Wise* abovesaid testifies) declared in open council upon ex- 'amination of said *Wise*; Mr. *Wise* you have no more privi- 'leges left you, than not to be sold for slaves, and no man in 'council contradicted. By such laws our trial and trouble 'began and ended. Mr. *Dudley* aforesaid chief judge, to close 'up the debate and trial, trims up a speech that pleased himself '(we suppose) more than the people. Among many other re- 'markable passages, to this purpose, he bespeaks the jury's 'obedience, who (we suppose) were very well preinclined, *viz.* 'I am glad, says he, there be so many worthy gentlemen of the 'jury so capable to do the king service, and we expect a good 'verdict from you, seeing the matter hath been so sufficiently 'proved against the criminals. Note, the evidence in the case 'as to the substance of it, was that we too boldly endeavoured 'to persuade ourselves we were English men, and under privi- 'leges; and that we were all six of us aforesaid at the town 'meeting of *Ipswich* aforesaid, and as the witness supposed, we 'assented to the foresaid vote, and also that *John Wise* made a 'speech at the same time, and said we had a good God, and a 'good king, and should do well to stand for our privileges— 'Jury returns us all six guilty, being all involved in the same 'information. We were remanded from verdict to prison, and 'there kept one and twenty days for judgment. There with 'Mr. *Dudley*'s approbation, as judge *Stoughton* said, this 'sentence was passed, *viz.*

'*John Wise*, suspended from the ministerial functions, fine 'fifty pound, money, pay cost, a thousand pound bond for the 'good behaviour one year.

'*John*

'*John Appleton* not to bear office, fine 50l. money, pay cost, 'a thousand pound for the good behavior one year.

'*John Andrews* not to bear office, fine 30l. money, pay cost, 'five hundred pound bond for the good behavior one year.

'*Robert Kinsman* not to bear office, fine 20l. money, pay 'cost, five hundred pound bond for the good behavior one 'year.

'*William Goodhue* not to bear office, fine 20l. money, pay 'cost, five hundred pound bond for the good behavior one 'year.

'*Thomas French* not to bear office, fine 15l. money, pay 'cost, five hundred pound bond for the good behavior one 'year.

'The total fees of this case upon one single information de- 'manded by *Farewell* abovesaid, amount to about a hundred 'and one pound seventeen shillings, who demanded of us singly 'about sixteen pound nineteen shillings six pence, the cost of 'prosecution, the fines added make up this, viz. Two hundred 'eighty and six pounds seventeen shillings, money.

Summa Totalis 286l. 17s.

'To all which we may add a large account of other fees of 'messengers, prison charges, money for bonds and transcripts of 'records, exhausted by those ill men one way and another to 'the value of three or fourscore pounds, besides our expence of 'time and imprisonment.

'We judge the total charge for one case and trial under one 'single information involving us six men abovesaid in expence 'of time and monies of us and our relations for our necessary 'succour and support to amount to more, but no less than 400l. 'money.

'Too tedious to illustrate more amply at this time, and so 'we conclude. *John Wise*, *John Andrews* senior, *William* '*Goodhue*, junior, *Thomas French*, these four persons named, 'and *Robert Kinsman*.

'These four persons first named appeared the twentieth day 'of *December*, and *Robert Kinsman* appeared the one and 'twentieth day of *December*, 1689, and gave in their testimony 'upon oath before me *Samuel Appleton* assistant for the colo- 'ny of the *Massachusetts* in *New-England*.'

6. That those who were in confederacy with Sir *Edmund Androsse* for the enriching themselves on the ruins of *New-England*, did *invade the property* as well as liberty of the subject, is in the next place to be cleared, and we trust will be made

made out beyond dispute. When they little imagined that there should ever be such a *revolution* in *England* as that which by means of his present majesty this nation is blest with, they feared not to declare their sentiments to the inexpressible exasperation of the people whom they were then domineering over. They gave out, that *now their charter was gone, all their lands were the king's*, that themselves did represent the king, and that therefore men that would have any legal title to their lands must take *patents* of them, on such terms as they should see meet to impose. What people that had the spirits of Englishmen, could endure this? That when they had at *vast charges of their own conquered a wilderness*, and been in possession of their estates forty, nay sixty years, that now a parcel of strangers, some of them indigent enough, must come and inherit all that the people now in *New-England* and their fathers before them, had laboured for! Let the whole nation judge, whether these men were not driving on a French design, and had not fairly erected a French government. And that our adversaries may not insult and say, these are words without proof, we shall here subjoin the testimonies of the reverend Mr. *Higginson*, and several other worthy persons, given in upon oath, concerning this matter.

'Being called by those in present authority to give my testi-
'timony to the discourse between Sir *Edmund Androsse* and
'myself, when he came from the Indian war, as he passed
'through *Salem* going for *Boston* in *March* 1688–9, I cannot
'refuse it, and therefore declare as followeth, what was the
'substance of that discourse. Sir *Edmund Androsse* then
'governor being accompanied with the attorney-general *Graham*,
'secretary *West*, judge *Palmer*, the room being also full of
'other people, most of them his attendants, he was pleased to
'tell me, he would have my judgment about this question;
'*Whether all the lands in* New-England *were not the king's?*
'I told him I was surprized with such a question, and was not
'willing to speak to it; that being a minister, if it was a question
'about a matter of religion, I should not be averse, but this
'being a state matter, I did not look upon it as proper for me
'to declare my mind in it, therefore entreated again and again
'that I might be excused. Sir *Edmund Androsse* replied and
'urged me with much importunity, saying, Because you are a
'minister, therefore we desire to know your judgment in it, then
'I told him, if I must speak to it, I would only speak as a
'minister from scripture and reason, not medling with the law.

'He

'He said, the king's attorney was present there to inform what 'was law. I then said, I did not understand that the lands of '*New-England* were the king's, but the king's subjects, who 'had for more than sixty years had the possession and use of 'them by a twofold right warranted by the word of God. '1. By a right of just occupation from the grand charter in '*Genesis* 1st and 9th chapters, whereby God gave the earth to 'the sons of *Adam* and *Noah*, to be subdued and replenished. '2. By a right of purchase from the Indians, who were native 'inhabitants, and had possession of the land before the English 'came hither, and that having lived here sixty years, I did 'certainly know that from the beginning of these plantations our 'fathers entered upon the land, partly as a wilderness and *Va-'cuum Domicilium*, and partly by the consent of the Indians, 'and therefore care was taken to treat with them, and to gain 'their consent, giving them such a valuable consideration as 'was to their satisfaction, and this I told them I had the more 'certain knowledge of, because having learned the Indian 'language in my younger time, I was at several times made use 'of by the government, and by divers particular plantations as 'an interpreter in treating with the Indians about their lands, 'which being done and agreed on, the several townships and 'proportions of lands of particular men were ordered and settled 'by the government of the country, and therefore I did believe 'that the lands of *New-England* were the subjects properties, 'and not the king's lands. Sir *Edmund Androsse* and the rest 'replied, that the lands were the king's, and that he gave the 'lands within such limits to his subjects by a charter upon such 'conditions as were not performed, and therefore all the lands 'of *New-England* have returned to the king, and that the at-'torney general then present could tell what was law, who 'spake divers things to the same purpose as Sir *Edmund An-'drosse* had done, slighting what I had said, and vilifying the 'Indian title, saying, they were brutes, *&c.* and if we had pos-'sessed and used the land, they said we were the king's subjects, 'and what land the king's subjects have, they are the king's, 'and one of them used such an expression, *where-ever an En-'glishman sets his foot, all that he hath is the king's*, and more 'to the same purpose. I told them that so far as I understood, 'we received only the right and power of government from the 'king's charter within such limits and bounds, but the right of 'the land and soil we had received from God according to his 'grand charter to the sons of *Adam* and *Noah*, and with the

'consent

'consent of the native inhabitants as I had expressed before. 'They still insisted on the king's right to the land as before, 'whereupon I told them, I had heard it was a standing principle 'in law and reason, *nil dat qui non habet*; and from thence I 'propounded this argument, he that hath no right, can give no 'right to another, but the king had no right to the lands of '*America* before the English came hither, therefore he could 'give no right to them. I told them, I knew not of any that 'could be pleaded but from a Popish principle, that christians 'have a right to the lands of heathen, upon which the Pope as 'the head of the christians had given the *West-Indies* to the 'king of *Spain*, but this was disowned by all protestants. 'Therefore I left it to them to affirm and prove the king's title. 'They replied and insisted much upon that, that the king had a 'right by his subjects coming and taking possession of this 'land. And at last Sir *Edmund Androsse* said with indigna- 'tion, either you are subjects or you are rebels, intimating, as I 'understood him, according to the whole scope and tendency of 'his speeches and actions, that if we would not yield all the 'lands of *New-England* to be the king's, so as to take patents 'for lands, and to pay rent for the same, then we should not be 'accounted subjects but rebels, and treated accordingly. There 'were many other various replies and answers on both sides, 'but this is the sum and substance of that discourse.

JOHN HIGGINSON, aged seventy-four years.
STEPHEN SEAWALL, aged thirty-two years.

'*John Higginson*, minister in *Salem*, personally appeared 'before me, *December*, 24, 1689, and made oath to the truth of 'the abovesaid evidence.

JOHN HATHORNE, assistant.'

'Captain *Stephen Seawall* of *Salem* appeared before me, '*December* 24, 1689, and made oath to the truth of the above- 'said evidence.

JOHN HATHORNE, assistant.'

'*Joseph Lynde* of *Charlestown* in the county of *Middlesex* 'in *New-England*, being fifty-three years of age, testifieth and 'saith, that in the year 1687, Sir *Edmund Androsse* then go- 'vernor of *New-England* did enquire of him the said *Lynde* 'what title he had to his lands, who shewed him many deeds 'for land that he the said *Lynde* possessed, and particularly for

'land

'land that the said *Lynde* was certainly informed would quickly 'be given away from him, if he did not use means to obtain a 'patent for it. The deed being considered by Sir *Edmund* '*Androsse*, he said it was worded well, and recorded according 'to *New-England* custom or words to the same purpose. He 'further enquired how the title was derived, he the said *Lynde* 'told him, that he bought it of, had it of, his father-in-law in 'marriage with his wife, and his said father from *Charlestown*, 'and the said town from the general court grant of the *Massa-* '*chusetts-Bay*, and also by purchase from the natives, and he 'said, my title were nothing worth if that were all. At another 'time after shewing him an Indian deed for land, he said, that 'their hand was no more worth than a scratch of a bear's paw, 'under-valuing all my titles, though every way legal under our 'former charter government. I then petitioned for a patent for 'my whole estate, but Mr. *West* deputy secretary told me I 'must have so many patents as there were counties that I had 'parcels of land in, if not towns, finding the thing so chargeable 'and difficult I delayed, upon which I had a writ of intrusion 'served upon me in the beginning of the summer 1688, the 'copy whereof is in the *Charlestown* men's complaint, and was 'at the same time with that of Mr. *James Russell*'s, Mr. *Sea-* '*wall*'s and Mr. *Shrimpton*'s, it being for the same land in part 'that I shewed my title unto Sir *Edmund Androsse* as above, 'being myself and those I derived it from possessed, inclosed, 'and improved for about fifty years, at which time I gave Mr. '*Graham* attorney general three pounds in money, promising 'that if he would let the action fall I would pay court charges, 'and give him ten pound, when I had a patent compleated for 'that small parcel of land, that said writ was served upon me 'for, which I did because a Quaker that had the promise of it 'from the governor, as I was informed in the governor's 'presence should not have it from me, the said *Lynde*, having 'about seven acres more in the same common field or pasture, 'about a mile from his forty-nine acres near unto the land that 'the said governor gave unto Mr. *Charles Lidget*, of divers of 'my neighbours which I concluded must go the same way theirs 'went and therefore though desired to be patenteed by the said '*Lynde* with the forty-nine acres, he could not obtain a grant 'for it. About the same time Mr. *Graham* attorney general 'asked the said *Lynde* what he would do about the rest of his 'land, telling him the said *Lynde* that he would meet with the 'like trouble about all the rest of his lands that he possessed,

'and

'and were it not for the governor's going to *New-York* at this 'time, there would be a writ of intrusion against every man in 'the colony of any considerable estate, or as many as a cart 'could hold, and for the poorer sort of people said Sir *Edmund* '*Androsse* would take other measures, or words to the same 'purpose. The said *Lynde* further saith, That after judgments 'obtained for small wrongs done him, triable by their own laws 'before a justice of the peace, from whom they allowed no ap-'peals in small causes, he was forced out of his own county by 'writs of false judgment; and although at the first superiour 'court in *Suffolk*, the thing was so far opposed by judge '*Stoughton* as illegal, as that it was put by, yet the next term 'by judge *Dudley* and judge *Palmer*, the said *Lynde* was forced 'to answer *George Farewell* attorney aforesaid, then saying in 'open court in *Charlestown*, that all causes must be brought to '*Boston* in *Suffolk*, because there was not honest men enough 'in *Middlesex* to make a jury to serve their turns, or words to 'that purpose; nor did *Suffolk*, as appeared by their practice, 'for they made use of non-residents in divers cases there. I 'mention not any damage though it is great, but to the truth 'above written I the said *Lynde* do set my hand.

JOSEPH LYNDE.

'*Boston*, 14*th* of *January*, 1789-90.

'*Juratus coram me*, JOHN SMITH, Assistant.'

And that the practices of these men have been according to their principles, *destructive to the property of the subject*, is now to be declared. It is a thing too well known to be denied, that some of Sir *Edmund's council* begged (if they had not had secret encouragement no man believes they would have done so) those lands which are called *the commons* belonging to several townships, whereby *Plymouth*, *Lynn*, *Cambridge*, *Rhode-Island*, *&c.* would have been ruinated, had these men's projects taken effect. And not only the *commons* belonging to towns, but those lands which were the property of several particular persons in *Charlestown*, were granted from them. And *writs of intrusion* were issued out against Col. *Shrimpton*, *Mr. Samuel Seawall*, and we know not how many more besides, *that their lands might be taken from them under pretence of belonging to king* James. An island in the possession of *John Pittome* antiently appropriated to the maintenance of a *free-school*, was in this way seized. How such men can clear themselves

themselves from the guilt of *sacrilegious Oppression*, they had best consider. Mr. *Palmer* swaggers and hectors at a strange rate; for he hath these words, (*p.* 29.) ‘ *I should be glad to see* ‘ *that man who would bare-faced instance in one particular* ‘ *grant of any man's right or possession passed by Sir* Edmund ‘ Androsse *during his government*’—And what if we will shew him the men, that dare affirm as much or more than that? what will he do?

Me me adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum.

We will produce those that have said (and sworn) as much as all this comes to. For *John Pittome* hath upon oath declared, that *James Sherlock*, Sir *Edmund's Sheriff*, came on *Dear Island* on the 28th of *January* 1688, and turned him and his family afloat on the water when it was a snowy day, although he was tenant there to Col. *Shrimpton* and that the said *Sherlock* put two men (whom he brought with him) into possession of the said Island (as he said) *on behalf of King* James *the second.* Let him also know, that Mr. *Shepard* and Mr. *Burrill* of *Lynn*, and *James Russell*, Esq; of *Charlestown* in *New-England* have declared upon oath as followeth.

‘ *Jeremiah Shepard* aged forty-two years and *John Burrill* ‘ aged fifty-seven years, we whose names are subscribed being ‘ made choice of by the inhabitants of the town of *Lynn* in the ‘ *Massachusetts* colony in *New-England* to maintain their right ‘ to their properties and lands invaded by Sir *Edmund Androsse* ‘ governor, we do testify that (besides Sir *Edmund Androsse* ‘ his unreasonable demands of money by way of taxation, and ‘ that without an assembly, and deputies sent from our town ‘ according to ancient custom, for the raising of money or levying of rates) our properties, our honest and just and true titles ‘ to our land were also invaded, and particularly a great and ‘ considerable tract of land called by the name of the *Nahants*, ‘ the only secure place for the grazing of some thousands of our ‘ sheep, and without which our inhabitants could neither provide ‘ for their own families, nor be capacited to pay dues or duties ‘ for the maintenance of the publick, but (if dispossessed of) the ‘ town must needs be impoverished, ruined, and rendered miserable, yet this very tract of land being petitioned for by *Edward Randolph*, was threatened to be rent out of our hands, ‘ notwithstanding our honest and just pleas for our right to the ‘ said land, both by alienation of the said land to us from the ‘ original proprietors the Natives, to whom we paid our monies ‘ by way of purchase, and notwithstanding near fifty years

‘ peaceable

'peaceable and quiet possession and improvement, and also in-'closure of the said land by a stone wall, in which tract of land 'also two of our patentees were interested in common with us, '*viz.* Major *Humphreys*, and Mr. *Johnson*, yet *Edward Ran-'dolph* petitioning for the said land, Sir *Edmund the governor* 'did so far comply with his unreasonable motion, that we were 'put to great charges and expences for the vindication of our 'honest rights thereto, and being often before the governor Sir '*Edmund* and his council for relief, yet could find no favour of 'our innocent cause by Sir *Edmund*, *notwithstanding our pleas 'of purchase, ancient possession, improvement, inclosure, grant 'of the general court, and our necessitous condition*, yet he told 'us all these pleas were insignificant, and we could have no true 'title unless we could produce a patent from the king, neither 'had any person a right to one foot of land in *New-England* 'by virtue of purchase, possession or grant of courts, but if we 'would have assurance of our lands, we must go to the king for 'it, and get patents of it. Finding no relief (and the govern-'or having prohibited town-meetings, we earnestly desired li-'berty for our town to meet, to consult what to do in so difficult 'a case and exigency, but could not prevail. Sir *Edmund* 'angrily telling us that there was no such thing as a *town* in 'the country, neither should we have liberty so to meet, neither 'were our ancient town records (as he said) which we produced 'for the vindication of our titles to said lands worth a rush. 'Thus were we from time to time unreasonably treated, our 'properties, and civil liberties and privileges invaded, our mise-'ry and ruin threatened and hastened, till such time as our 'country groaning under the unreasonable heavy yoke of Sir '*Edmund*'s government were constrained forcibly to recover 'our liberties and privileges.

JEREMIAH SHEPARD,
JOHN BURRILL.

'*Jeremiah Shepard* minister, and *John Burrill*, lieutenant, 'both of *Lynn*, personally appeared before us, and made oath 'to the truth of this evidence, *Salem*, *Feb.* 3, 1689-90.

JOHN HATHORNE, } Assistants.'
JONATHAN CORWIN, }

'*James Russell*, Esq; on the behalf of the proprietors of the 'stinted pasture in *Charlestown*, and on his own personal ac-'count, declares as followeth, *viz.*

''That notwithstanding the answer made to Sir *Edmund An-*
'*drosse*,

'*drosse*, his demand by some gentlemen of *Charlestown* on the 'behalf of the proprietors, which they judged satisfactory, or at 'least they should have a further hearing and opportunity to 'make out their rights, there was laid out to Mr. *Lidget* ad- 'joining to his farm in *Charlestown* a considerable tract of land '(as it is said one hundred and fifty acres) which was of conside- 'rable value, and did belong to divers persons, which when it 'was laid out by Mr. *Wells*, there were divers bound-marks 'shewed by the proprietors, and some of them, and I had peti- 'tioned for a patent for my particular propriety, yet the whole 'tract was laid out to the said *Lidget*, who not only did cut 'down wood thereon without the right owner's consent, but ar- 'rested some for cutting their own wood, and so they were de- 'prived of any means to use or enjoy their own land. And not- 'withstanding there were about twenty acres of pasture land 'and meadow taken from the said *Russell*, and given to Mr. '*Lidget*, yet afterwards there was a *writ of intrusion* served 'upon a small farm belonging unto the said *Russell*, unto which 'the aforesaid pasture land did belong, and had been long im- 'proved by *Patrick Mark* his tenant, (and others good part 'thereof) above fifty years, so that to stop prosecution, the said '*Russell* was forced to petition for a patent, he having a tenant 'who was feared would comply in any thing that might have 'been to his prejudice, and so his land would have been con- 'demned under colour of law, and given away as well as his 'pastorage was without law. Further the said *Russell* com- 'plains, that he having an island in *Casco-bay*, called *Long- 'island*, which his honoured father long since bought of Mr. '*Walker*, and was confirmed to *James Russell* by the general 'court, and improved several years by Captain *Davis*, by 'mowing as tenant to the said *Russell*, and the said *Russell* 'hearing it was like to be begged away, caused his writ to be 'entered in the public records in Mr. *West's* office, which he 'paid for the recording of; notwithstanding Sir *Edmund An- 'drosse* ordered Captain *Clements* (as he said) to survey the 'same, and he shewed me a plat thereof, and said, if I had a 'patent for it, I must pay three pence *per* acre, it being 650 'acres. He was further informed, that if the said *Russell* 'would not take a patent for it, Mr. *Usher* should have it.

Per JAMES RUSSELL.

'*January* 30, 1689-90. *James Russell*, Esq; personally ap- 'peared before me, and made oath to the truth of what is before 'written.

'WILLIAM JOHNSON, assistant.'

Had

Had not an happy *revolution* happened in *England*, and so in *New-England*, in all probability those few ill men would have squeezed more out of the poorer sort of people there, than half their estates are worth, by *forcing them to take patents.* Major *Smith* can tell them, that an estate not worth 200l. had more than 50l. demanded for a patent for it. And if their boldness and madness would carry them out to oppress the rich after such a manner as hath been shewed, what might the poor look for? Nevertheless, their tyranny was beyond any thing that hath been as yet expressed: For if men were willing to bring their titles to their possessions to a legal trial, they were not only threatened, but fined and prosecuted, and used with barbarous cruelty. When some gentlemen in *Boston* resolved in a legal way to defend their title to an island there, Sir *Edmund*'s *Attorney* threatened that it might *cost them all that they are worth, and something besides*, as appears by the following affidavit, viz.

'The deposition of Captain *Daniel Turel*, and Lieutenant '*Edward Willis*, sworn, say, That upon a *Writ of Intrusion* 'being served on *Deer-Island*, belonging to the town of *Boston*, 'and let unto Colonel *Samuel Shrimpton* by the selectmen of 'the said town, the rent whereof being of long time appropria-'ted towards the maintenance of a free school in the town, we 'the deponents two of the select-men of the said town, do testify, 'That meeting with Mr. *James Graham* upon the town-house, 'and telling him, that if Colonel *Shrimpton* did decline to per-'sonate the case of the said island, we the select-men would. 'The said *Graham* said, Are *you* the men that will *stand suit* '*against the King?* We the deponents told him we would 'answer in behalf of the town. The said *Graham* replied, 'There was no town of *Boston*, nor was there any town in the 'country; we made answer we were a town, and owned so to 'be by Sir *Edmund Androsse*, governor, in the warrant sent us 'for the making a rate; then the said *Graham* told us, We 'might stand the trial if we would, but *bid us have a care what* '*we did*, saying, *it might cost us all we were worth, and some-*'*thing else too*, for ought he knew, and further these deponents 'say not.

DANIEL TUREL,
'*Jan.* 30, 1689. EDWARD WILLIS.

'Captain *Daniel Turel* and Lieutenant *Edward Willis* ap-'peared personally before me, and made oath to the truth of 'what is above written.

'WILLIAM JOHNSON, Assistant.'

One

One of Sir *Edmund's* council and creatures, petitioned for an island belonging to the town of *Plymouth*, and because the agents of the said town obtained a voluntary subscription from the persons concerned to bear the charge of the suit; they were treated as criminals, and against all law, illegally compelled to answer in another county, and not that where the pretended misdemeanours were committed. And Mr. *Wiswall* the minister of *Duxbury* having at the desire of some concerned transcribed a writing which tended to clear the right they had to the island in controversy, and also concerning the abovesaid voluntary subscription, both transcribed in the winter 1687. A messenger was sent, to bring him to *Boston* on the 21st *June*, 1688; he was then lame in both feet with the gout, fitter for a bed than a journey, therefore wrote to the governor, praying that he might be excused until he should be able to travel, and engaged that then he would attend any court, but the next week the cruel officer by an express order from Sir *Edmund Androsse*, forced him to ride in that condition, being shod with clouts instead of shoes; and when he came before the council he was there made to stand till the anguish of his feet and shoulders had almost overcome him; after he was dismissed from the council, the messenger came and told him, he must go to goal, or enter into bonds for his appearance at the next superior court held in *Boston*, and pay down 41. 2s. in silver. His sickness forced him to decline a prison, and to pay the money. At the next superior court he appeared in the same lame and sick condition, and the extremity of the weather cast him into such a violent fit of sickness, that he was in the judgment of others nigh unto death, and he himself thought that he should soon be out of their bonds, and at liberty to lay his information against his oppressors before the righteous Judge of the whole world. After all this having been forced a third time out of his own county and colony, near forty miles, he was delivered from the hands and humours of his tyrannical oppressors, who had exposed him to great difficulties, charges, and to 228 miles travel in journeying to and from *Boston*, directly opposite to the place where he ought to have been tried, had he been guilty of any of the *pretended misdemeanors*, none of which his worst enemies ever had the face to read in open court, or openly to charge him with to this day. Now shall such men as these talk of *barbarous usage* who have themselves been so inhumane?

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes!

7. As for Sir *Edmund Androsse* his *supplying the Indians with*

with amunition in the time of actual war with them, the following testimonies confirmed the people of *New-England* in the belief of it.

'*Lenox Beverley* aged about twenty-five years being sworn, 'saith, that he being soldier at *Pemyquid* the winter time 1688, 'where was Captain general Sir *Edmund Androsse*, knight, 'there came to the fort where Sir *Edmund Androsse* then was, 'two squaws, the one *Madocowandos's* sister, and the other '*Moxis's* wife (as was said) and two other Indian women that 'went along with them; they were in the fort with Sir *Ed-*'*mund* two days, and when they came forth they seemed to be 'half drunk, this deponent and *Peter Ripley* was commanded 'to guard these squaws from *Pemyquid* to *New-Harbour*, 'being in distance about two miles, and as we passed on the 'way *Madocowandos*'s sister laid down her burden in the snow 'and commanded the deponant to take it up, whereupon the 'deponant looked into the basket, and saw a small bag which 'he opened, and found it to be gunpowder, which he judged 'five pounds weight, and a bag of bullets of a greater weight, 'and the weight of the basket I took up, was as much as the 'deponent could well carry along, and the other three squaws 'had each one of them their baskets, which appeared rather to 'be of greater than lesser burden, than that the deponant carried, 'which were all of them loaden, and brought out of the fort, 'and *Madocowandos*'s sister said she had that powder of Sir '*Edmund*, and added, that she was to come again to him within 'four days.

Boston, *Aug.* 17, 1689. Sworn in council,

LENOX X BEVERLEY his mark.

'Attest. ISR. ADDINGTON, *Sec'ry.*'

'*Gabriel Wood* of *Beverly*, aged about twenty-four years, 'testifies, That being one of the soldiers that was out the last 'winter past, *Anno* 1688, in the eastward parts, and under the 'command of Sir *Edmund Androsse*, and being then at *Pemy-*'*quid* with him, was commanded by him the said Sir *Edmund*, 'together with so many more of the soldiers as made up two 'files to guard and safely conduct three Indian women from '*Pemyquid* aforesaid to *New Harbour*, which said Indian 'women were all laden, and to my certain knowledge one of the 'said women had with her in her said journey a considerable 'quantity of bullets, which she brought with her from *Pemy-*

'*quid*

' *quid* aforesaid, and to my best apprehension, she had also a ' considerable quantity of powder in a bag in her basket, but I ' did not see that opened, as I did see the bullets, neither dared ' I be very inquisitive, the rest of the soldiers in company with ' me seeing the Indians so supplied with amunition (as we all ' apprehended they were by our governor and captain-general ' Sir *Edmund Androsse* aforesaid) *we did very much question* ' *amongst ourselves, whether the said Sir* Edmund *did not* ' *intend the destruction of our army, and brought us thither* ' *to be a sacrifice to our heathen adversaries.*

' The mark of GABRIEL [A] WOOD.

' *Gabriel Wood* of *Beverly* in the county of *Essex*, personally appeared before me at *Salem* in *New-England, January* 29, 1689-90, and made oath to the truth of the abovesaid evidence.

' JOHN HATHORNE, Assistant.'

8. *That the Indians declared they were encouraged by Sir* Edmund Androsse *to make war upon the English*, is most certainly true, although the lying author of that *scandalous pamphlet*, called *New-England's faction discovered*, has the impudence to say, that it is *certainly false*. Two Indians, *Waterman* and *David*, testify that the *Maquas* Indians sent a messenger to *Pennicock*, to inform that Sir *Edmund Androsse* had been tampering to engage them to fight against the English. Another Indian called *Solomon Thomas*, affirmed, that Sir *Edmund* gave him a book, and that he said that book was better than the Bible, that it had in it the picture of the virgin *Mary*, and that when they should fight at the eastward, Sir *Edmund* would sit in his *Wigwam*, and say, *O brave Indians!* Another Indian named *Joseph* (who was in hostility against the English) bragged that the governor had more love for them than for the English. Another Indian named *John James*, did of his own voluntary mind declare to several in *Sudbury*, that Sir *Edmund Androsse* had hired the Indians to kill the English: The men to whom he thus expressed himself, reproved him, and told him that they believed he belied Sir *Edmund Androsse* and therefore they secured him, and complained to a justice of peace, by which means he was brought to *Boston*, but Sir *Edmund* instead of punishing was kind to the Indian, when as both the justice and the *Sudbury* man had (to use Mr. *Palmer's* phrase) *horrible*

horrible usage, by means whereof an alarm and terror run through the country, fearing some mischievous design against them. That this relation is not a feigned story, the ensuing testimonies make to appear

'The testimony of *Waterman*, and *David*, Indians, saith, 'that the *Maquas* sent a messenger to *Pennicok* to inform that 'the governor *Edmund Androsse* hired the *Maquas* to fight 'the English, and paid down to them one bushel of white 'wompon, and one bushel of black wompon, and three cart 'loads of merchants good, trucking cloath and cotton cloath, 'and shirt cloath, and other goods. The *Maquas* said, that the 'English were their good friends, and said, they would not fight 'them, for the English never wronged them, but the *Maquas* 'took the pay on the account of the *Maquas* helping the En-'glish to fight their enemies the last war.

DAVID's X mark.
WATERMAN's Q mark.

Attest.
CORNELIUS WALDO, *senior*
MOSES PARKER,
THOMAS READ.'

The two Indians above-mentioned *Waterman* and *David*, appeared the 4th day of *May* 1689, and to the council then sitting owned the above-written to be truth;

ISA. ADDINGTON, secretary.

Rochester in the king's province, *Sept.* 16, 1688. '*Samuel* '*Eldred, junior* of *Rochester* came before *Arthur Fenner* and '*John Fones*, esquires; two of his majesty's justices of the 'peace, and did declare upon oath, that on the evening before 'an Indian whom he had seized, by name of *Joseph*, did in an 'insulting and vaunting manner say, there was 500 at *Martin's* '*Vineyard*, 700 at *Nantucket*, and 400 at *Chappaquessot*, all 'very well armed, in a better manner than him the said *Samuel* '*Eldred*, and that our governor did not dare to disarm them for 'that the governor had more love for them, the said Indians, 'than for his majesty's subjects the English. The said Indian 'being brought before us, and examined, did confess the greatest 'part of what was sworn against him, and owned that he was 'one of them that were in hostility against the English in the late wars, upon which the said Indian was committed to goal.

'*Per* ARTHUR FENNER,
JOHN FONES.'

'The

'The testimony of *Joseph Graves* aged 46 years or there 'about, and *Mary Graves* about 30 years, of *John Rutter* aged 'about 40 years, witness that on the 2d day of *January* 1688, '*Solomon Thomas*, Indian, being at the house of *Joseph Graves*, 'in the town of *Sudbury*, said, that when the fight at the east-'ward should be, if the Indians had the better of it, as the En-'glish did retreat, the friend Indians were to shoot them down, 'but if the English get the day, we say nothing, and that in the 'spring *French and Irish would come to Boston*, as many, and 'all won Indians, for that was the first place that was to be de-'stroyed, and after that the country towns would be all won 'nothing. And further, the said *Solomon* said, that the gover-'nor had given him a book, which said governor said was better 'than the Bible, and all that would not turn to the governor's 'religion, and own that book, should be destroyed. In which 'book he the said *Thomas* said was the picture of our Saviour, 'and of the virgin *Mary* and of the twelve apostles; and the 'governor said, when we pray, we pray to the virgin *Mary*; and 'when the fight should be at the eastward, the governor would 'sit in his wigwam, and say, *O brave Indians!* Whereupon '*John Rutter* told the Indian, that he deserved to be hanged 'for speaking such things, but the Indian replied, it was all 'true. Upon the hearing this discourse, we resolved to come 'to *Boston*, and acquaint authority with it, but by reason of the 'sickness of *Joseph Graves*, we could not presently, but as 'soon as conveniently we could, we accordingly appeared at '*Boston* with our information, which the said *Joseph Graves* 'carried to Mr. *Bullivant* a justice of the peace.

JOSEPH GRAVES,
JOHN X RUTTER, *signum.*
MARY Y GRAVES, mark.

'*Boston*, *January* 28, 1689, *Joseph* and *Mary Graves* came 'and made oath to the above-written,

'Before me, WILLIAM JOHNSON, Assistant.'

That when the English secured some of the Indians mentioned, and brought them before Sir *Edmund Androsse*'s justices, they were basely and barbarously used for their pains, the following *affidavits* shew.

'*Sudbury* in *New-England*, *March* 22, 1688-9, '*Thomas* '*Browne*, aged about forty-four years, and *John Goodenow*, 'aged

'aged about fifty-four years, *John Growt*, senior, aged near 'seventy years, *Jacob Moore*, aged about forty-four years, '*Jonathan Stanhope*, aged about fifty-seven years, and *John* '*Parmiter*, aged about fifty years, all inhabitants of the town of '*Sudbury* aforesaid, do witness, that he heard *John James*, 'Indian, of his own voluntary mind, say, That the governor 'was a rogue, and had hired the Indians to kill the English, and 'in particular, had hired *Wohawhy* to kill Englishmen, and that 'the governor had given the said *Wohawhy* a gold ring, which 'was his commission, which gold ring the said *Wohawhy* sold 'to *Jonathan Prescott* for two shillings in money: Whereupon 'we replied, Sirrah, you deserve to be hanged for what you say. '*John James* the Indian replied, What you papist, all one 'governor. I speak it before governor's very face. This dis-'course of *John James*, Indian, was at the place, and on the 'day above-written.

THOMAS BROWNE,
JOHN GOODENOW,
JACOB MOORE,
JONATHAN STANHOPE,
JOHN PARMITER.

'*Thomas Browne* and *John Goodenow*, two of the sub-'scribers above, having received this declaration from *John* '*James* the Indian, we thought it our duty forthwith to inform 'authority, and did with the Indian presently go to *Watertown* 'to justice *Bond*, where the said *John James* did voluntarily 'give his testimony before the said justice *Bond*, which after he 'had taken, the said justice *Bond* ordered us the said *Thomas* '*Browne* and *John Goodenow* to make our appearance before 'the governor Sir *Edmund Androsse*, or one of the council 'with the Indian, which accordingly we did, when we came to 'the governor's house; after long waiting in a very wet and 'cold season, we were admitted unto the governor's presence, 'where we were detained until eleven or twelve o'clock at 'night, and after a very unkind treat, we humbly prayed his 'excellency, he would please to discharge us of the Indian, but 'he told us no, and joaked us, saying, we were a couple of brave 'men, and had the command, one of a troop of horse, and the 'other a company of foot, and could we not know what to do 'with a poor Indian? Further, he asked us what money we 'gave the Indian to tell us such news, and commanded us still 'to take care of the Indian till his pleasure was to call for us

'again,

'again, and this as we would answer it. Thus being severely 'chidden out of his presence, we were forced with the Indian to 'seek our quarters where we could find them. The next 'morning we were preparing to go home again to *Sudbury* '(being twenty miles or more) being *Saturday*, we were again 'sent for by the governor, by a messenger, to wait on the go-'vernor, with the Indian, which we did, and waited at the ex-'change or council-house in *Boston*, from nine o'clock in the 'morning till three of the clock in the afternoon, where in the 'face of the country we were made to wait upon the Indian with 'many squibs and scoffs that we met withal; at last we were 'commanded up before the governor and his council, where we 'were examined apart over and over, and about the sun-setting 'were granted leave to go home, it being the evening before 'the Sabbath.

THOMAS BROWN,
JOHN GOODENOW.'

'On Monday morning following, being the 25th of *March*, '1689, *Jacob Moore*, *Joseph Graves*, *Joseph Curtis*, *Joseph* '*Moore*, *Obadiah Ward*, were by *Thomas Larkin* as a mes-'senger fetched down to *Boston*, where after examination, '*Jacob Moore* was committed to close prison. *Joseph Moore*, '*Joseph Graves*, *Joseph Curtis*, and *Obadiah Ward* were sent 'home again, paying the said *Larkin* twelve shillings *per* man. 'On the next Monday morning after, being the first day of '*April* 1689, *Samuel Gookin* the sheriff of *Middlesex* and his 'deputy came up to *Sudbury*, and commanded *Thomas Browne*, '*John Goodenow* senior, *John Growt* senior, *Jonathan Stan-'hope*, *John Parmiter*, forthwith to appear at *Boston*, at Colonel '*Page's* house, but it being a wet and cold day, we were de-'tained at judge *Dudley's* house at *Roxbury*, where after long 'waiting, had the kindness shewn us, to have an examination 'every man apart before judge *Dudley*, judge *Stoughton*, Mr. '*Graham* and others, and were bound over to answer at the 'next superiour court to be held at *Boston*, what should there 'be objected against us upon his majesty's account. *Thomas* '*Browne*, *John Goodenow*, senior, *John Growt*, senior, were 'each of them bound over in three hundred pound bonds, and 'each man two sureties in three hundred pound bond a piece. '*John Parmiter* and *Jonathan Stanhope*, were bound in a hun-'dred pound a piece, besides the loss of our time and hindrance 'of our business, the reproach and ignominy of bond and im-prisonment,

' prisonment, we shall only take the boldness to give a true ac-
' count of what money we were forced to expend out of our own
' purses as followeth, to the sheriff, and other necessary charges.

	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Thomas Browne,	2	00	00	*Jacob Moore*,	3	00	00
J. Goodenow, sen.	2	00	00	*Jona. Stanhope*,	0	15	00
J. Growt, sen.	0	10	00	*John Parmiter*,	0	15	00
J. Rutter, jun.	3	05	00	*Joseph Graves*,	3	15	00
Joseph Curtis,	0	17	00				

' *Boston*, the 21st of *December*, 1689,

Jurat. cor.
' Isaac Addington, Assistant.

Thomas Browne,
John Goodenow,
Jacob Moore,
Jonathan Stanhope,
Joseph Curtis,
John Parmiter.'

Although no man does accuse Sir *Edmund* meerly upon Indian testimony, yet let it be duly weighed (the premises considered) whether it might not create suspicion and an astonishment in *the people of New-England*, in that he did not punish the *Indians* who thus charged him, but the English who complained of them for it. And it is certain, that some very good and wise men in *New-England* do verily believe that he was deeply guilty in this matter, especially considering what might pass between him and *Hope Hood* an Indian, concerning which Mr. *Thomas Danforth* the present deputy-governor at *Boston* in *New-England*, in a letter bearing date *April* 1, 1690, writeth thus:—

' The commander in chief of those that made this spoil, (i. e.)
' the spoil which was made in the province of *Maine* on the
' 18th of *March* last, is *Hope Hood* an Indian, one that was
' with sundry other Indians in the summer 1688 seized by some
' of Sir *Edmund's* justices and commanders in the province of
' *Maine*, and sent prisoners to *Boston*, Sir *Edmund* being then
' at the westward, where he continued absent many weeks;
' upon his return finding the Indians in prison, fell into a great
' rage against those gentlemen that had acted therein, declared
' his resolution to set them at liberty and calling his council
' together, was by some opposed therein, and among others, one
' gentleman of the council accused this *Hope Hood* to be a
' bloody rogue, and added, that he, the said *Hope Hood*, had threatened

'threatened his life, and therefore prayed Sir *Edmund* that he 'might not be enlarged, but Sir *Edmund* made a flout and scorn 'of all that could be said. At the same time some of the 'council desired Sir *Edmund* that this *Hope Hood* might be 'sent for before the council, to which he replied, that he never 'had had a quarter of an hour's conference with any of them, 'and that he scorned to discourse with any heathen of them all, 'yet all this notwithstanding, at the same time whilst the coun-'cil was thus met, did Sir *Edmund* privately withdraw himself, 'and repair to the prison where this *Hope Hood* was prisoner, 'and did there continue with him two or three hours in private, 'the truth of what is above related is attested by sundry gen-'tlemen that were of *Edmund's* council, and were then ear 'witnesses, and likewise by others that saw Sir *Edmund* at the 'prison; *and as it is now verily believed that at that very time* 'he consulted the mischief that is now acted by the said Hope 'Hood and company.' Thus Mr. *Danforth.*

9. That Sir Edmund Androsse *discountenanced making defence against the Indians*, is complained of by five gentlemen who were of his council, and much concerned at his strange actings in that matter as in the account annexed to this *apology* is to be seen. It is also confirmed by the *Affidavits* of two honest men, viz.

'*Henry Kerley* aged about fifty-seven years and *Thomas* '*How* aged thirty-five years or thereabouts, both inhabitants 'of the town of *Marlborough*, do both testify that in the fall of 'the year, 1688, when Sir *Edmund Androsse* came from *New-*'*York* to *Boston* sometime after the Indians had killed some 'Englishmen at *North-field* in *New-England*, coming through 'our town of *Marlborough*, the said Sir *Edmund Androsse* ex-'amined this deponent *Henry Kerley* by what order we did 'fortify and garrison our houses, I answered it was by order of 'Captain *Nicholson*, the said Sir *Edmund* then said, he had no 'power so to do. He the said Sir *Edmund* examined what arms 'we made use of, and carried with us on the watch, and what 'charge was given us, answer was made by the deponant, they 'carried fire arms, and the charge was to keep a true watch, to 'examine all we met with, and secure suspicious persons that 'we met with, the said Sir *Edmund* said, what if they will not 'be secured, and what if you should kill them; answer was 'made by the deponant, that if we should kill them, we were in 'our way, then Mr. *Randolph* being there in the company said,

you

'you are *in the way to be hanged.* Sir *Edmund Androsse* said 'further, that those persons that had left their houses, to dwell 'in garrisons, if they would not return, others should be put in 'that would live there.

'*Boston* the 27th of *Decem.*
'1689. *Jur. Henry Kerley,*
'and the 2d of *January* 1689, HENRY KERLEY.
'*Jur. Thomas How.* THOMAS HOW.

'*Cor.* IS. ADDINGTON, Assistant.'

That Sir *Edmund's high sheriff was a stranger in the country, and one that had no estate there* needs no proof, and that *strangers who had no freehold, were impannelled for Jurors* is notoriously known. So it was in the case of the *Ipswichmen* as hath been noted, and when that reverend person Mr. *Charles Morton*, was causelesly and maliciously prosecuted, he was not only compelled to answer (contrary to law) in another county, and not in that wherein the good sermon they found fault with, was preached, but that if possible, they might give him a blow, there was summoned to serve as a jury man, one *John Gibson* no housholder nor of any estate or credit, and one *John Levingsworth* a brick-layer, who lived in another colony two hundred miles distance. When those in government will use such *base artifices* as these to accomplish their pernicious designs, how should any man's estate or life be secure under him?

11. That the persons objected against, were some of them *guilty of great extortion* is manifest from what has been related, and may yet be further proved, for (as by some instances we have already seen, and shall now hear more) they *compelled men to take patents for their own lands*, which they and their fathers before them, had quietly possessed till these covetous creatures became a *nusance* to the country, and it may be, none more criminal, as to this particular, than Mr. *Palmer* and Mr. *West.* A friend of their own, *viz.* Mr. *Randolph*, does in several of his Letters bitterly complain of them upon this account. In a letter of his of *August* the 25th, 1687, he writeth thus:

'I believe all the inhabitants in *Boston* will be forced to take 'grants and conformations of their lands, as now intended, the 'inhabitants of the province of *Maine* which will bring in *vast* '*profits to Mr. West*, he taking what fees he pleases to de-
'mand.

'mand. I shall always have a due honour and respect for his 'excellency, but I must buy his favour at three or four hundred 'pounds a year loss.' And in another to the same, *June* 21, 1688, he hath these words. 'I went to one *Shurte* town-clerk 'of *Pemyquid*, to know what leases were made lately, and by 'whom, and for what quit rent, he told me that above a year 'ago Captain *Palmer*, and Mr. *West* produced to them a com-'mission from Colonel *Dungan*, to dispose of all their lands to 'whoever would take leases at five shillings the hundred acres 'quit rent. They let there and at a place called *Dartmouth* 'twelve or sixteen miles distant from *Pemyquid* about one hun-'dred and forty leases, some had eight hundred or ten hundred 'acres, few less than a hundred, some but three or four acres 'and all paid 2l. 10s. for passing their grants of 100 acres of 'woodland, with twenty acres of marsh where-ever it could be 'found, but this bred a great mischief among the people; few 'or none have their lands measured or marked, they were in 'haste, and got what they could, *they had their emissaries 'among the poor people, and frighted them to take grants*, 'some come and complained to the governor, and prayed him 'to *confirm their rights which he refused to do*, the commission 'and whole proceeding being illegal, having notice they were 'to be under his government, they resented it, but served their 'turn. *The poor have been very much oppressed here*, the fort 'run all to ruin, and wants a great deal to repair it. Captain '*Palmer* and Mr. *West* laid out for themselves such large lots, 'and Mr. *Graham* though not there, had a child's portion, I 'think some have eight thousand or ten thousand acres. *I hear 'not of one penny rent comming in to the king, from them who 'have their grants confirmed at York*, and the five shillings an 'hundred acres was only a *sham* upon the people: at our re-'turn we saw very good land at *Winter Harbour*, enough to 'make large settlements for many people. The governor will 'have it first measured, and then surveyed, and then will dis-'pose of it for settlements. Mr. *Graham* and his family are 'settled at *Boston*, he is made *Attorney general, and now the 'governor is safe in his* New-York *Confidents*, all others being 'strangers, to his *council*. 'Twas not well done of *Palmer* and '*West* to tear all in peices that was settled and granted at *Pe-'myquid* by Sir *Edmund*, that was the scene where they *placed 'and displaced at pleasure and were as arbitrary as the great 'Turk. Some of the first settlers of that eastern country were 'denied grants of their own lands, whilst these men have given*

'*the*

'*the improved lands amongst themselves*, of which I suppose 'Mr. *Hutchinson* hath complained.' In another, *May* the 16th '1689, he says; 'I must confess there have been *ill men from* '*New-York*, who have too much studied the disease of this 'people, and both in courts and councils, they have not been '*treated well.*' Thus does *Edward Randolph*, a bird of the same feather with themselves confess the truth, as to this matter, concerning *his brother* Palmer *and* West.

And that *oppressive fees have been extorted by indigent and exacting officers* is declared by Mr. *Hinckley* the present governor of *New-Plymouth* in his *narrative of the grievances and oppressions of their majesties good subjects in the colony of* New-Plymouth *in* New-England, *by the illegal and arbitrary actings in the late Government under Sir* Edmund Androsse, which *narrative* is too large to be here inserted, but it is possible it may be published by itself, whereby it will appear that every corner in the country did ring with complaints of the oppressions, and (to speak in Mr. *Palmer*'s phrase) *horrible usages* of these ill men. Some passages out of Mr. *Hinckley's narrative* respecting this matter, we shall here transcribe, whose words are these which follow.

'The bill of cost taxed by judge *Palmer* seems also to be 'the greatest extortion ever heard of before, as thrice twenty 'shillings for three motions for judgment at the same term, '(and was it not their courtesy they did not move ten times 'one after another at the same rate) and taxed also, *five pound* '*for the king's attorney, and one and twenty shillings for the* '*judges, and ten shillings for the sheriff*, and other particulars 'as by the said bill appeareth, and that which makes it the 'greater extortion is, that the whole bill of cost was exacted of 'every one of them, which each of them must pay down, or be 'kept prisoners till they did, though all seven of them were 'jointly informed against in one information.' Thus Mr. *Hinckley.*

The cry of poor widows and fatherless is gone up to heaven against them on this account; for the probate of a will and letter of administration above fifty shillings hath been extorted out of the hands of the poor, nay they have been sometimes forced to pay more than four pounds, when not much above a crown had been due. Let *Andrew Sergeant* and *Joseph Quilter* among many others speak if this be not true, who were compelled to travel two hundred miles for the probate of a will, and to pay the unreasonable and oppressive fees complained of.

Besides

Besides these things, under Sir *Edmund*'s government they had wicked ways to extort money when they pleased. Mr. *William Coleman* complains (and hath given his oath accordingly) that upon the supposed hired evidence of one man he sustained forty pounds damage in his estate. And there were complaints all over the country that Sir *Edmund's excise men* would pretend sickness on the road, and get a cup of drink of the hospitable people, but privately drop a piece of money, and afterwards make oath that they bought drink at those houses, for which the innocent persons were fined most unreasonably, and which was extorted from them, though these villanies were declared and made known to those then in power. *William Goodhue*, and *Mary Dennis* might be produced as witness here of, with many more. Some of Sir *Edmund*'s creatures have said, that such things as these made *his government to stink*. Also *John Hovey* and others complain of sustaining ten pounds damages by the extortion of officers, though never any thing (they could hear of) was charged upon them to this day, *John* and *Christopher Osgood* complain of their being sent to prison nine or ten days, *without a mittimus, or any thing laid to their charge*, and that afterwards they were forced to pay excessive charges—It would fill a volume, if we should produce and insert all the *affidavits* which do confirm the truth of these complaints.

In the time of that unhappy government, if the officers wanted money, it was but seizing and imprisoning the best men in the country for no fault in the world, and the greedy officers would hereby have grist to their mill. Thus was Major *Appleton* dealt with. Thus Captain *Bradstreet*. Thus that worthy and worshipful gentleman *Nathaniel Salstoristal*, Esquire, was served by them and *barbarously prosecuted*, without any information or crime laid to his charge; for he had done nothing worthy of bonds, but it was the pleasure of Sir *Edmund* and some others, thus to abuse a gentleman far more honourably descended than himself, and one concerned in the government of *New-England* before him, but (to his eternal renown) one who refused to *accept of an illegal and arbitrary commission*, when in the reign of the late king *James* it was offered to him.

We have now seen a whole jury of complaints which concur in their verdict against Sir *Edmund Androsse* and his confederates. Were these things to be heard upon the place, where the witnesses who gave in their *affidavits* are resident, they would amount to legal proof, as to every particular which was

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by *the agents of the Massachusetts colony in* New-England objected against Sir *Edmund Androsse*, and others seized and secured by the people there.

Moreover there are other matters referring to Sir *Edmund Androsse* which caused great, and almost universal jealousy of him. For first, His commission was such as would make any one believe that a courtier in the time of the late king *James* spoke true, who said Sir *Edmund Androsse was sent to* New-England *on purpose to be a plague to the people there.* For he with three or four more, none of them chosen by the people, but rather by that *implacable enemy who prosecuted the* quo warranto's *against their charters*, had power given them to make laws, and raise what monies they should think meet for the support of their own government, and he had power himself alone to send the best and most useful men a thousand miles, (and further if he would) out of the country, and to build cities and castles (in the air if he could) and demolish them again, and make the purses of the poor people pay for it all. Such a commission was an unsufferable grievance, and no honest Englishman would ever have accepted of it, or acted by it.

Secondly, Jealousies were augmented by his involving the country in a war with the Indians, by means whereof he hath occasioned the ruin of many families and plantations; yea the death or captivity of we know not how many souls. *For he went (with the* Rose *frigate, and violently seized, and took and carried away, in a time of peace all the houshold goods and merchandises of* monsieur Cakeen *a Frenchman at* Penobscot *who was allied to the Indians* having married the daughter of one of their *princes* whom they call *Sagamores* or *Sachems*; and when this was done, it was easy to foresee, and was generally concluded that the *French* and *Indians* would soon be upon the English, as it quickly came to pass. After the flame was kindled, and barbarous outrages commited by the Indians, Sir *Edmund*'s managery was such as filled the country with greater fears of an *horrid design.* For bloody Indians whom the English had secured, were not only dismissed, but rather courted than punished by him.

Thirdly, It cannot be exprest what just and amazing fears surprised the people of *New-England* when they had notice of the late *king James* being in *France*, lest Sir *Edmund Androsse* whose governor and confident he was, should betray them into the power of the *French king*, other circumstances concurring to strengthen these fears. The *Mohawks* and other Indians were

were in hostility against the *French* and it was very advantagious to the English interest to have it so, but Sir *Edmund caused them to make a peace with the French*, whereby the French interest in those parts was strengthened, and the English weakened. Mr. *Peter Reverdy* (a French protestant) in his *memoirs* concerning Sir *Edmund Androsse* complains of this.

After that Sir *Edmund Androsse and his accomplices* were secured, such reports and informations came to hand, as made *New-England* admire the divine providence in accomplishing what was done against the late oppressors. They then saw the persons from whom they suspected the greatest danger, were now incapable of betraying them.

If an unaccountable instinct and resolution had not animated the inhabitants in and about *Boston*, to seize on those few men, the people there believe *New-England* would have been in the hands not of *king William* but *king Lewis e'er this day*: For in *Sept.* 1689, several vessels belonging to *New-England* were taken near *Cansoe* in *America* by some French men of war. The prisoners since at liberty, inform, that the French told them, that there was a fleet of ships bound from *France* directly for *Boston* in *New-England*, but some of them were taken by the *English* ships of war, and three or four of them lost at *Newfoundland*, and that Sir *Edmund Androsse* had sent to the French king for them to come over, and the country should be delivered up. And the Lieutenant of a French man of war professed, that if Sir *Edmund Androsse* had not been imprisoned, they would then have gone to *Boston*. This shews what a good opinion the French had of him, and such reports so testified made a strange impression on the spirits of the people throughout the country: And that the world may see we do not write fictions of our own, the subsequent *Affidavits* are produced and here inserted.

'*John Langford* of *Salem* testifieth, That he being in the 'Ketch *Margaret* of *Salem*, *Daniel Gygles* commander, they 'were taken by the French ships off *Tarbay* in *America*, near '*Cansoe* on *Tuesday* the 17th day of *September* last past, and 'being put on board the Admiral, *viz.* The *Lumbuscado*, and 'in the said ship carried a prisoner to *Port-Royal*, and then 'did hear several of the company on board the said ship say, 'that they came directly from *France*, and that there was ten 'or twelve sail of them ships of war that came in company toge-'ther, but some of them were taken upon the coast of *France* 'and some were lost since, and that they were all bound directly

'for

'for *New-England*, and that Sir *Edmund Androsse* late gover-
'nor of *New-England* had sent to the French king for them to
'come over, and the country should be delivered up into his
'hands, and that they expected that before they should arrive,
'it would have been delivered into the hands of the French.

'JOHN LANGFORD.'

'*Benjamin Majery* of *Salem*, *Jersey-man*, also testifieth, that
'he being taken the same day, and at the same place in the
'*Ketch Diligence*, *Gilbert Peters* commander; as is abovesaid
'in the evidence of *John Langford*, he heard the same related,
'by several of the company on board the other French ship of
'war that was in company with the *Lumbuscado*; viz. *The*
'*Frugum*, so called, that there was ten sail of them came out
'directly from *France* together; that Sir *Edmund Androsse*
'late governor of *New-England* had sent to the king of *France*
'for them to come over, and he would deliver the country into
'their hands, and that they were bound directly for *Boston* in
'*New-England* but had lost most of their ships coming over.

The mark M of BENJAMIN MAJERY.

'*John Langford* and *Benjamin Magery*, both made oath
'to the truth of their respective evidences in *Salem*, *Novem-*
'*ber* 23, 1689.

'Before me, JOHN HATHORNE, assistant.'

'*Joshua Conant* testifieth, That he being commander of the
'Ketch, *Thomas* and *Mary* of *Salem*, he was taken by three
'French ships off from *Tarbay*, near *Cansoe*, upon *Tuesday*
'the 17th of *September* last, two of which were ships of war,
'the other a merchant-man, and being put on board the Admiral,
'viz. the *Lumbuscado*, and therein carried to *Port-Royal* a
'prisoner, Mr. *Mero* told me that the French on board told him,
'that there was ten sail of them ships of war came out in com-
'pany together from *France*, and that they came directly from
'*France*, and were bound to *Boston* in *New-England*, and
'that Sir *Edmund Androsse* had sent to the French king for
'them, and that the country was to be delivered up into their
'hands; but having lost several of their ships in their voyage,
'and hearing that Sir *Edmund Androsse* was taken, and now
'in hold, should not proceed at present, but threatened what
'they would do the next summer.

'JOSHUA CONANT.

'*Joshua*

'*Joshua Conant* personally appeared before me, and made 'oath to the truth of the abovesaid evidence. *Salem, Novem-'ber* the 23d, 1689.

'JOHN HATHORNE, assistant.'

'*Phillip Hilliard* of *Salem*, *Jersey-man*, testifieth, That he 'was taken by the French in a Ketch belonging to *Salem*; viz. 'the *Thomas* and *Mary*, *Joshua Conant* commander off from '*Tarbay* near *Cansoe*, this autumn, *September* 17, and being 'carried on board the *Lumbuscado*, did on board the said ship 'hear several of the company say, that there was about twelve 'sail of them ships of war, came out in company together from '*France*, and were bound directly for *Boston* in *New-England*, 'and that Sir *Edmund Androsse*, the late governor there had 'sent into *France* for them to come over.

The mark 8 of PHILLIP HILLIARD.

'*Phillip Hilliard* personally appeared before me, and made 'oath to the truth of the abovesaid evidence. *Salem, Novem-'ber* the 23d, 1689.

'JOHN HATHORNE, assistant.'

'*James Cocks* of *Salem*, mariner, testifieth, That he was 'taken by the French in the Ketch *Margaret* of *Salem*, '*Daniel Gygles* commander, on *Tuesday* the 17th of *Septem-'ber* last past, off from *Tarbay* near *Cansoe*, by two French 'ships of war, who had one merchant-man in company with 'them, and he being carried on board the admiral, viz. the '*Lumbuscado*, he there met with a man he had known in *Lon-'don*, one of the said ship's company, who was a *Biscay* born, 'named *Peter Goit*, who told him that there was thirteen ships 'of them came out of *France* in company together, and that 'they were bound directly for *Boston* in *New-England*, ex-'pecting that the country was before, or would be at their 'coming delivered up to the king of *France*, and told him, before 'they could get clear of the coast of *France*, several of their 'ships were taken by the English ships of war, and the rest of 'their fleet taken or dispersed, and lost about *Newfoundland*.

'The mark of S S of JAMES COCKS.

'*James Cocks* personally appeared before me, and made oath 'to the truth of the abovesaid evidence. *Salem, November* 23d, '1689.

JOHN HATHORNE, assistant.'

But

But as to one of the crimes objected against Sir *Edmund Androsse* and his accomplices, *Habemus confitentem reum.* Mr. *Palmer cannot deny but that they levied monies on the king's subjects in* New-England, *contrary to the fundamentals of the English government*, which doth not allow the imposition of taxes without a *parliament.* The *New-Englanders* supposed that their late oppressors had been guilty of no less than a capital crime by their raising money in such a way as they did; and we are assured that one of them after he received, and before he acted by virtue of his illegal commission from the late king, professed, that *if ever he had an hand in raising a penny of money without an assembly, his neck should go for it*; and yet no man that we know of had a deeper hand in it than this person had. But Mr. *Palmer*, for the justification of this so foul a business, lays down several positions which he would have no man deny; one of his positions is, *That it is a fundamental point consented to by all christian nations, That the first discoverer of a country inhabited by infidels, gives a right and dominion of that country to the prince in whose service and employment the discoverers were sent.* These are his words, p. 17. We affirm, that this *fundamental point* (as he calls it) is not a *christian*, but *an unchristian principle.* It is controverted among the School-men, *an dominium fundatur in gratiâ. Papists are* (as Mr. Palmer is) for the *affirmative*, but the *scripture teaches us to believe* that the heathen nations, *and the sons of Adam*, and not *the children of Israel* only, have a right to the earth, and to the inheritance which God hath given them therein, *Deut.* 32. 8. When Mr. *Palmer* hath proved that *infidels* are not the *sons of Adam*, we shall consent to his notion, that christians may invade their rights, and take their lands from them, and give them to whom they please, and that the *pope* may give all *America* to the *king of Spain.* But let him know, that the first planters in *New-England*, had more of conscience and the fear of God in them, than it seems Mr. *Palmer* hath. For they were not willing to *wrong the Indians in their properties*; for which cause it was that they purchased from the natives their right to the soil in that part of the world, notwithstanding what right they had by virtue of their charters from the kings of *England.* Mr. *Palmer*'s position is clearly against *Jus Gentium & Jus Naturale*, which instructs every man, *Nemini injuriam facere.* He that shall violently, and without any just cause take from infidels their lands, where they plant, and by which they subsist, does them manifest injury. And let us know of Mr. *Palmer*,

if

if *christian* princes have power to dispose of the lands belonging to *infidels* in the *West-Indies*, whether they have the like dominion over the lands belonging to the *infidels in the East-Indies*, and if these *infidels* shall refuse to consent that such *christians* shall possess their lands, that then they may lawfully *vi & armis*, expel or destroy them, as the *Spaniards* did! We may send Mr. *Palmer* for further instruction in this point to *Balaam's ass*, which ingenuously acknowledged that her master (though an infidel) had a property in, and right of dominion over her, *Numb.* 22. 30. But this *gentleman* hath some other *assertions* which he would have us take for *postulata*, and then we shall be his *slaves* without all peradventures. He tells us in page 17, 18, 19, that the *English plantations (in particulur* New-England*) are no parts of the empire of* England, *but like* Wales *and* Ireland, *which were conquered, and belong to the dominion of the crown of* England, *and that therefore he that wears the crown, may set up governments over them, which are despotick and absolute, without any regard to* Magna Charta, *and that whereas in* Barbadoes, Jamaica, Virginia, *&c. they have their assemblies, that is only from the favor of the prince, and not that they could pretend right to such privileges of Englishmen.*

And now we need no further *discovery of the man.* Could the people of *New-England* who are zealous for English liberties ever endure it long, that such a person as this should be made one of their *judges*, that by squeezing of them, he might be able to pay his *debts?* And can any rational man believe, that persons of such principles did not *tyrannize* over that people when once they had them in their cruel clutches, and could pretend the authority of the late king *James* for what they did? in our opinion Mr. *Palmer* hath not done like a wise man thus to expose himself to the just resentments and indignation of all the *English plantations.* If ever it should be his chance to be amongst them again, what could he expect but to be looked on as *communis hostis*, when he thus openly declares that they have no English liberties belonging to them?— That worthy gentleman Sir *William Jones* (who was *Attorney General* in the reign of king *Charles* the second) had certainly more understanding in the law than Captain *Palmer*, and yet Captain *Palmer* (we suppose) is not ignorant that when some proposed, that *Jamaica* (and so the other plantations) might be governed without any assembly, *that excellency Attorney* (not like Captain *Palmer* but like an Englishman) told the then king,

king, *that he could no more grant a commission to levy money on his subjects there without their consent by an assembly, than they could discharge themselves from their allegiance to the English crown*; and what Englishmen in their right wits will venture their lives over the seas to enlarge the king's dominions, and to enrich and greaten the English nation, if all the reward they shall have for their cost and adventures shall be their being deprived of *English liberties*, and in the same condition with the *slaves in France* or in *Turky!* And if *the colonies of* New-England *are not to* be *esteemed as parts of* England, *why then were the* quo warranto's issued out against the government in *Boston* as belonging to *Westminster* in *Middlesex!* Are the English there, like the *Welsh* and *Irish* a conquered people? When Mr. *Palmer* hath proved that he hath said something. They have (through the mercy of God) obtained conquests over many of their enemies, both *Indians* and *French*, to the enlargement of the English dominions. But except Mr. *Palmer* and the rest of that crew will say, that his and their *domineering* a while was a *conquest*, they were never yet a *conquered people*. So that his alledging the case of *Wales* and *Ireland* before English liberties were granted to them, is an impertinent story. Besides, he forgets that there was *an original contract* between the king and the first planters in *New-England*, the king promising them, if they at their own cost and charge would subdue a wilderness, and enlarge his dominions, they and their posterity after them should enjoy such privileges as are in their charters expressed, of which that of not having taxes imposed on them without their own consent was one. Mr. *Palmer* and his *brethren oppressors* will readily reply, their *charter* was condemned. But he cannot think, that the judgment against their charter made them cease to be *Englishmen*. And only the colony of the *Massachusetts* had their charter condemned. And yet these men ventured to levy monies on the king's subjects in *Connecticut colony*. For the which *invasion of liberty and property* they can never answer. Indeed they say the corporation of *Connecticut surrendered their charter*. But who told them so? It is certain, that no one belonging to the government there, knoweth of any such thing; and how their oppressors should know that *Connecticut* made a surrender of their charter when the persons concerned know nothing of it, is very strange. We can produce that written by the secretary of that colony with his own hand, and also signed by the present governor there, which declares the contrary to what these men (as untruly as boldly) affirm. Witness the words following.

'In

'In the second year of the reign of king *James* the second 'we had a *quo warranto* served upon us by *Edward Randolph*, 'requiring our appearance before his majesty's courts in *En-* 'gland, and although the time of our appearance was elapsed 'before the serving of the said *quo warranto*, yet we humbly 'petitioned his majesty for his favour, and the continuance of 'our charter with the privileges thereof. But we received no 'other favour but a second *quo warranto*, and we well observing 'that the *charter of London* and other considerable cities in 'England were condemned, and that *the charter of the Massa-* 'chusetts had undergone the like fate, plainly saw what we 'might expect, *yet we not judging it good or lawful to be ac-* 'tive in surrendering what had cost us so dear, nor to be alto- 'gether silent, we impowered an attorney to appear on our 'behalf, and to present our humble address to his majesty, but 'quickly upon it as Sir *Edmund Androsse informed us*, he was 'impowered by his majesty to receive *the surrender of our* 'charter, if we saw meet so to do and us also to take under his 'government. Also, *Col. Thomas Dungan* his majesty's go- 'vernor of *New-York*, laboured to gain us over to his govern- 'ment. *We withstood all these motions*, and in our reiterated 'addresses, we petitioned his majesty to continue us in the free 'and full enjoyment of our liberties and properties, civil and 'sacred, according to our charter. We also petitioned that if 'his majesty should not see meet to continue us as we were, 'but was resolved to annex us to some other government; we 'then desired that in as much as *Boston* had been our old cor- 'respondents, and a people whose principles and manners we 'had been acquainted with, we might rather be annexed to Sir 'Edmund Androsse his government, than to Colonel *Dungan's*, 'which choice of ours was *taken for a resignation of our charter*, 'though that was never intended by us for such, nor had it the 'formalities in law to make it such. Yet Sir *Edmund An-* 'drosse was commissionated to take us under his government, 'pursuant to which about the end of *October* 1687, he with a 'company of *gentlemen and grenadiers* to the number of sixty 'or upwards came to *Hartford* the chief seat of this govern- 'ment, *caused his commission to be read, and declared our* 'government to be dissolved, and put into commission both 'civil and military officers throughout our colony as he pleased. 'When he passed through the principal parts thereof, the good 'people of the colony though they were under a great sense of 'the injuries sustained thereby, yet chose rather to be silent

'and

'and patient than to oppose, being indeed surprized into *an* '*involuntary submission* to an arbitrary power.

'*Hartford, June* 13, 1689. ROBERT TREAT, Governor. JOHN ALLEN, Secretary.'

Thus did Sir *Edmund Androsse* and his creatures, who were deeply concerned in the illegal actions of the late unhappy reigns, contrary to the laws of God and men, commit a rape on a whole colony; for which violence it is hoped they may account, and make reparation (if possible) to those many whose properties as well as liberties have been invaded by them.

Captain *Palmer* in the close of his *partial account of New-England* entertains his readers with an *harangue* about the *sin of rebellion*, and misapplies several scriptures that so he might make the world believe that the people of *New-England* have been guilty of wicked *rebellion* by their casting off the arbitrary power of those ill men who invaded liberty and property to such an intolerable degree as hath been proved against them. But does he in sober sadness think, that if when wolves are got among sheep in a wilderness, the shepherds and principal men there shall keep them from ravening, that this is the sin of rebellion condemned in the scripture? How or by whose authority our *lawyer* comes to play the *divine* we know not. But since he hath thought meet to take a spiritual weapon into his hand, let him know that the scripture speaks of a lawful and good *rebellion*, as well as of that which is unlawful. It is said of good *Hezekiah that he rebelled against the king of Assyria and served him not*, 2 *Kings* 18. 7. Indeed reviling *Rabshakeh* upbraided him, and said as in *verse* 20, *thou rebellest* (not unlike to Captain *Palmer*) saying to *New-England, thou rebellest. Hezekiah's* predecessors had basely given away the liberties of the people, and submitted to the *arbitrary power* of the *Assyrians*, and therefore *Hezekiah* did like a worthy prince in casting off a tyrannical government, and asserting the liberty of them that were the Lord's people, and God did signally own and prosper him in what he did, and would never permit the *Assyrian* to regain his tyrannical power over *Jerusalem* or the land of *Judah*, though for their trial he permitted their enemies to make some devastations among them. The like (we hope) may be the happy case of *New-England*. Mr. *Palmer* tells us, that *New-England hath valued itself for the true profession and pure exercise of the protestant religion*, but he intimates that

that they will be *termed a land full of hypocrisy and rebellion, irreligion, and a degenerate wicked people*, p. 39. And is this the *sincerity and christian moderation* which he boasts himself of in his preface? Surely these are the *hissings of the old serpent*, and do sufficiently indicate whose children the men are that use them. Since he will be at divinity, let him (if he can) read the *apologies* written by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, and there see if *Pagans* did not accuse *Christians* of old, just after the same manner, and with the same crimes that he wickedly upbraids that good and loyal people with. Who are they that use to call the holiest and most conscientious men in the world *hypocrites*, *liars*, *rebels*, *and what not?* but they that are themselves the greatest *hypocrites*, *liars*, and *rebels* against heaven that the earth does bear? It is hard to believe that Captain *Palmer* does not rebel against the light of his own conscience, when he affirms as in page 38, that in *New-England, every thing that hath any relation to their majesties is neglected and unregarded, without any recognition of their authority over those dominions.* He cannot be ignorant of the humble *addresses* which the people in *New-England* have from time to time made to their present majesties, acknowledging their authority. He knows that on the first notice of their majesties being proclaimed *king* and *queen* in *England*, both those now in government in *New-England*, and the body of the people with them, did (without any command) of their own accord, with the greatest joy proclaim their majesties in *New-England.* He knows that their majesties have no subjects more cordialy and zealously devoted to them than those in *New-England* are, or that do with greater fervor pray for their long and happy reigns, or that are more willing to expose themselves to the utmost hazards in their service, and yet this man that knoweth all this, to cast an *odium* on that loyal and good people, insinuates as if they were *rebels*, and *disaffected* to the present government, and designed to set up an *independent common wealth*, and had *no regard to the laws of God or men.* After this lying and malicious rate hath he expressed himself. What rational charity can be extended so far as to believe that it is possible for him to think that what himself hath written is true? When *Sanballat* wrote that *Nehemiah* and the Jews with him *intended to rebel*, did he believe what he had written? no, he did not, but *feigned those things out of his own heart.* The like is to be said of those *Sanballats* that accuse the people of *New-England* with thoughts of rebellion. And so we have done

done with Mr. *Palmer*. What hath been said is sufficient to *justify* the *revolution* in *New-England*, and to *vindicate the people* there from the aspersions cast upon them by their enemies. Several worthy gentlemen have under their hands given an account concerning some of Sir *Edmund*'s *arbitrary proceedings*, which is subscribed by five (and more would have concurred with them had there been time to have communicated it) of those who were of Sir *Edmund*'s council during his government there, and for that cause their complaints carry more weight with them, which shall therefore as a conclusion be here subjoined.

READER,

THERE is such *notoriety* as to matter of fact in the preceding *relation*, that they who live in *New-England* are satisfied concerning the particulars contained therein. If any in *England* should hesitate, they may please to understand that Mr. *Elisha Cook*, and Mr. *Thomas Oakes* (who were the last year sent from *Boston* to appear as agents in behalf of the *Massachusetts Colony*) have by them attested copies of the *affidavits* (at least-wise of most of them) which are in this *vindication* published, and are ready (if occasion serve) to produce them.

A

NARRATIVE of the PROCEEDINGS

OF

Sir EDMUND ANDROSSE and his Accomplices,

Who acted by an ILLEGAL and ARBITRARY Commission from the late King JAMES, during his Government in NEW-ENGLAND.

By several GENTLEMEN who were of his COUNCIL.

To the READER.

THE particulars mentioned in the ensuing narrative, *are but a small part of the grievances justly complained of by the people in* New-England, *during their three years oppression under Sir* Edmund Androsse. *For a more full account, the reader is referred to the justification of the revolution in* New-England, *where every particular exhibited against Sir* Edmund *and his accomplices, by the agents lately sent to* England, *is by the* affidavits *of honest men confirmed. If some men find themselves thereby exposed to the just resentments and indignation of all true christians, or true Englishmen, they must thank themselves for publishing such untrue accounts as that which goes under the name of Captain* John Palmer's, *and that scandalous pamphlet called* New-England's Faction discovered, *supposed to be written by an implacable enemy of all good men, and a person that for impudence and lying has few equals in the world. This which follows, being signed by several gentlemen of great integrity, who likewise had a particular knowledge of the things by them related, is therefore of unquestionable credit. The design in making of it thus public, is to vindicate their majesties loyal subjects in* New-England, *and to give a true representation of things unto those who have by false relations been imposed on.*

Boston, New-England,
Feb. 4, 1690-91.

HAVING received from Mr. *Addington* by order of the *Council and representatives of the Massachusetts colony* a signification of their desire; That whereas we were members of the late council in the time of Sir *Edmund Androsse's Government*, we would give some information of the *grievances and*

and male-administrations under the same. Upon consideration had thereof, and in answer thereunto, we cannot but own and declare, that *not only ourselves and many others in the same station* (not now present to join with us) were of a long time much *dissatisfied and discouraged with very many of the proceedings and administrations in the said government;* and had little reason to wonder that so great a number of the people were so too. It might well have been expected that the governor (not so successful heretofore) notwithstanding the extraordinariness (to say no more) of many clauses and powers in his commission; yea the rather and the more, because thereof would have cautioned and moderated the execution of the same: But to our great trouble we found it very much otherwise. Many were the things that were accounted irregular and grievous therein, far from conducing to the public weal of the territory, and not a little to the disservice of the crown, as tending rather to the disturbing and disaffecting of the subjects here, than to the furtherance of that chearful obedience, loyalty, love and duty in them, which ought by all good means, to have been nourished and promoted. And of all this unhappiness, we must reckon the first step and in-let to be, that *the governor did* so quickly neglect the great number of the council, and *chiefly adhere unto and govern by the advice* only of a few others, the principal *of them strangers to the country, without estates or interest therein to oblige them, persons of known and declared prejudices against us, and that had plainly laid their chiefest designs and hopes to make unreasonable profit of this poor people.* Innumerable were the evil effects that from hence were continually growing up amongst us; *the debates in council were not so free as ought to have been,* but too much over-ruled, and a great deal of harshness continually expressed against persons and opinions that did not please. *The greatest rigour and severity was too often used towards the soberest sort of people,* when any thing could be found or pretended against them, their humble submissions were little regarded, and *inexorable persecutions ordered against them,* whilst in the mean time *the notorious viciousness and profaneness of others met not with* the like *discountenance,* but persons of such a character were put into places of business and trust. The long settled maintenance of the publick ministry, even from those that applied themselves to no other way of worship, but continued ordinary hearers, could not be upheld by any act of authority providing for the same, and schools of learning so well taken care

care of formerly, were in most cases fallen to decay, and many more such like might be reckoned up. But we shall more especially instance further in the particulars following, as not the least.

1. It was as we thought a great slight put upon the council, and to the prejudice of the good people of the territory, that whereas at the governor's first coming a committee appointed thereunto by himself, and a full council had with great care and several weeks trouble revised a very considerable number of orders and laws collected out of the several law-books of these colonies found by long experience very needful and agreeable to the good of these plantations, which laws so collected and revised, were again presented unto, and upon further advisement approved by the governor and council and passed. Yet upon the introducing Mr. *West* from *New-York* to be deputy secretary, they were, for what causes we know not, totally laid aside, and the people denied the benefit of them. And this grievance was so much the greater, and a plainer indication of the severity of some men in their intended management of things, because on good deliberation they had also passed an order of council, that until the council should take further order, the several justices, town-officers, and others should proceed according to former usages, and such local laws in the several parts of this dominion, as are not repugnant to the laws of *England*, *&c.* Yet because by virtue of the said order some in authority have proceeded to put forth their power for the support of the ministry, and some others did justify themselves in some actions done by them that were not pleasing; hereupon when a discourse only, and some debate thereof had passed in council, but *without any regular determination made*, and contrary to the express word of the said order, *it was entered in the council-book* concerning it, resolved that the same was only in force till the next session of the council, and so determined as null of itself, and that none presume to act pursuant to such laws as are or shall be made here.

2. *Whereas* the act for the continuing and establishing of several rates, duties and imposts, was one of the first of so great moment that came out in a form under the seal of the territory, and was publickly proclaimed, we that were present have great cause to remember what trouble and dissatisfaction there was among the members of the council concerning the same. As that act was framed

framed and urged upon us, *a very considerable number (and we believe we were the major part) dissented* from and argued much against it. And though the governor expressed not a little heat and positiveness alledging his instructions, and held the council together, unreasonably a very long time about it. Yet when we did at last break up we could not imagine that he could take the bill to be agreed to; *nevertheless it was the next day (to our wonderment) brought in fairly engrossed in parchment, and quickly signed by the governor without any counting of voices* either then or the day before, which was the more needful because some did continue still to make their objections, others that had spoken against the bill the day before, declaring their adherence to what they had then said; and many more under so great discouragement and discountenance, as was manifested sitting silent, which we are sure in the regular passing of laws can never be reckoned for a consent.

3. *The way* and manner used afterwards of proposing and passing all laws was very uncertain and unequal, not answerable to the nature of so great a power, nor to the largeness of the territory that was to be obliged by them, or to the number of the councellors appointed therein; for after a little while there were no set times appointed or given notice of for the making of laws, that so the members of the council might attend in a fuller number to be helpful therein. Bills of the greatest concernment were usually first consulted and framed in private, and so unexpectedly brought into council at any time, and then our work too was often under great disadvantages, not to advise freely and consult about the making of a law thought necessary, but to maintain a contest in opposition to a very inconvenient one, too far promoted and engaged in already; and above all, *there was never any fair way of taking and counting the number of the councellors consenting and dissenting*, that so the majority might be known in any matter that admitted of any considerable reasonings and debates, by reason whereof both laws and other orders and resolutions might be set down as passed by the council, which ought not to have been. And when it hath been (as often it was) expresly and earnestly prayed when matters of greater moment than ordinary were in hand, that the debate and resolution of them might be put off till a fuller council of members from other several parts of the dominion might be convened such motions were ever disaccepted, and entertained with no little displacency; *so that it might*

might be too truly affirmed, that in effect four or five persons, and those not so favourably inclined and disposed as were to be wished for, bear the rule over, and gave law to a territory the largest and most considerable of any belonging to the dominion of the crown.

4. *In pursuance* of this way and manner of passing laws above expressed, there were two in special that came forth, which we are sure in fuller and freer councils would have had a full stop put to them; *viz. First,* The act for regulating the choice of select-men, *&c.* wherein the liberty of towns to meet for the managing of their publick affairs referring to their common lands, and all other their concernments, which they had enjoyed for so many years, to their great benefit, was most unreasonably restrained to once a year, and all other convening of inhabitants as a town meeting, upon any pretence or colour whatsoever, was strictly forbidden: And the other act was that intituled, an act requiring all masters of ships or vessels to give security, in which there were such restraints laid upon all persons from transporting themselves freely (as their occasion might call) out of their territory, that it would have been a meer prison to all that should be found therein, and such bond required of all ships and vessels (extending in the practice even to shallops and wood-boats) as would quickly have intolerably discouraged, if not ruined the trade thereof; and all without any other ordinary general benefit of the said act, but the filling some men's pockets with fees: And (as it might be thought from the time of moving this act, which was when Captain *Hutchinson* was already gone, and Mr. *Mather was known to be intending for* England) *the obstructing of such men's going home as were likely there to make just complaints, and seek redress of publick grievances*; and when this act had been strenuously opposed in council here at *Boston*, where it was more than once vehemently urged, and as often denied, *it was carried as far as* New York, *and there an opportunity found for the obtaining of it.*

5. *The* great matter of properties and titles to our lands is the next to be insisted on, his majesty that granted the charter did fully invest the patentees with right to the soil throughout the whole limits thereof, and here on the place, the right of the natives was honestly purchased from them. The disposal, distribution, and granting of lands by the patentees, who were also incorporated,

incorporated, and made a body politick, was in such a plain, ready, easy way, without any charge to the planters, as in the settlement of so large a country was thought to be most agreeable: And so much of a publick spirit and design were those noble gentlemen, that (though well they might) they settled not one single penny of service or acknowledgment to themselves and heirs of any of their grants, a thing so self-denying and worthy, that few instances can be given of the like. All which notwithstanding, and the possessions, descents and valuable purchases of so many years that have passed since, *the governor and those he adhered to resolved and practised to make all men's titles in effect quite null and void.* The purchasing of the natives right, was made nothing of, and next to a ridicule. The enjoyment and improvement of lands not inclosed, and especially if lying in common amongst many was denied to be possession; it was not enough that some men that thought it convenient, and were both willing and able, did take confirmations of their lands, the numbers of whom in time might have been a considerable gain to them; but *nothing would satisfy unless all in general might be compelled so to do; hence those that refused were declared intruders upon his majesty, and put in fear of having their lands granted unto strangers.* Many were solicited, and encouraged to petition for other men's lands, and had a shameful example set them by some of the chief contrivers of all this mischief. *When some men have petitioned for a confirmation of their own lands, a part of these only was offered to be granted to them, and another part denied.* Nor could any man's own land be confirmed to him, without a particular survey of every part and parcel of them first made, the great charges whereof, and of other fees to be taken would have been to most men insupportable: *Yea it hath by some been computed that all the money in the country would not suffice to patent the lands therein contained.*

And yet further, a considerable quit-rent to the king was to be imposed upon all lands, though already a constant yearly tax for the support of the government had been laid on them.

And for all this most unreasonable vexation to a laborious and industrious people, the only ground pretended was some defects and wants of form and due manner alledged to be in the way of the disposing and conveying of all lands from the patentees to the townships and people here; which whatever it amounted to might have been easily remedied, either by an application

application and representation to the king for the obtaining a general settlement of all properties (which would have been highly worthy and generous for the governor to have engaged in, on behalf of the people) or by some other ways that were proposed. But nothing but the way of particular patenting as abovesaid could prevail. In prosecution whereof all actions intended upon informations of intrusions in his majesty's behalf, or between old proprietors and new grantees must have had their decision at the ordinary courts of common law here upon the place where matters of equity and of a consideration transcending all ordinary cases could not have a proper cognizance and due influence in the decision, determination and judgment.

6. *Though* sufficient courts of justice were appointed, and held in the several counties for the trial of all offenders, yet it *was too frequent upon more particular displeasure to fetch up persons from very remote counties before the governor and council at Boston* (who were the highest, and a constant court of record and judicature) not to receive their tryal but only to be examined there, and so remitted to an inferior court to be farther proceeded against. *The grievance of which court was exceeding great*, for hereby not only the charge was made excessive upon such persons by the *notorious exactions of the messenger*, the secretary's fees for examination, *&c.* But these examinations themselves were unreasonably strict, and rigorous and very unduly ensnaring to plain unexperienced men. *And* the trials of several, were by this means over-ruled to be at *Boston*, and not in the proper counties, and were otherwise so far prejudged as to be rendered less equal.

The extraordinary oppressive fees taken in all matters by indigent and exacting officers, these were at the first for a long time arbitrarily imposed and required without any colour of an establishment of them by the council. Afterwards a committee was appointed, to bring in a table of fees, that spent a long time without finishing any thing, the reason whereof was because some therein *especially the deputy secretary West*, insisted upon fees much more extraordinary than some others could consent to. In conclusion ; there was a table of fees drawn up to be presented to the council, and signed by some of the committee, one of whom, (whose subscription is to this paper) declaring expresly, that by his signing he did no otherwise agree, but only that it might be presented to the council, to do therein as they should

should see cause, who also when it was so presented to the council, declared that many of the particulars in that table contained, were unreasonable, and ought to be abated, and of this mind were many others. But the entry after the usual manner was an approbation thereof.

Lastly. As to those *great jealousies and suspicions of sinister designs in the governor as to our troubles by the Indians*, we have to say, That although divers things too uncertain, if not untrue have been too easily reported and spread concerning him, a practice which some of us have formerly with no little prejudice to ourselves discountenanced and borne testimony against: yet *there have not wanted some other particulars that might give too great a ground for the same.* The principal of them (as far as we have any knowledge of things of that kind) are these.

The governor's *seizing and taking away the goods of Monsieur St.* Castine *of* Penopscot, the summer before the war broke forth, which thing hath been esteemed not a little to have stirred up and furthered the succeeding troubles. The governor's not hastening his return to *Boston* when these troubles were actually begun, but lengthening out his tarrience in places so remote till the hostility of the *Indians*, and the great mischiefs thereof were too far advanced. That during his absence he was not pleased sufficiently to impower and instruct any to act things necessary for the safety of the out plantations and the prosecution and suppression of the enemy, tho' he had speedy and true accounts from time to time sent him of all that happened. That all that was done to this purpose in a case of such necessity, either by the lieutenant governor, or by the justices of the peace, and military officers in many places, by securing and disarming of neighbouring *Indians*, setting up, warding and watching, garrisoning several houses for the security of the inhabitants, especially the women and children, in case of sudden inroads and surprizings that might be, sending some relief of men to some places that were most in danger, and also what was done by those members of the council that were at *Boston* in conjunction with the commander in chief left in the fort there, who raised and sent some forces to *Casco-Bay*, where greatest harms were done. We say, that all that was thus done, was so extreamly disapproved of by the governor upon his return back from *Albany* and *New-York*, and an unaccountable displeasure manifested against all persons that had so acted, and that he

was

was ready to call them to an account as high offenders for the same, and refused a long time, though much solicited, to give any order concerning the soldiers sent to *Casco*, either for the continuance of them there, where they were very necessary, or for their dismission home. Unto all which may be added the governor's sending messengers both *John Smith* the quaker from *Albany*, and soon after Major *Macgregory* to *Keybeck* upon such errands and business as were not communicated and laid open to the council. And further, *his release and setting at liberty sundry* Indians *that were in hold, some of them known enemies to the* English, and particularly objected against by several of the council, and that without any exchange of our *English* captives then in the enemies hands.

These are the chief matters which upon this occasion (without any undue prejudice against any man, or design to justify the defects of ourselves in the performance of our own shares of duty, but in answer to the desire signified to us as above) we have to set forth, professing truly that by such a state of things as we had the experience and feeling of, the places that we held were rendered exceeding uneasy to us, and that out of a sincere respect to the prosperity of these their majesties plantations, we could not but be very desirous that through the favour of God and our superiors, all due redress might in a good happy season be obtained; and the way of governing *English* subjects in their majesties dominions without an assembly of the people's representatives banished out of the world for ever.

Boston in *New-England*,
Jan. 27, 1690.

William Stoughton,
Thomas Hinckley,
Wart. Winthrop,
Barthol. Gedney,
Samuel Shrimpton.

FINIS.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Late Revolution
IN
NEW-ENGLAND.

Together with the

DECLARATION
OF THE

Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of *BOSTON*, and the Country adjacent. *April* 18. 1689.

Written by Mr. *NATHANAEL BYFIELD*, a Merchant of *Bristol* in *New-England*, to his Friends in *London*.

LICENSED, *June* 27. 1689. *J. Fraser.*

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Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 10.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
The Late REVOLUTION
IN
NEW-ENGLAND.

Written by Mr. *Nathanael Byfield*, to his Friends, *&c.*

GENTLEMEN,

HERE being an opportunity of sending for *London*, by a Vessel that loaded at *Long-Island*, and for want of a Wind put in here; and not knowing that there will be the like from this Country suddenly, I am willing to give you some brief Account of the most remarkable things that have happened here within this Fortnight last past; concluding that till about that time, you will have received *per Carter*, a full Account of the management of Affairs here. Upon the *Eighteenth* Instant, about Eight of the Clock in the Morning, in *Boston*, it was reported at the *South* end of the Town, That at the *North* end they were all in Arms; and the like Report was at the *North* end, respecting the *South* end: Whereupon Captain *John George* was immediately seized, and about nine of the clock the Drums beat thorough the Town; and an Ensign was set up upon the Beacon. Then Mr. *Bradstreet*, Mr. *Dantforth*, Major *Richards*, Dr. *Cooke*, and Mr. *Addington &c.* were brought to the Council-house by a Company of Soldiers under the Command of Captain *Hill*. The mean while the People in Arms, did take up and put in to Goal, Justice *Bullivant*, Justice *Foxcroft*, Mr.

Mr. *Randolf*, Sheriff *Sherlock*, Captain *Ravenscroft*, Captain *White*, *Farewel*, *Broadbent*, *Crafford*, *Larkin*, *Smith*, and many more, as also *Mercey* the then Goal-keeper, and put *Scates* the Bricklayer in his place. About Noon, in the Gallery at the Council-house, was read the Declaration here inclosed. Then a Message was sent to the Fort to Sir *Edmund Andros*, By Mr. *Oliver* and Mr. *Eyres*, signed by the Gentlemen then in the Council-Chamber, (which is here also inclosed); to inform him how unsafe he was like to be if he did not deliver up himself, and Fort and Government forthwith, which he was loath to do. By this time, being about two of the Clock (the Lecture being put by) the Town was generally in Arms, and so many of the Countrey came in, that there was Twenty Companies in *Boston*, besides a great many that appeared at *Charles Town* that could not get over (some say Fifteen Hundred). There then came information to the Soldiers, That a Boat was come from the Frigat that made towards the Fort, which made them haste thither, and come to the Sconce soon after the Boat got thither; and 'tis said that Governor *Andros*, and about half a score Gentlemen, were coming down out of the Fort; but the Boat being seized, wherein were small Arms, Hand-Granadoes, and a quantity of Match, the Governour and the rest went in again; whereupon Mr. *John Nelson*, who was at the head of the Soldiers, did demand the Fort and the Governor, who was loath to submit to them; but at length did come down, and was with the Gentlemen that were with him, conveyed to the Council-house, where Mr. *Bradstreet* and the rest of the Gentlemen waited to receive him; to whom Mr. *Stoughton* first spake, telling him, He might thank himself for the present disaster that had befallen him, *&c.* He was then confined for that night to Mr. *John Usher*'s house under strong Guards, and the next day conveyed to the Fort, (where he yet remains, and with him Lieutenant Collonel *Ledget*) which is under the Command of Mr. *John Nelson*; and at the Castle, which is under the Command of Mr. *John Fairweather*, is Mr. *West*, Mr. *Graham*, Mr. *Palmer*, and Captaine *Tryfroye*. At that time Mr. *Dudley* was out upon the Circuit, and was holding a Court at *Southold* on *Long-Island*. And on the 21*st*. Instant he arrived at *Newport*, where he heard the News. The next day Letters came to him, advising him not to come home; he thereupon went over privately to Major *Smith*'s at *Naraganzett*, and advice is this day come hither, that yesterday about a dozen young men, most of their own heads, went thither to demand him; and are

gone

gone with him down to *Boston.* We have also advice, that on *Fryday* last towards evening, Sir *Edmond Andross* did attempt to make an escape in Womans Apparel, and pass'd two Guards, and was stopped at the third, being discovered by his Shoes, not having changed them. We are here ready to blame you sometimes, that we have not to this day received advice concerning the great Changes in *England*, and in particular how it is like to fair with us here; who do hope and believe that all these things will work for our Good; and that you will not be wanting to promote the Good of a Country that stands in such need as *New-England* does at this day. The first day of *May*, according to former Usage, is the Election-day at *Road Island;* and many do say they intend their choice there then. I have not farther to trouble you with at present, but recommending you, and all our affairs with you, to the Direction and Blessing of our most Gracious God: I remain

Gentlemen,

Your Most Humble Servant at Command,

NATHANAEL BYFIELD.

Bristol, *April* 29.
1689.

Through the Goodness of God, there hath been no Blood shed. Nath. Clark *is in* Plymouth Gaol, *and* John Smith *in* Gaol *here, all waiting for News from* England.

THE

THE DECLARATION OF THE

Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of *BOSTON*, and the Country Adjacent. *April* 18. 1689.

§. I. WE have seen more than a decad of Years rolled away, since the *English* World had the Discovery of an horrid *Popish Plot*; wherein the bloody *Devotoes* of *Rome* had in their Design and Prospect no less than the extinction of the *Protestant Religion*: which mighty work they called *the utter subduing of a Pestilent Heresy*; wherein (they said) there never were such hopes of Success since the Death of Queen *Mary*, as now in our days. And we were of all men the most insensible, if we should apprehend a Countrey so remarkable for the true Profession and pure Exercise of the Protestant Religion as *New-England* is, wholly unconcerned in the Infamous Plot. To crush and break a Countrey so entirely and signally made up of *Reformed Churches*, and at length to involve it in the miseries of an utter Extirpation, must needs carry even a Supererogation of merit with it among such as were intoxicated with a Bigotry inspired into them by the great *Scarlet Whore*.

§. II. To get us within the reach of the desolation desired for us, it was no improper thing that we should first have our *Charter* Vacated, and the hedge which kept us from the wild Beasts of the field, effectually broken down. The accomplishment of this was hastened by the unwearied sollicitations, and slanderous accusations of a man, for his *Malice* and *Falshood*, well known unto us all. Our *Charter* was with a most injurious pretence (and scarce that) of Law, condemned before it was possible for us to appear at *Westminster* in the legal defence

fence of it; and without a fair leave to answer for our selves, concerning the Crimes falsly laid to our charge, we were put under a *President* and *Council*, without any liberty for an Assembly, which the other *American Plantations* have, by a Commission from His *Majesty*.

§. III. The Commission was as *Illegal* for the form of it, as the way of obtaining it was *Malicious* and *unreasonable*: yet we made no Resistance thereunto as we could easily have done; but chose to give all *Mankind* a Demonstration of our being a people sufficiently dutiful and loyal to our King: and this with yet more Satisfaction, because we took pains to make our selves believe as much as ever we could of the Whedle then offer'd unto us; That his *Magesty's* desire was no other than the happy encrease and advance of these *Provinces* by their more immediate Dependance on the *Crown* of *England*. And we were convinced of it by the courses immediately taken to damp and spoyl our *Trade*; whereof decayes and complaints presently filled all the Country; while in the mean time neither the Honour nor the Treasure of the King was at all advanced by this new Model of our Affairs, but a considerable Charge added unto the Crown.

§. IV. In little more than half a Year we saw this Commission superseded by another, yet more Absolute and Arbitrary, with which Sir *Edmond Andross* arrived as our Governour: who besides his Power, with the Advice and Consent of his Council, to make Laws and raise Taxes as he pleased; had also Authority by himself to Muster and Imploy all Persons residing in the Territory as occasion shall serve; and to transfer such Forces to any English Plantation in *America*, as occasion shall require. And several Companies of Souldiers were now brought from *Europe*, to support what was to be imposed upon us, not without repeated Menaces that some hundreds more were intented for us.

§. V. The Government was no sooner in these Hands, but care was taken to load Preferments principally upon such Men as were strangers to, and haters of the People: and every ones Observation hath noted, what Qualifications recommended a Man to publick Offices and Employments, only here and there a *good Man* was used, where others could not easily be had; the Governour himself, with Assertions now and then falling from him, made us jealous that it would be thought for his Majesties Interest, if this People were removed and another succeeded in their room: And his far-fetch'd Instruments that were growing rich

rich among us, would gravely inform us, that it was not for his Majesties Interest that we should thrive. But of all our oppressors we were chiefly *squeez'd* by a crew of abject Persons, fetched from *New-York*, to be the Tools of the Adversary, standing at our right hand; by these were extraordinary and intollerable Fees extorted from every one upon all occasions, without any Rules but those of their own insatiable Avarice and Beggary; and even the probate of a Will must now cost as many *Pounds* perhaps as it did *Shillings* heretofore; nor could a small Volume contain the other Illegalities done by these *Horse-Leeches* in the two or three Years that they have been sucking of us; and what Laws they made it was as impossible for us to know, as dangerous for us to break; but we shall leave the Men of *Ipswich* and of *Plimouth* (among others) to tell the story of the kindness which has been shown them upon this account. Doubtless a Land so ruled as once *New-England* was, has not without many fears and sighs beheld the wicked walking on every side, and the vilest Men exalted.

He would neither suffer them to be printed, nor fairly published.

§. VI. It was now plainly affirmed, both by some in open Council, and by the same in private converse, that the people in *New-England* were all *Slaves*, and the only difference between them and *Slaves* is their not being bought and sold; and it was a maxim delivered in open Court unto us by one of the Council, *that we must not think the Priviledges of Englishmen would follow us to the end of the World*: Accordingly we have been treated with multiplied contradictions to *Magna Charta*, the rights of which we laid claim unto. Persons who did but peaceably object against the raising of Taxes without an Assembly, have been for it fined, some twenty, some thirty, and others fifty Pounds. Packt and pickt Juries have been very common things among us, when, under a pretended form of Law, the trouble of some honest and worthy Men has been aimed at: but when some of this Gang have been brought upon the Stage, for the most detestable Enormities that ever the Sun beheld, all Men have with Admiration seen what methods have been taken that they might not be treated according to their Crimes. Without a Verdict, yea, without a Jury sometimes have People been fined most unrighteously; and some not of the meanest Quality have been kept in long and close Imprisonment without any the least Information appearing against them, or an *Habeas Corpus* allowed unto them. In short, when our Oppressors have been a little out of Mony, 'twas but pretending

ing some Offence to be enquired into, and the most innocent of Men were continually put into no small Expence to answer the Demands of the Officers, who must have Mony of them, or a prison for them tho none could accuse them of any Misdemeanour.

§. VII. To plunge the poor People every where into deeper Incapacities, there was one very comprehensive Abuse given to us; Multitudes of pious and sober Men through the Land, scrupled the Mode of Swearing on the Book, desiring that they might Swear with an uplifted Hand, agreeable to the ancient Custom of the Colony; and though we think we can prove that the Common Law amongst us (as well as in some other places under the *English Crown*) not only indulges, but even commands and enjoins the Rite of lifting the Hand in *Swearing*; yet they that had this Doubt, were still put by from serving upon any Juries; and many of them were most unaccountably Fined and Imprisoned. Thus one Grievance is a *Trojan Horse*, in the Belly of which it is not easy to recount how many insufferable Vexations have been contained.

§. VIII. Because these things could not make us miserable fast enough, there was a notable Discovery made of we know not what *flaw* in all our *Titles to our Lands;* and, tho *besides* our purchase of them from the Natives; and, *besides* our actual peaceable unquestioned possession of them for near threescore Years, and besides the Promise of K. *Charles* II. in his Proclamation sent over to us in the Year 1683, That *no Man here shall receive any Prejudice in his Free-hold or Estate*: We had the Grant of our Lands, under the Seal of the *Council* of *Plimouth*: which Grant was Renewed and Confirmed unto us by King *Charles* I. under the Great Seal of *England*; and the *General Court* which consisted of the Patentees and their Associates, had made particular Grants hereof to the several *Towns* (though 'twas now deny'd by the Governour, that there was any such Thing as a *Town*) among us; to all which Grants the *General Court* annexed for the further securing of them, *A General Act*, published under the Seal of the Colony, in the Year 1684. Yet we were every day told, *That no man was owner of a Foot of Land in all the Colony.* Accordingly, *Writs of Intrusion* began every where to be served on People, that after all their Sweat and their Cost upon their formerly purchased Lands, thought themselves *Free-holders* of what they had. And the Governor caused the Lands pertaining to these and those *particular Men*, to be measured out for his Creatures to take possession of; and the *Right Owners*, for pulling up the Stakes,

Stakes, have passed through Molestations enough to tire all the patience in the World. They are more than a few, that were by Terrors driven to take *Patents* for their Lands at excessive rates, to save them from the next that might petition for them: and we fear that the forcing of the People at the *Eastward* hereunto, gave too much Rise to the late unhappy Invasion made by the *Indians* on them. *Blanck Patents* were got ready for the rest of us, to be sold at a Price, that all the Mony and Moveables in the Territory could scarce have paid. And several *Towns* in the Country had their *Commons* begg'd by Persons (even by some of the Council themselves) who have been privately encouraged thereunto, by those that sought for Occasions to impoverish a Land already *Peeled, Meeted out and Trodden down.*

§. IX. All the Council were not ingaged in these ill Actions, but those of them which were true Lovers *of their Country*, were seldom admitted to, and seldomer consulted at the Debates which produced these unrighteous Things: Care was taken to keep them under Disadvantages; and the Governor, with five or six more, did what they would. We bore all these, and many more such Things, without making any attempt for any Relief; only Mr. *Mather*, purely out of respect unto the Good of his Afflicted Country, undertook a Voyage into *England*; which when these Men suspected him to be preparing for, they used all manner of Craft and Rage, not only to interrupt his *Voyage*, but to ruin his *Person* too. God having through many Difficulties given him to arrive at *White-hall*, the King, more than once or twice, promised him a certain *Magna Charta* for a speedy Redress of many things which we were groaning under: and in the mean time said, *That our Governor should be written unto, to forbear the Measures that he was upon.* However, after this, we were injured in those very Things which were complained of; and besides what Wrong hath been done in our Civil Concerns, we suppose the *Ministers*, and the *Churches* every where have seen our Sacred Concerns apace going after them: How they have been Discountenanced, has had a room in the reflections of every man, that is not a stranger *in our Israel.*

§ X. And yet that our Calamity might not be terminated here, we are again Briar'd in the Perplexities of another *Indian War*; how, or why, is a mystery too deep for us to unfold. And tho' 'tis judged that our *Indian* Enemies are not above 100. in number, yet an Army of *One thousand* English hath been raised for the Conquering of them; which Army of our poor Friends and Brethren

Brethren now under *Popish Commanders* (for in the Army as well as in the Council, Papists are in Commission) has been under such a conduct, that not one *Indian* hath been kill'd, but more English are supposed to have died through sickness and hardship, than we have adversaries there alive; and the whole War hath been so managed, that we cannot but suspect in it, a branch of the Plot *to bring us low;* which we leave to be further enquir'd into in due time.

§ XI. We did nothing against these Proceedings, but only cry to our God; they *have caused the cry of the Poor to come unto him, and he hears the cry of the Afflicted.* We have been quiet hitherto, and so still we should have been, had not the Great God at this time laid us under a *double engagement* to do something for our security: besides, what we have in the strangely unanimous inclination, which our Countrymen by extreamest necessities are driven unto. For first, we are informed that the rest of the English *America* is Alarmed with just and great fears, that they may be attaqu'd by the *French*, who have lately ('tis said) already treated many of the English with worse then *Turkish* Cruelties; and while we are in equal danger of being surprised by them, it is high time we should be better guarded, than we are like to be while the Government remains in the hands by which it hath been held of late. Moreover, we have understood, (though the *Governour* has taken all imaginable care to keep us all ignorant thereof) that the Almighty God hath been pleased to prosper the noble undertaking of the Prince of *Orange*, to preserve the three Kingdoms from the horrible brinks of Popery and Slavery, and to bring to a Condign punishment those *worst of men*, by whom *English Liberties* have been destroy'd; in compliance with which Glorious Action, we ought surely to follow the Patterns which the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty in several parts of those Kingdoms have set before us, though *they* therein chiefly proposed to prevent what *we* already endure.

§ XII. We do therefore seize upon the Persons of those few *Ill men* which have been (next to our Sins) the grand Authors of our Miseries; resolving to secure them, for what Justice, Orders from his Highness, with the *English Parliament* shall direct, lest, ere we are aware, we *find* (what we may *fear*, being on all sides in danger) our selves to be by them given away to a Forreign *Power*, before such Orders can reach unto us; for which Orders we now humbly wait. In the mean time firmly believing, that we have endeavoured nothing but what meer

Duty

Duty to God and our *Country* calls for at our Hands: We commit our *Enterprise* unto the Blessing of Him, *who hears the cry of the Oppressed*, and advise all our Neighbours, for whom we have thus ventured our selves, to joyn with us in Prayers and all just Actions, for the Defence of the Land.

Printed according to the Copy Printed in *New-England* by *Samuel Green.* 1689.

At the *Town-House* in *Boston*, *April* 18. 1689.

SIR,

OVR Selves and many others the Inhabitants of this Town, and the Places adjacent, being surprized with the peoples sudden taking of Arms; in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, being driven by the present Accident, are necessitated to acquaint your Excellency, that for the quieting and securing of the People inhabiting in this Country from the imminent Dangers they many ways lie open and exposed to, and tendring your own Safety, We judge it necessary you forthwith surrender and deliver up the Government and Fortification to be preserved and disposed according to Order and Direction from the Crown of England, *which suddenly is expected may arrive; promising all security from violence to your Self or any of your Gentleman or Souldiers in Person and Estate: Otherwise we are assured they will endeavour the taking of the Fortification by Storm, if any Opposition be made.*

To Sir Edmond Andross *Kt.*

Waite Winthrop.
Simon Bradstreet.
William Stoughton.
Samuel Shrimpton.
Bartholomew Gidney.
William Brown.
Thomas Danforth.
John Richards.
Elisha Cook.
Isaac Addington.
John Nelson.
Adam Winthrop.
Peter Sergeant.
John Foster.
David Waterhouse.

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Vol. 4
no. 11

A BRIEF RELATION OF THE STATE OF New England,

From the Beginning of that

PLANTATION

To this Present Year, 1689.

In a Letter to a Person of Quality.

LICENCED, *July* 30th. 1689.

LONDON,

Printed for *Richard Baldwine*, near the *Black Bull* in the *Old-Baily*, 1689.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 11.

A BRIEF
RELATION
OF THE
STATE
OF
New England.

HONOVRED SIR,

I Have received yours, wherein you desire me to give you a Brief Account of the past and present State of *New England*, which in as few words as I can, and as straits of time will permit me, I shall endeavour your Satisfaction in.

New England contains that Tract of Land which is between forty and forty five Degrees of Northern Latitude; It was for some time known by the name of the *Northern Plantation*; but King *Charles* the First (then Prince of *Wales*) gave it the name of *New England.*

The first settlement of the English there, was in the year 1620, *viz.* at *New Plymouth.*

New England differs from other Foreign Plantations, in respect of the Grounds and Motives, inducing the First Planters to remove into that *American* Desert; other Plantations were built upon Worldly Interests, *New England* upon that which is purely Religious; for although they did, and do agree (as is evident from their Printed Confession of Faith) with all other *Protestant*

testant Reformed Churches; and more especially with *England*, in Matters of Doctrin, and in all Fundamental Points of Faith; yet as to the Liturgy, Ceremonies, and Church Government by Bishops, they were, and are *Non-conformists*: It was grievous to them to think of living in continual difference with their Protestant Brethren in *England*; upon which account they resolved on a peaceable SECESSION into a corner of the World; and being desirous to be under the Protection of *England*, about twenty worthy Gentlemen obtained a Charter from King *Charles* the First, bearing date from the year 1628, which giveth them Right to the Soil, for they hold their Titles of Lands, as of the Mannor of *East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, and in Common SOCAGE, which, notwithstanding, they purchased their Lands of the Indians, who were the Native Proprietors: By their mentioned Charter, they are Empower'd to Elect yearly their own Governor, and Deputy-Governor, and Magistrates, as here in *London*, and in other Towns Corporate, the Freemen chuse their Lord Mayors, Mayors, Aldermen, *&c.*

They have also Power to make such Laws, as shall be most proper and suitable for the Plantation: Nevertheless, as an acknowledgment of *their dependance on England*, by their Charters, they are obliged not to make any Laws, which shall be repugnant to the Laws in *England*.

Also, the fifth part of all *Oar*, of Gold or Silver, found in that Territory, belongs to the Crown of *England*.

The Report of this Charter, did encourage many very deserving persons to Transplant themselves, and their Families, into *New England*; Gentlemen of Ancient and Worshipful Families, and Ministers of the Gospel, then of great fame here in *England*, Tradesmen, Artificers, and Planters, to the Number of about four thousand did in twelve years time go thither.

The hazards they run, and the difficulties which they encountred with, in subduing a Wilderness, cannot be easily exprest in a large Tract: But the Almighty God, by a wonderful Providence, carried them through all.

In the year 1637, they were in imminent danger of being cut off by the barbarous Heathen; but when it came to a War, mighty numbers of the Indians were slain, by a few of the English, which caused a terror of God to fall upon the Heathen round about; so that after the *Pequod* Indians were subdued, there was peace in the Land for forty eight years together; and being setled under a good and easie Government, the Plantation increased, and prospered wonderfully; yea, so as cannot be parallelled

rallelled in any History: never was place brought to such a Considerableness in so short a time; that which was, not long since, a howling Wilderness, in few years time, became a pleasant Land, wherein was abundance of all things meet for Soul and Body, which can be imputed to nothing else, but to their Religion, the Gospel bringing a fulness of Blessings along with it: Some have observed, that since the year 1640, more Persons have removed out of *New England*, than have gone thither. Nevertheless, the four thousand, who did, between that and the year 1620, transplant themselves into *New England*, are so marvelously increased, as that, if the Computation fail not, they are now become more than Two hundred thousand Souls.

There are Towns and Villages, on the Sea-Coasts, from *Long Island* to *Boston*, which is Three hundred English Miles, and the like from *Boston* to *Pemmaquid*, which is Two hundred Miles more.

In the year 1662, *Conecticot* Colony, as also *Road Island*, with the Plantations thereunto belonging, had Charters granted to them by King *Charles* the Second, being much of the same Tenor with the Patent of the *Massachusets*, whereby these Colonies were made distinct Government.

In the year 1675, the Indians began a second War with the English; the Issue of which was, that whole Nations of them were destroy'd.

Never did men shew greater Courage and Bravery in their Encounters with the Barbarous Heathen, than they did. Although it must be acknowledged that the *Indians* advantages were such, as they could not have been overcome, if God had not fought against them, by sending the Evil Arrows of Famine, and Mortal Diseases among them. I have often thought of an Expression of an Indian there: *We could easily be too hard for the English, but* (said he, striking on his Breast) *The Englishmens God makes us afraid here.*

As long as they enjoyed their first Government, no Enemies could stand before them; but since that they have not been able to subdue an hundred Indians, who did the last year commit some outrages among them, having been (as I am credibly informed) designedly provoked thereunto by some Injuries done unto them by those then in Power, who intended the Ruine of the English, and Advancement of the French Interest in that Territory.

As for your Enquiry, *By what means they came to be deprived of their Charters, Rights and Liberties,;* please to understand, that in the year 1683, a *Quo Warranto* was issued out against

against them, and with the Notification thereof by the then King's Order there was a Declaration published, enjoyning those few particular Persons mentioned in the *Quo Warranto*, to make their defence at their own perticular Charge, without any help by a publick Stock: By this it was easie to see that some Persons were resolv'd to have the Charters condemned, *quo jure quaque injuria:* Nevertheless, the Governor and Company appointed an Attorney to appear, and answer to the *Quo Warranto*, in the Court of King's Bench.

The Prosecutors not being able to make any thing of it there, a new Suit was Commenced by a *Scire facias*, in the High Court of Chancery.

But tho they had not sufficient time given them to make their Defence, yet Judgment was entred against them for Default in not appearing; when it was impossible, considering the remote distance of *New England* from *Westminster-hall*, that they should appear in the time allowed.

Thus illegally was the Charter of the *Massachusets* Colony wrested from them: as for the Colonies of *Plymouth*, *Conecticot*, and *Road Island*, there was never any Judgment against them, nor any Surrender; but by a mere Rape, in the year 1686, their Charters and Priviledges were violently taken from them.

Since that time the Country hath mightily declined, and gone to ruin daily, not being now like the place it was Five Years ago, which is not much to be wondred at, considering the Intollerable Oppressions they have been Labouring under, since their Charters were Ravished from them.

In the Year 1686. *Sir Edmond Andros*, was sent by the late King *James* to *New England*; with a Commission absolutely destructive to the fundamentals of the *English* Government, Impowering him with Four more (none of them chosen by the People) to Levy Money, and make Laws, nay, and in case of War in the Plantations to send as many of the Inhabitants as he would, two Thousand Miles out of the Country: This Commission being Illegal and so in it self void, the People not being able to Continue longer under those Oppressions, did this last Spring assert their English Liberties, Rights and Priviledges, and Unanimously Declare for *the Prince of Orange, and the Parliament of England.*

And it is greatly to be observed, that as long as *New England* enjoyed their Charters for more than Fifty Years together, they never put the Crown of *England* to a Penny Charge; which

which is more than can be said of any other Forreign Plantations dependant on *England.*

But since they have been under a Government not by *Charters*, but by *Commission*, the Country hath been Chargeable, and less Beneficial to the Kings Revenue than in former times.

It hath indeed been objected, that in *New England* they did many years a go Transgress *the Act of Navigation.* But the Transgression of some few particular Persons ought not to be charged as the fault of the Government there, who did in the Year 1663, make a Law that the Act of Navigation should be Strictly observed, and their Governours are Sworn to see that Law Executed, and have to the uttermost of their power been careful therein.

Many other Things have been suggested against *New England*, the most of which having no footsteps of Truth in them, but being the Malicious Inventions of the *Tobijahs* and *Sanballats* of the Age, are not worth mentioning.

Not but the People there being but Men, have had their failings as well as other Men in all places of the World. The only thing (so far as I can learn) which can with any Colour of Truth be justly reflected on them as a great fault, is that in some matters relating to Conscience and difference of opinion, they have been more rigid and severe than the Primitive Christians or the Gospel doth allow of.

Yet this is to be said in their behalf, that things are reported worse than indeed they were, and that now many Leading Men, and the generality of the People are of a more moderate Temper.

I know many that have a great Interest there, do abhor the Spirit of Persecution as much as any Men in the World.

It is certainly for the Interest of *England*, that *New England* be incouraged; and preserved in all their Rights, Priviledges and Properties, and those ill Men who have given or shall give contrary advice (notwithstanding all their vain pretences to the contrary) have and will prejudice the Interest of the Crown more than they are, or ever were, or can be able to make amends for: which I evince by the Arguments following.

I. The Kings Revenue, all things considered, is as much or more augmented by *New England*, than by any other of the Foreign Plantations. This will seem to some a strange Assertion: But consider what I say, and then judge if it be not true.

The other *American Plantations* cannot well subsist without *New England*; which is by a Thousand Leagues nearer to them than

than either *England*, or *Ireland*; so that they are supplied with Provisions, Beef, Pork, Meal, Fish, &c. And also with the Lumber Trade, Deal Boards, Pipe-Staves, &c. chiefly from *New England.*

Also the *Carribbe Islands* have theire Horses from thence. It is then in a greater part by means of *New England* that the other Plantations are made prosperous and beneficial; they pay Customs in the Plantations for the Goods they Export from thence into *New England*, and when those Goods are brought into *England*, they pay the same again the Second time, by which means not a little is contributed to the Crown.

Some Manufactures there are amongst them, but not a Twentieth part of what the Country hath need of, or is consumed there, most of their Cloathing as to Woollen and Linnen, all sorts of Upholstery Wares, Haberdashers and Silk Wares, Stuffs, Silks, &c. they have from *England*; and make returns in Plate, Pieces of Eight, Beaver, Moose and Deer Skins, Oyl, and Iron, all which, but the Bullion, the Country affords.

Also by Sugars and Tobacco, Indico, and indeed all the Product of the other Plantations, which with their own Vessels they fetch and transport to *England.*

II. I know not whether in the World there be a better place for shipping, nor can I say how many, (but many hundreds there are) hundreds of Vessels of their own building do belong to the Country, (besides great Numbers built and sold into *England*,) for they yearly build many good Ships, some of which for *London*, and other places in *England.*

The Country abounds with Pine-Trees, Excellent Cedars, and Oak for building of Ships, and Ship-Masts in abundance; by those that are proper Judges, the best in the World, and some yearly from thence for the Use of the King's Ships.

And it hath been affirmed by knowing Men in Navigation and Building, that whenever the King of *England* pleases, he may in *New England* on such easie Rates as is scarce imaginable, build Navies of Ships: There being no better Timber in the World, and in such quantities as are inexhaustible, and in such convenient Places, as if God and Nature had adapted these vast Timbers for the said use; which is worth consideration, for that Timber is generally wanting in *England*, and in *Ireland*; what is, is too far from Waters and Places fit for Carriage, and the East-Land Oak is spungy and unfit.

III. The English born in *New England*, have the true inherent Spirit of the *Old*, apt and fit for Martial Employs; and as

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an addition to their Natural Courage and Sobriety, are well instructed in Martial Discipline.

All the Inhabitants from sixteen to sixty Years in each Town, are by the Law and constant Custom of the Country to bear Arms, if occasion shall require, and that they may be fit so to do.

They have in each Town and Village their Training-days, eight Times every Year, wherein they are exercised in Military Discipline, that so they may be expert in War, on all occasions, for their own Defence, and Service of their Prince; who will find whenever he shall please for to command, and commissionate them, that they are able (by the blessing of God) to secure and enlarge his Dominions, and to bring their French Neighbours into an intire Subjection to the Crown of *England*.

And from this Consideration it was, that the French Ministers, (who all the World knows had a mighty Ascendent over *White-Hall*, in the Two Late Kings Reigns) ceased not in their Negotiations, until amongst other Articles agreed on; One was, that in Case of a War betwixt *England* and *France*, there shall be a Neutrality in the Plantations: They wisely foreseeing, that if the King of *England*, should arm and commission his Subjects in *New England*, the Frenchmen in those parts could not stand before them.

In the Time of the Late Protector *Cromwel*, they did by order from *England*, take several Forts from the French, which by King *Charles* the Second were restored to them again; no ways to the Honour or Interest of the English Nation.

And it's hoped, His Majesty and the High Court of Parliament, will put that value upon *New England*, as so vast a Tract of Land and Body of People deserve from a Government on which they depend, and are so great and useful a Member, as they have manifested themselves to be: And that in so Eminent a manner as calls for Protection, Encouragement, and Restauration to all their Rights, Priviledges and Proprieties, and what Additions more, as in His Majesty great Wisdom, shall be thought fit for his Service, the Protestant Religion and the good of that People; who on the 18*th.* of *April*, 1689. Unanimously rose in Arms, and after having seized upon their Illegal Governour, and the rest of their Oppressors; declared for the Prince of *Orange*, and the Parliament of *England*, the Protestant Religion and their Ancient Constitution, and to this day do keep the Country for our Present Sovereigns, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, against King *Lewis*, and the Abdicated King *James*, waiting His Majesties Commands, *&c.*

Which

Which Declaration is in the words following:

WE do therefore seize upon the Persons of those few Ill Men, *which have been (next unto our sins) the Grand Authors of our Miseries, resolving to secure them, for what Justice, Orders from his Highness, with the English Parliament shall direct, lest, e're we are aware, we find (what we may fear, being on all sides in danger) our selves to be by them given away to a Foreign* Power, *before such Orders can reach unto us, for which Orders we now humbly wait; in the mean time firmly believing, that we have endeavoured nothing but what meer Duty to God and our Country calls for at our hands: We commit our Enterprize to the* Blessing *of him,* who hears the Cry of the oppressed, *and advise all our Neighbours for whom we have thus ventured our selves, to joyn with us in Prayers, and all just Actions for the Defence of the Land.*

The twelfth Article of *New England* is the Key of the *New World America*; if the French King had got it into his Possession, he might soon have made himself Master of *America*, and this in all Probability would have been done this Summer, if the *New Englanders* in and about *Boston*, penetrating into the Designs carrying on, had not risen as one Man, and seized Sir *E. A.* (who is as of a French Extract, so in the French Interests; being sent to *New England* by the Late King *James*, with an Illegal and Arbitrary Commission) and those ill Men who joyned with him in his Tyranny.

All men do acknowledge, that those brave Souls whom God hath so wonderfully assisted, and spirited to preserve *London-Derry*, (and perhaps thereby to save all *Ireland*) by securing it, and declaring for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, deserve great Favour and Protection from the Government.

And the same must be acknowledged due unto the People of *New England*, and more especially, when it is considered of what value and Consequence to *England*, *New England* is, and that they so early as it were, rescued the Country out of the hands of the French, even before they knew the Prince of *Orange* was King of *England*, and that at a Time when they knew

knew no more, than that His Highness was landed in *England*, with a design to endeavour the delivering the Kingdom, and the Churches of God from Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power, which as they lookt upon as an Heroick and Glorious Undertaking; so they also accounted it their Duty to embark themselves in the same Cause; though they knew not what the Issue of so mighty a Work would be; which hath caused some Persons of no Mean Figure to say,

These People deserve His Majesties and the Nations Respect, Countenance, and Speedy Restitution of all their Rights, and to be enabled by His Majesties Commissions to prosecute the War against France *in* America, *which they are capable to do without any considerable Charge to the Government.*

And indeed *New England*, hath upon the best Accounts which can be mentioned, out-done all *America*.

For there they have erected an *Vniversity*, which began in the year 1642, wherein things are managed, *pro more Academiarum in Anglia:* Several Persons of more than ordinary Learning; yea, and many scores of able Ministers, of the Gospel, have there had their Education.

Thereby the Statutes of the *Colledge*, none is to be admitted, before he can write Latin in a pure Style, and translate any ordinary Greek Author.

It is customary with them, every Morning in the Colledge-Hall, to read a Chapter out of the Hebrew Bible, and at Night a Chapter out of the Greek Original.

The Tutors there instruct their Pupils in *Logick, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Metaphysicks, Geography, Astronomy, Arithmetick, Geometry*, &c. and the Learned Men there have a corresponding communication with other Learned Men in divers parts of the World, where the Reformed Religion is professed, and by them highly reverenced for their Learning and Sobriety; an Instance of which appears by the following Letter, written by the Eminent Mr. *Kick*, to the Queen's Majesty that now is, in *February* last, by way of Supplication for *New England.*

To Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange*, &c.

May it please your Royal Highness,

THE *great and good God, who hath foretold us in the Scriptures, that a great and wonderful Deliverance shall be wrought for his Church in the latter days, when* the Mountain of Zion shall be exalted in the top of the Mountains, *seemeth to have designed to make use of His Highness the Prince of* Orange, *and Your Royal Highness, as Instruments in that glorious Deliverance: Having already done such marvellous things in* England *by His Highness, in order to that great Work; insomuch, that the Eyes of all the Protestant Churches, and People of God, are this day towards His Highness, and Your Royal Highness, as Instruments in God's Hand for the further carrying on of the Deliverance of his Church, from the cruel Sufferings and Oppressions it is under in most parts of World. For which reason I have taken the boldness to become Your Royal Highnesses humble Remembrancer, on the behalf of the People, and Church of God in* New England: *Who abut Seventy years since forsook their own Native Country, and went into that howling wilderness, that they might enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences in the Worship of God. They are a People indeed not much taken notice of, yet a People* by *and* for *whom God hath done great things, and by whose assistance the English Colonies and Plantations in* America, *and the* West-India *Islands may be much profited; and in case of War with* France, *many of the French Colonies, in those parts, may be reduced to the Obedience and Interest of the English Nation. They have erected a Vniversity amongst them, that hath produced very many able Divines, who have been very Instrumental in the Conversion of many,*

many, of the Indians, to the Christian Faith, having for the furtherance of that good Work, Translated the Bible into the Indian Tongue.

Their Confession of Faith and Church Discipline, I have made bold to present to Your Royal Highness, that you may see they are Orthodox. This People had a Patent granted them by King James, *to choose their own Governors, and to make their own Laws, (not repugnant to the Laws of* England) *which Patent was Ratified to them by King* Charles *the First and Second, and so continued until the late ill Mode of* Quo Warranto's *came up, and that they had one sent to them about their Patent. For the defending of which, they stood a Tryal at* Westminster-hall, *and cast the King; but the King caused it to be brought to a Review, and by Stratagems used then in such like Cases, forced a Judgment against the said Patent; and thereupon took away all their Priviledges, and Imposed a Governor, and new Laws upon them, which they exceedingly much groan under. And although I am satisfied, that so soon as they shall come to hear of the great and wonderful things that God hath done in* England *by His Highness, for the Restoring of Charters and Priviledges, they will then Address themselves to Your Highnesses, seeking the Restoration of theirs; yet in regard they are so many thousand Miles distant, it will be long e're it come to their knowledge.*

Therefore I have adventured on their behalf (having had a Correspondency with the said People many years, and knowing how much they will suffer, if their new Governor be not speedily removed) to give Your Royal Highness the trouble of these Lines, praying to God that He will please to move your Heart to take the First opportunity to help them to the Restoration of their Ancient Patent, Priviledges and Liberties: That they and all the Churches of God may have reason to own His Highness, and your Royal Highness, as Healers of their Breaches, and Restorers of Paths

to

to dwell in: And to rejoyce in the Goodness of God in fulfilling that Promise, of making Kings *to be* Nursing Fathers, *and* Queens *to be* Nursing Mothers *to his Church. I humbly beg your Royal Highnesses Pardon for the trouble of these Lines, and take leave to subscribe my self,*

GREAT MADAM,

Your Royal Highnesses

Most Obedient and

Most humble Servant

Hague *the First of* February, 1689. *S. N.* *ABRAHAM KICK.*

Nay, I will be bold to say, that *New England* hath out-done the whole World; for among the Indians, who a while since were mere Heathens, there are not only many Congregations of them, who are converted to the Christian Faith, and the Protestant (which is the only True) Religion: But no less than Four and twenty of those Heathens, are now not only Christians, but Preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And I challenge the whole World to produce me the like Instance, as more fully appears by the following Relation, abstracted out of a Letter written about two years since from *Boston*, by the Reverend Mr. *Mather*, President of the College there, at the request, and unto the famous Dr. *John Leusden*, Hebrew Professor in the University of *Vtricht*, and since translated into divers Languages in *New England*. The whole Bible hath been translated into the Indian Language, and there also printed: It's above forty five years since, that truly pious and godly Man, Mr. *John Elliot*, Minister of the Church at *Rocksborough* (a Mile from *Boston*) being warm'd with a Compassionate and Holy Zeal for the Conversion of the *Americans*, set himself to learn the Indian Tongue, that he might the more easily, and successfully open to them the Mysteries of the Gospel; on account of which he hath been (not undeservedly) called *the Apostle of the American Indians*. This Reverend Person was he that, with indefatigable Labour and Study, translated the whole Bible into the Indian Tongue, and also several English Treatises of Practical Divinity and Catechisms.

About

About Twenty eight years since he gathered a Church of Converted Indians, in a Town called *Natick*. These poor Indians were brought to such a sense of God and Religion, that they confessed their Sins with Tears, and professed their Faith in Christ; and afterwards they and their Children were Baptized, and they were Solemnly joyned together in a Church Covenant: And Mr. *Elliot* was the first that Administred the Lords Supper to them. The Minister of that Church is now an Indian named *Daniel*.

Besides this Church at *Natick*, among our Inhabitants in the Massachusets Colony, there are Four *Indian* Assemblies; where the Name of the True God, and Jesus Christ, is solemnly called upon. And these Four Assemblies have American Preachers: Mr. *Elliot* formerly Preached to them once in Fourteen Days; but now being Weakned with his Labours, and in the Eighty Sixth Year of his Age, doth not Preach to them more than once in Two Months.

About Fifty Miles from *Boston* is another Church consisting only of Converted Indians; in an Indian Town, called *Marshippang*, the first Minister of which was an Englishman, who being skilful in the *American Language*, Preached the Gospel to them in their own Tongue; but this Minister is lately Dead, and they now have an Indian Preacher.

There are besides that, Five Assemblies of Indians professing the Name of Christ, not far distant from *Marshippang*, which have Indian Preachers, and also are Preached unto in their own Language once every weak by Mr. *John Cotton*, Son of the Famous Mr. *John Cotton*, somtimes Minister of the Church at *Boston*. In *Plymouth* Colony of the Inhabitants of *Saconet* there is a great Congregation of those who for distinctions sake, are called *Praying Indians*; Because they Pray to God in Christ.

Not far from a Promontory called *Cape Cod*, are Six Assemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as *Catechumeni*; amongst whom are Six Indian Preachers. Mr. *Samuel Treat* Minister of a Church at *East Ham*, Preacheth to these Congregations in their own Language.

There are amongst the Islanders of *Mantucket*, a Church, with a Minister who was lately a Heathen, and several meetings of *Catechumeni*, who are instructed by the Converted Indians.

In the Island of *Martha*, which is about Twenty Two Miles long, are two American Churches planted, which are more Famous than the rest, for that over one of them presides an Ancient

cient Indian Minister, called *Hiacooms: John Hiacooms*, Son of the said Indian Minister, also Preaches the Gospel to his Contrymen in Church: in that place *John Tockinosh*, a Converted Indian Teaches.

In these Churches *Ruling Elders* of the Indians are joyned to the Ministers: The Ministers were chosen by the People, and when they had Fasted and Prayed; Mr. *Elliott* and Mr. *Cotton* laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly Ordained.

All the Congregations of the Converted Indians, (the *Catechumeni* and those that are in Church Order) every Lords Day meet together, the Minister always beginning with Prayer, and without a Form, because from the heart; when the Ruler of the Assembly hath ended his Prayer, the whole Congregation of Indians, praise God with Singing; in which many of them are excelling. After the Psalm, he that Preaches reads a place of Scripture, and Expounds it, gathers Doctrins from it, proves them by Scripture and reasons, and infers use from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught: Then another Prayer to God in the Name of Christ concludes the whole Service, in which manner they meet twice every Lord's Day; they observe no Holy Days, but the Lord's Day, except upon some extraordinary occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole Days, either in giving thanks, or fasting and praying with great fervor of Mind.

Before the English came into these Parts, these Barbarous Nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is, that in their Prayers and Sermons, they use English Words and Terms.

He that calls upon the most Holy Name of God, says, *Jehovah*, or God, or Lord; and also they have Learned, and borrowed many other Theological Phrases from the English.

There are six Churches of Baptized Indians in *New England*, and eighteen Assemblies of *Catechumeni*, professing the Name of Christ.

Of the Indians there are four and twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God, and there are also four English Ministers who Preach the Gospel in the Indian Tongue, and there are many of the Indians Children, who have learned by heart the Catechism; either of that famous Divine Mr. *Will. Perkins*, or that put forth by the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and can in their own Mother-Tongue answer to all the questions in it.

Thus Sir I have endeavoured to gratifie your request with as much

much Brevity as the Subject will admit, and exceeding the Bounds of a Letter, am forced to be so prolix, and the rather for that most of what I have written is upon my own knowledge, Truth (and the rest undeniable fact) though not the twentieth Part of the Truths might be said of the Almighty's most wonderful blessing and prospering *New England*, and his Gospel amongs the Heathen there, which to me looks like the Beginning of the fulfilling those many Prophecies in *Holy Writ* concerning them.

And after all this, I cannot but admire there should be (as you say there is) any Man in *England*, who owns but even the bare name of a Protestant, at such a time as this, when God seems to have begun the Reformation of the whole World, and eminently to appear for the True Reformed Religion, should be an Enemy unto such a People as are in *New England*, and their Discipline, as to the Religious Worship: When as to all knowing and unprejudiced persons, its consonant to the practice of the Primitive Church, and of the Reformed Churches throughout the World: Which one would think should not find an Enemy among any sort of Christians, but those called Papists, or else among such, as *Papist like* can give up their Religion, Rights, Liberties, and Properties, nay, their very Senses to the conduct of their Fellow Creatures.

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Vol. 4
No. 12

A RELATION

OF THE

COLONY OF THE LORD BARON OF BALTIMORE,

IN

MARYLAND, NEAR VIRGINIA;

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGE TO MARYLAND,

BY FATHER ANDREW WHITE;

AND SUNDRY REPORTS,

FROM FATHERS ANDREW WHITE, JOHN ALTHAM, JOHN BROCK,
AND OTHER JESUIT FATHERS OF THE COLONY,
TO THE SUPERIOR GENERAL AT ROME.

Copied from the archives of the Jesuits' College at Rome, by the late Rev. Wm. McSherry, of Georgetown College; and translated for Force's Historical Tracts, by N. C. Brooks, A. M., Member of the Maryland Historical Society.

Force's Collection of Historical Tracts.

Vol. IV.—No. 12.

RELATION.

A Report of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, in Maryland, near Virginia, in which the quality, nature, and condition of the region and its manifold advantages and riches are described.

The province is near the English colony in Virginia, which, in honor of his wife Maria, his most serene majesty of England wished to be called Maryland, or the Land of Maria. This province, his most serene majesty, in his munificence, lately, in the month of June, 1632, gave to the Lord Baron of Baltimore and his heirs forever; which donation he secured, and has confirmed by the public seal of the whole realm: Therefore the most illustrious Baron has resolved immediately to lead a colony into that region; first, and especially, that into the same and the neighboring places he may carry the light of the gospel and of truth where it has been found out that hitherto no knowledge of the true God has shone; then, furthermore, with this design, that all the companions of his voyage and labors may be admitted to a participation of the profits and honor, and that the empire of the realm may be more widely extended.

For this enterprise, with all haste and diligence, he seeks companions of his voyage—as well those of fortune who may be about to experience a different condition with him, as others also. For the whole affair being carefully considered, and the counsel of men eminent for experience and prudence being called in, he has now weighed carefully and studiously all the advantages and disadvantages which hitherto advanced or impeded other colonies, and found nothing which did not greatly approve his design and promise the most happy success.

For both the writings which his most noble father left behind him, an eye witness and most veracious—and worthy of credit, the things which those constantly report who daily come and go to us from thence or not far from thence, as well as the things which Captain Smith, who first discovered that country, most veritably wrote and published, contain statements truly wonderful and almost unheard of, in relation to the fertility and excel-

lence

lence of its soil. There is added to this also, the common consent and testimony of innumerable men who are here from London, and who are about to return to the regions from which they had formerly come, who with one accord verify and confirm what Smith has committed to writing.

Wherefore the most noble Baron, about the middle of September next succeeding, is about to make sail, God helping, into these parts; and to those whom he shall obtain as companions and followers in an undertaking so illustrious he makes the most ample and liberal promises, of which this is first and especial, (to omit the titles of honor and rank which are granted to fidelity, virtue, bravery, and illustrious services,) that whoever shall pay down one hundred pounds English to convey five men, (which sum shall be sufficient for arms and implements, for clothes and other necessary articles,) whether it shall please them to join themselves to us, or their men and money, to those to whom this gift may be transferred, or to another whom he may commission to have the care of them, and receive a division of the land—to them and to their heirs forever, shall be assigned a possession of two thousand acres of good land; and besides, if in the first expedition they shall join themselves as companions, and exert their labors, they shall obtain their share, by no means small, in a profitable trade, (of which more hereafter,) with other privileges:—concerning all which things, when they come to the aforesaid Baron, they shall be made acquainted. But what has been before said of the one hundred pounds English, this also may be understood of a smaller or greater sum of money in proportion, whether from one person separately, or collected together and contributed by many.

The first and chief object of the most illustrious Baron (which also ought to be the object of others who may be in the same ship) is, that in a land so fruitful shall be sown not so much the seeds of grain and fruit trees as of religion and piety; a design truly worthy of christians, worthy of angels, worthy of the Angles,* than which England, renowned for so many ancient victories, has undertaken nothing more noble or more glorious. Behold the regions are white unto the harvest, prepared to receive in its fruitful bosom the seed of the Gospel. From thence they are sending, on all sides, messengers to seek for suitable men who may instruct the inhabitants in the doctrine of salvation and regenerate them in the sacred font.

There are present at this very time in the city, those who state

* "They ought not to be called Angles, but Angels."—*Pope Gregory.*

state that they have seen at Jamestown, in Virginia, messengers sent from their kings for this purpose, and infants carried to New England, that they might be washed in the waters of salvation. Who then can have a doubt, but that by this one work so glorious, many thousand souls may be led to Christ? I call the rescue and salvation of souls a glorious work, for it is a work to the glory of Christ our King. But since there are not to all the same ardor of mind and elevation of soul, so as to regard nothing but divine things, esteem nothing but heavenly things—inasmuch as most men regard rather pleasures, honors, and wealth, as if in love with them—it has happened by some unseen power, or rather by the manifest remarkable wisdom of the Deity, that this one undertaking should embrace all inducements that affect men—emoluments of every kind.

It is admitted that the situation of the region is the best and most advantageous; for it extends towards the north to the thirty-eighth or fortieth degree of latitude, in the same position of place with Saville, Sicily, and Jerusalem, and not unlike the best portions and climate of Arabia Felix. The air is serene and mild, neither exposed to the burning heat of Florida or ancient Virginia, nor withered by the cold of New England, but has a medium temperature between the two—enjoys the advantages of each, and is free from their inconveniences. On the east it is washed by the ocean; on the west it adjoins an almost boundless continent, which extends to the China sea.

There are two arms of the sea on each side—bays most abundant in fish. The one whose name is Chesapeake, is twelve miles broad, and flowing between two regions, rolls from south to north one hundred and sixty miles, is able to contain great navies, and is marked by various large islands fit for grazing, where they fish actively for shad.* They call the other the Delaware, where, the entire year, there is the fishing for codfish,† but not so profitable, except only in the cold months, as those which are rather warm prevent their being cured with salt. And indeed this great plenty of fishing arises from this: the wind which sets continually from the Canaries, between the north and east, rolls the ocean and the fish with it to the Gulf of Mexico, where, since it can neither return again to the east nor the south, it is driven towards the north, and bears with it along the coasts of Florida, Virginia, Maryland, and Newfoundland a great multitude of fish, which, as they avoid

* Lagois. † Asellus.

avoid the *cetacea*, fly to shoal places, where they are more easily taken by the fishermen.

There are various and noble rivers, the chief of which they call Patawomek,* suitable for navigation, flowing one hundred and forty miles towards the east, where a trade with the Indians is so profitable, that a certain merchant, the last year, shipped beaver skins at a price of forty thousand pieces of gold, and the labor of traffic is compensated by thirty-fold profit.

In the level and campaign country, there is a great abundance of grass; but the region is for the most part shaded with trees; oaks and walnut trees are the most common, and the oaks are so straight and tall that beams can be made from them, sixty feet long, and two feet and a half thick. Cypress trees will shoot up eighty feet before they send forth branches, and three men with extended arms scarcely encompass them. The mulberry trees that feed silk worms, are very common. There is also found an Indian grain which the Portuguese call *l'ove de l'hierica.* Alders, ashtrees, and chesnuts, not inferior to those which Spain, Italy, and Gaul produce—cedars equal to those which Lebanon boasts. What shall I say of the pine, laurel, fir, sassafras, and others, with various trees also which yield balsam and odoriferous gum—trees for all the most useful purposes—for architecture, for nautical uses, for plank and pitch—naptha, terebinth, and mustard, for perfumes, and for making cataplasms? But the woods are passable, not rough, with an undergrowth of thorns and shrubs, but formed by nature to afford food to beasts, and pleasure to men. There are grapes in abundance, from which wine can be pressed; you can meet with some whose juice is thick and unctuous; the inhabitants employ it as a medicine. There are cherries, with prunes, and gages very like ours. Of prunes there are three kinds. Mulberries, chesnuts, and walnuts are so abundant that they are used in various ways for food. Strawberries and esculent blackberries you will, in like manner, find.

Of the fishes, those that follow have already come into notice: sturgeons, herrings, phocenæ, crevices, shrimp, torpedoes, trouts, mullets of three kinds, urchins, rochet-fish, white salmon, oysters, periwinkles, and others of that kind, of innumerable names and unknown species. But so great is the abundance of swine and deer that they are rather troublesome than advantageous. Cows also are innumerable, and oxen suitable for bearing burdens or for food; besides five other kinds of

* Potomac.

of large beasts unknown to us, which our neighbors admit to their table. Sheep will have to be taken hence or from the Canaries; asses also, and mules and horses. The neighboring forests are full of wild bulls and heifers, of which five hundred or six hundred thousand are annually carried to Saville from that part which lies towards New Mexico. As many deer as you wish can be obtained from the neighboring people. Add to this muskrats, rabbits, beavers, badgers, and martens, not however destructive, as with us, to eggs and hens.

Of the birds, the eagle is the most voracious. Of hawks there are various kinds, which live in a great measure on fish. There are partridges, not larger than our quails, but almost infinite in number. Innumerable wild turkies, which excel our tame and domestic ones, by double the size. There are also blackbirds, thrushes, and a great many little birds, of which there are various kinds, some red, some blue, &c., &c. During the winter it abounds in water-fowl: swans, geese, cranes, and herons—ostriches, owls, parrots, and many others unknown to our part of the world. It bears apples, lemons, and the best quinces. The apricots also are so abundant, that an honorable man and worthy of credit positively affirmed that he had cast an hundred bushels to the hogs. What shall I say of the lupines, the most excellent beans, roots, and other things of this kind, when even in ten days peas grow to fourteen inches height? It is so fruitful in king's corn, that in the most barren places it returns the seed twice an hundred fold; otherwise, and for the most part, from one grain five hundred or six hundred grains; while in the more productive years from fifteen hundred to sixteen hundred grains, and this indeed in one harvest, whereas the fertility of the soil affords three harvests. That I may draw to a close presently, it is very likely that the soil is adapted to all the fruits of Italy, figs, pomegranates, golden olives, &c., &c.

Nor are there wanting things that may be of use to conjurers and apothecaries—nor is plenty of iron, hemp, and flax wanting to their hand. There is hope also of finding gold, for the neighboring people wear bracelets of unwrought gold, and long strings of pearls. Other advantages, both numerous and lucrative, may be expected, which sagacious industry and long acquaintance will discover.

NARRATIVE

OF

A VOYAGE TO MARYLAND.

On the 22d of the month of November, 1633, on St. Cecilia's day, the east wind blowing gently, we weighed anchor from Cowes, situated in the isle of Wight. When we had first placed the principal parts of the ship under the protection of God, the most holy Mother, St. Ignatius, and all the other guardian angels of Maryland, being carried a short distance between the two headlands, for want of wind we came to anchor off the Castle of Yarmouth, which is a port on the west of the same island. Here we were saluted by the festal thunders of the cannon. We were not free from fear, however; for the sailors began to murmur among themselves that they expected a messenger from London with letters, and so appeared to frame causes of delay. But God interrupted their wicked designs, for the same night a favorable, but strong wind blowing, a French barque, which had lain in the same port with us, being compelled to weigh anchor, nearly drove against our pinnace. Therefore, to prevent being run down, one anchor being cut loose and lost, she hastened to make sail as quick as possible, and since it is dangerous to be tossed by the waves in that place, she put out to sea. Therefore, lest we should lose sight of our pinnace, we determined to follow; so that whatever designs the sailors contemplated against us, were frustrated. This happened on the 23d of November, St. Clement's day, on which he, being bound to an anchor and cast into the sea, obtained a crown of martyrdom, and afforded to his people a way to land, as the miracles of God declare.

So the next day, at ten o'clock in the morning, being honored again by a salute from the Castle of Hurst, we were carried beyond the breakers at the extremity of the Isle of Wight, which from their form, they call the Needles. But these are a terror to sailors on account of the double tide of the sea; on this side hurrying and dashing the ships upon the rocks, and on the

the other side against the neighboring shore. To say nothing of the other imminent danger which we escaped at the Castle of Yarmouth, here the wind and tide raging while we remained, the anchor not yet being weighed and secured, the ship was almost dashed on shore, unless on a sudden, by great exertion, having tacked, and shipping a sea, we escaped the danger, by a propitious God, who vouchsafed to us this pledge of his future protection, through the merits of St. Clements.

On that day, which fell on the Sabbath, and on the succeeding night, we enjoyed winds so favorable, that the following day, about nine o'clock in the morning, we left behind us the western promontory of England and the Scilly isles; in a gentle course turned rather towards the west, coasting along the British ocean, nor running as fast as we could, lest, leaving the pinnace too far behind, it might fall a prey to the Turks and pirates for the most part infesting that sea. Hence it came to pass that a fine merchant ship of six hundred tons burden, by the name of the Dragon, which having sailed from London was going to Angola, overtook us about three in the afternoon. And since our dangers being passed, we were induced to take a little enjoyment; it was delightful to behold the two ships contending together in their course, and with the clangor of trumpets, while sky and air resounded again.

On Lord's day, the 24th, and Monday, the 25th of November, until evening, we enjoyed a prosperous sail. But then, the wind having sprung up towards the north, there arose so great a storm that the London merchant ship of which I spoke, retracing its course, steered for England, and a port celebrated among the Paumonians. Our pinnace, too, for it was only of forty tons burden, began to be distrustful of its strength, and heaving to, advised us, that, if it feared shipwreck, it would signify it by lights shown from the masthead.

We were carried in the meantime in a strong ship, of four hundred tons burden, as good as could be framed of wood and iron. We had a most skilful captain; and the option was given him of returning to England if he chose, or of contending still with the waves, to which should he yield, the Irish coast in the vicinity awaited us, noted for its breakers and very frequent shipwrecks. The daring mind of the commander prevailed, and a desire of proving what was the strength of his new ship, which desire was the greater, as it was the first time he commanded it. It was settled in his mind to try the sea, which he admitted was the more dangerous, owing to its narrowness.

Nor

Nor was the danger far distant, for the winds swelling and the sea becoming rough, about midnight we saw at a distance the pinnace with two lights hanging out from the masthead. Then, forsooth, we thought there was an end of the pinnace, and that it was swallowed up in the deep whirlpools, for in a moment she had escaped our sight, nor was any discovery of her made till six or seven weeks after. So we were all persuaded that the pinnace had perished; however, God had provided better things for us, for perceiving herself unequal to the waves, avoiding in time the Virginia ocean, by which we were now tossed, she returned to England and the Scilly isles. From thence, afterwards, the Dragon being her companion from the port of the great Bay,* she followed us to the Antilles Islands, as I may relate hereafter; God who has the care of the smallest things, providing for a guide and guardian of that little boat. But grief and fear oppressed us, ignorant of the event which a dismal night, full of terrors, increased. At dawn of day, when we had the southwest wind against us, though it was more faint, we made little headway on account of being compelled to tack so frequently.

In like manner during Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the winds being variable, we made little progress. On Friday, a southeast wind prevailing, and the wind driving before it clouds heavy with sleet, towards evening such a tempest poured itself down, that every moment we seemed about to be engulfed in the waves. Nor did the following morning, being the festival of St. Andrew the Apostle, promise any abatement. The clouds blackening all around in a frightful manner, before they were rent asunder by the lightnings, were a terror to those that beheld them; and the opinion prevailed, that all the spirits of storms and all the malignant and evil *genii* of Maryland had come forth in battle array against us. As the day declined, the Captain saw a sunfish endeavoring to make way against the course of the sun, which is the most certain indication of a horrid storm; nor was the reality itself much behind the presage. For about ten o'clock at night, a black cloud rained down a direful tempest. This was followed by a whirlwind so dreadful that it was necessary to hasten to take in sail, nor could that be done with sufficient expedition before the mainsail, under which alone we were running, was rent in twain from top to bottom. One part of it carried into the sea was recovered with difficulty. In this juncture, the minds of the bravest, whether passengers

* The Bay of Biscay.

passengers or sailors, were struck with terror, for they confessed that they had seen the best ships go down in a lighter storm.

But the tempest animated the prayers of the catholics; and vows in honor of the most blessed virgin Mother, and her immaculate conception, of St. Ignatius, the patron of Maryland, St. Michael, and all the tutelar angels of the place. And each one strove, by the sacrament of penance, to purge his soul; for for having lost our rudder, the ship now abandoned to the winds and waves, was tossed about here and there, as you may suppose, till God opened a way of safety. In the beginning, I confess the fear of the loss of the ship and of my life, had taken hold of me, but after I had spent some time in prayer, less after my daily lukewarm manner, and had declared to the divine Christ, the most blessed Virgin, St. Ignatius, and the angels of Maryland, the purpose of this voyage, to honor the blood of the Redeemer in the salvation of barbarians, and to erect to the same Saviour a kingdom, if he would deign to prosper my humble endeavors, and that I would consecrate another gift to the immaculate Virgin Mother, and many similar things, there shone in my soul no little consolation, and at the same time a certain assurance that we would be freed, not only from this storm, but from all others in this voyage, so that there did not exist with me a doubt.

When the sea was raging most violently, I had given myself to prayer, and, let it redound to the glory of God alone! while as yet I had scarcely ended, they perceived the tempest to be abating. That indeed clothed me with a new habit of mind, and overpowered me with great joy and wonder, when I then perceived the great benevolence of God towards the people of Maryland, to whom Father Vincent Caraffa* has sent us. Blessed forever be the most benevolent kindness of our Redeemer! When the sea had ceased its raging, the rest of the voyage, which was for the space of three months, was most prosperous, sc that the Captain and his men declared that they had never seen one more pleasant or tranquil; nor, for a single hour, did we suffer any inconvenience. When I say three months, however, we were not at sea so long a time; but I take into the account the whole voyage and the delays which we made at the Antilles Islands, for the voyage itself lasted only seven weeks and two days, which is considered expeditious.

After that, as we were coasting along the shores of Spain, we had a wind neither adverse nor yet prosperous; we were apprehensive

* The Superior General.

apprehensive of the Turks; however, we met none. Perhaps they had betaken themselves to celebrate their annual fast, which they call Ramadan, for it was at that season of the year. But being carried beyond the pillars of Hercules and the Madeiras, under full sail we were scudding before the winds, (which are not variable here, but set continually towards the south and southwest, which was our course) there appeared three ships, any one of which was larger in bulk than ours. They seemed to be about three leagues distant to the west, and to be endeavoring to come up with us; also to send from one to the other, as if for the purpose of conferring. When we suspected them to be Turkish piratical vessels, we made ready for action whatever things were necessary. Nor were there wanting among our men those who imprudently urged the Captain to give chase and attack them. But he had respect to his Lord, to whom, when his account should be rendered, he doubted that he could assign a just cause for battle. And, indeed, I think he would have had a difficult engagement, though perhaps they were as much afraid of us, as we were of them, and were, as I suppose, merchantmen, who were bound for the Fortunate Islands, not far distant, and either could not overtake us or were afraid.

After this, having arrived at the Fortunate Islands, we were received in a large bay in which there is no danger except from calms, by reason of which, (since they continue fifteen days, and sometimes even twenty-one,) their provisions fail the mariners. But that happens rarely, and seldom more than once in the same place. Nevertheless, delays are frequently protracted for want of wind, which, as it blows ever in the same direction, chanced to be propitious to our voyage. In this bay we completed a run of over three thousand Italian miles, cutting the milkwhite sea with full sails, the calm never delaying us except for an hour about noon-tide. I do not readily perceive the reason of so constant a wind, unless, perchance, one may say it arises from the proximity of the sun running between the tropics, and in its course attracting from the sea two kinds of exhalation, one dry, from the sea salt, the other moist, of the nature of water—of the former of these is produced wind, of the latter, rains re generated. The sun, therefore, attracting each to itself is the reason why they always preserve the same obliqûe course as the sun, and at all times follow the sun. And the same may be the reason why we experienced between the two tropics, at the same time, both great heat and great rain, and that

that continually, morning, noon, and evening, or at least more vehement during the hours in which the wind prevailed. From this also can be deduced a reason why the gulf was at this season free from calm; for the sun being in the tropic of Capricorn, beyond the equinoctial line, and declining towards the extreme southern part of the line, as was the case when we were between the 13th and 17th degree, when there, in our winter months, the heat is as great as in the summer months in Europe, attracts the wind and rain in an oblique direction towards the equinoctial line, and in consequence, during these months, the winds are more steady, and in this gulf especially, and towards the tropic of Cancer. But the calms are more common in the summer season when the sun is crossing the equator towards us; and attracts the salt and aqueous exhalations, not obliquely, but in a manner almost perpendicular.

But here I cannot refrain from extolling the divine goodness which causes all things to work together for good to them that love God; for if no delay had intervened, and we had been permitted to weigh anchor at the time we had determined, on the 20th of August, the sun striking the vertical from this side of the equator, the very intense heat would not only have caused the loss of our provisions, but disease and death to almost all of us. The delay eventuated in our safety, for, embarking in winter, we were free from inconveniences of this kind; and, if you except sea-sickness, usual to those who are making a voyage, no one was attacked with any disease till the festival of the nativity of our Lord. That the day might be more joyfully celebrated, the wine flowed freely, and some, who drank immoderately, about thirty in number, were seized with a fever the next day, and twelve of them not long after died, and among whom two catholics, Nicholas Fairfax and James Barefoot, caused great regret with us all.

While sailing, after we had seen the sunfish, which was struggling against the course of the sun and is a sign of storms, and after the storm itself, which occurred afterwards, many singular things occurred. In the first place flying-fish, which at one time cut the sea with their wings, and again the high air, of the size of flounders or the larger ray, (which also they greatly resemble in taste,) by the hundred in flocks, poise themselves in the air when they are trying to escape from the dolphins that pursue them. Some having lost the balance of their wings, fell in our ship; for, at one effort, they do not fly over a space of more than two or three acres before they immerse their wings in water that have been dried by the air, and again commit

mit themselves to the sky. When we were distant twenty-one degrees and some minutes from the equator, where the tropic commences, we were permitted to see floating in the air the birds which from their locality they call tropic birds. It is uncertain whether these birds, which equal the falcon in size, and are conspicuous for two very long white feathers in the tail, are continually in the air, or rest themselves at times on the water. Other things I omit which are learned from the books of other voyagers.

When we arrived at the Fortunate Islands, Lord Leonard Calvert began to consult with the officers with what merchandise to load the ship when about to return, and where to obtain it, so that he might be freed from the expenses of his brother the Baron of Baltimore; for the entire burden fell upon him as the chief one of the whole expedition. In Virginia, no advantage was expected from our countrymen, for they are hostile to this new plantation. Therefore we steered for the island of St. Christopher's with the aforesaid design, fearing lest at that late season of the year, others might have anticipated us, we turned our prow towards the south, that we might reach Bonavista, which island is opposite Angola, on the coast of Africa, fourteen degrees from the equator. It is a station of the Hollanders obtaining salt, who thence take it home or to Greenland to cure fish. The abundance of salt, also of the wild goats with which the island abounds, invited us thither, for it is used by no one as a habitation. Only a few Portuguese, exiled from their country on account of their crimes, drag out in exile their lives as they best can.

Scarcely had we gone two hundred miles when our counsel being again changed, at the suggestion of some, lest provisions might fail us in so great a compass, we turned our course towards Barbadoes. It is the remotest of the Caribbee or Antilles Islands, thirteen degrees distant from the equator, and the storehouse of the other islands, which, after the shape of a bow, are extended in a long tract even to the Gulf of Mexico. When we arrived at this island on the 3d of January, we were in hope of receiving many articles of trade from the English inhabitants and Governor of the same blood; but a conspiracy being made, they determined not to sell us a bushel of wheat, which grew luxuriantly in the central Dutch portion of the island, unless for ten florins and a half. For a turkey they demanded five florins; for a guineahen, from two to five florins; for other small fatted fowls of this kind, three florins. Beef or mutton they had none; for they live daily on bread and potatoes, which kind of roots grows

grows in such abundance, that you may take away whole wagon loads without charge.

Reflection upon the Divine Providence mitigated the cruel treatment of men; for we understood that a Spanish fleet was lying at the isle of Bonavista for the purpose of prohibiting all foreigners from trading in salt. Moreover, if we had proceeded on our appointed voyage we should have fallen into the snare, and become a prey to them. In the meantime we were rescued from a greater danger at Barbadoes, for the slaves through the whole island conspired for the slaughter of their masters, and when they should assert their liberty successfully, resolved to seize the first ship which should arrive and put out to sea. The conspiracy having been disclosed by one whom the atrocity of the deed deterred, the execution of one of the leaders served for the security of the island and for our safety; for our ship, as it was the first which reached the shore, had been destined for their prey; and on the very day on which we landed we found eight hundred men under arms in order to prevent this most imminent crime.

The length of the island of Barbadoes is thirty miles, its breadth fifteen miles; it is thirteen degrees from the equator, of so agreeable temperature, that in the winter months the inhabitants are clothed in linen, and often bathe themselves in the streams. At the time we arrived it was harvest. Unless the constant winds tempered the heat it would be impossible to live there. Their beds are coverlets woven artfully together out of cotton. When it is time to rest, they sleep in these, stretched by ropes to a couple of posts on each side. In day time again, they put them wherever they please. Their principal merchandise is corn and cotton. It is pleasant to see the manner in which the cotton hangs from the stalk and the abundance of it. The shrub from which it grows is not larger than the prickly Bear's foot, which the vulgar call barberin, though more like the thorn tree. It bears a pod of the size of a walnut, but of a sharper form, which cleft into four parts gives forth the cotton, rolled together in the form of a nut, whiter than snow and softer than down. There are six small seeds, the size of a vetch in the cotton, which, gathered at its time, and freed by a kind of wheel from the seed, they place in sacks, and put away.

There is a wonderful kind of cabbage, which has a stalk that grows to the height of one hundred and eighty feet, and is eaten, either raw, or when boiled with a piece of the stalk itself of the length of an ell, is considered a great delicacy. When raw, a little

little pepper being mixed with it, in taste it surpasses the Spanish salad; and the huge stalk, more like a pealed walnut, and well equalling the trunk of a great tree, though not a tree however, but a chump, bears but a single cabbage. There you may see a very tall tree which they call the soap tree. The grains of the soap tree do not exceed in size a filbert nut—their coat is unctuous. Like soap, it is a purgative and detergent, though they say it is in a less degree pernicious. Many of these grains brought by me to Maryland I have planted—the hope of future trees. Among the trees, they also number the palma Christi. Although it has a trunk porous and like a bean, it bears a large cluster of berries somewhat of an ashy color and speckled with black spots. From these an excellent oil is pressed. Lemons of a golden color, pomegranates, nuts which the Spaniards call cocoas, and the fruits of the warm regions, grow here in abundance.

There is a fruit which they call graccan, of a gold color, and of the form of a lime; in taste, however, it resembles a quince. The pupais, in color and form, is not unlike it, but, as it is very sweet, is used in preserves.

But the pine-apple excels all other fruits in the world which I have tasted; it is of a golden color, and very pleasant when mixed with wine—in size it is equal to two or three European nuts of the same name, of form not unlike them, but in construction not marked with so many little divisions and protuberances, which, when put to the fire, yield their nucleus, but soft and tender, enveloped in a little membrane. It is very agreeable to the taste, not having a bitter kernel, but throughout equally pleasant to the palate. Nor is the palm which it merits withheld, for without doubt, it may be called the queen of fruits. It has a spicy taste, and, as far as I can judge, resembling strawberries mixed with wine and sugar. It contributes much to the preservation of health, agreeing so well too with the constitution of the body, that if there was any other fruit that was as nutritious to man, still it has this advantage; you can cut it with a knife, not from a lofty tree, but single, and standing out from the root like Spanish card. I was desirous of putting one of them with these letters into the hands of Father Vincent, for nothing except the fruit itself can give an adequate idea of it.

On the 24th of January, at night, having weighed anchor, and about noon of the following day, having passed the island of St. Lucia on our left, by evening we reached Matalina. At this

this place two boats of naked men, who were afraid of the bulk of our ship, held up to our sight from a distance, pumpkins, cucumbers, fruit of the plane tree, and parrots, for traffic. They are a wild race, filthy, and daubed with purple paint, ignorant of a God, and greedy of human flesh; and a little while before had eaten up the English interpreters. The country which they inhabit is very fertile, but altogether a forest, without any open campaign. A white flag being hoisted in token of peace, we invited those who had discovered themselves at a distance to trade; but disregarding the indication, they set up their own usual signals. After showing these, when they had learned who we were, they took courage, and approached nearer. But only a few bells and knives being exchanged, not trusting too much to so powerful a ship, they went to the pinnace, promising to bring better articles of trade the next day, if we should determine to remain. I hope commiseration of this abandoned race has seized some one, at some time.

A rumor excited interest among the sailors, that arose from shipwrecked Frenchmen, that an animal is found in this island, in whose forehead is a stone of uncommon splendor, like a fire-coal or burning brand. To this animal they have given the name of the carbuncle. The belief of this thing may rest with the authors of the report.

At the dawn of the day following, we reached another of the Caribbee Islands, to which similitude of mountains has given the Spanish name of Guadaloupe; and I trust it is under the protection of the most holy virgin Mother of the same. From that we reached Monserrat about noon, where we understood from a French galley that we were not yet safe from the Spanish fleet. Monserrat is inhabited by Irishmen who have been expelled by the English of Virginia, on account of their profession of the catholic faith. Having spent a day, we set sail for St. Christopher's, where we stopped for ten days, being invited to do so in a friendly way by the English Governor and two catholic captains. The Governor of the French colony, in the same island, treated me with the most especial kindness.

Whatever rare things are seen at Barbadoes I found here, and in addition to them, a volcanic mountain, and, what you will wonder at still more, the virgin plant; so called, because on the slightest touch of the finger it immediately withers and falls, though reviving after a little while, it rises again. The locust tree especially pleased us, which, it is believed, afforded sustenance to St. John the Baptist. It equals the elm in size, and is

is so grateful to the bees, that most willingly they fill their comb from it. The honey, if you except that it is called wild, neither in color nor in taste differs from the purest honey I have tasted. The fruit, also retaining the name of locust, consists of six beans within a hard shell, in taste resembling flour mixed with honey. It bears for seed four or five nuts somewhat large. I have brought some of these to plant in the earth.

At length, sailing from this, we reached what they call Point Comfort, in Virginia, on the 27th of February, full of fear lest the English inhabitants, to whom our plantation is very objectionable, should plot some evil against us. Letters, however, which we brought from the King and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor of these regions, served to conciliate their minds, and to obtain those things which were useful to us. For the Governor of Virginia hoped, by this kindness to us, to recover the more easily from the royal treasury a great amount of money due to him. They announced only a vague rumor, that six ships were approaching, which would reduce all things under the power of the Spanish. For this reason all the inhabitants were under arms. The thing afterwards proved to be in a measure true.

After a kind entertainment for eight or nine days, making sail on the 3d of March, and carried into the Chesapeake bay, we bent our course to the north, that we might reach the Potomac river. The Chesapeake bay, ten leagues broad, and four, five, six, and even seven fathoms deep, flows gently between its shores; it abounds in fish when the season of the year is favorable. A more beautiful body of water you can scarcely find. It is inferior, however, to the Potomac, to which we gave the name of St. Gregory.

Having now arrived at the wished for country, we appointed names as occasion served. And, indeed, the point which is at the south we consecrated under the title of St. Gregory; designating the northern point, we consecrated it to St. Michael, in honor of all the angels. A larger or more beautiful river I have never seen. The Thames, compared with it, can scarcely be considered a rivulet. It is not rendered impure by marshes, but on each bank of solid earth rise beautiful groves of trees, not choked up with an undergrowth of brambles and bushes, but as if laid out by the hand, in a manner so open, that you might freely drive a four horse chariot in the midst of the trees.

At the very mouth of the river we beheld the natives armed. That night fires were kindled through the whole region, and since

since so large a ship had never been seen by them, messengers were sent every where to announce "that a canoe as large as an island had brought as many men as there was trees in the woods." We proceeded, however, to the Heron islands, so called from the immense flocks of birds of this kind.

The first which presented itself we called by the name of St. Clement's, the second St. Catharine's, the third St. Cecilia's. We landed first at St. Clement's, to which access is difficult, except by fording, because of the shelving nature of the shore. Here the young women, who had landed for the purpose of washing, were nearly drowned by the upsetting of the boat—a great portion also of my linen being lost—no trifling misfortune in these parts.

This island abounds in cedar, sassafras, and the herbs and flowers for making salads of every kind, with the nut of a wild tree which bears a very hard nut, in a thick shell, with a kernel very small but remarkably pleasant. However, since it was only four hundred acres in extent, it did not appear to be a sufficiently large location for a new settlement. Nevertheless, a place was sought for building a fort to prohibit foreigners from the trade of the river, and to protect our boundaries, for that is the narrowest crossing of the river.

On the day of the annunciation of the Holy Virgin Mary, on the 25th of March, in the year 1634, we offered in this island, for the first time, the sacrifice of the mass: in this region of the world it had never been celebrated before. Sacrifice being ended, having taken up on our shoulders the great cross which we had hewn from a tree, and going in procession to the place that had been designated, the Governor, commissioners, and other catholics participating in the ceremony, we erected it as a trophy to Christ the Saviour, while the litany of the holy cross was chaunted humbly on our bended knees, with great emotion of soul.

But when the Governor had understood that many sachems are subject to the chieftain of Piscataway, he resolved to visit him, that the cause of our coming being explained, and his good will being conciliated, a more easy access might be gained to the minds of others. Therefore, having added another pinnace to ours which he had bought in Virginia, and having left the ship at anchor at St. Clement's, retracing his course, he landed at the south side of the river. And when he had found out that the savages had fled into the interior, he proceeded to a village which is also called Potomac, a name derived from the river.

Here

Here the tutor of the king, who is a youth, is Archihu, his uncle, and holds the government of the kingdom—a grave man and prudent.

To father John Altham, who had come as the companion of the Governor, (for he left me with the baggage,) he willingly gave ear while explaining, through an interpreter, certain things concerning the errors of the heathens, now and then acknowledging his own; and when informed that we had not come thither for the purpose of war, but for the sake of benevolence, that we might imbue a rude race with the precepts of civilization, and open up a way to heaven, as well as impart to them the advantages of remote regions, he signified that we had come acceptably. The interpreter was one of the protestants of Virginia. Therefore when the father could not discuss matters further for want of time, he promised that he would return before long. "This is agreeable to my mind," said Archihu, "we will use one table; my attendants shall go hunt for you, and all things shall be common with us."

From this we went to Piscataway, where all flew to arms. About five hundred men, equipped with bows, stood on the shore with their chieftain. Signs of peace being given them, the chief, laying aside his apprehensions, came on board the pinnace, and having understood the intentions of our minds to be benevolent, he gave us permission to settle in whatever part of his empire we might wish.

In the meantime, while the Governor was on his visit to the chieftain, the savages at St. Clement's having grown more bold, mingled familiarly with our guards, for we kept guard day and night, both that we might protect our woodcutters as well as the brigantine which with boards and beams we were constructing as a refuge from sudden attacks. It was amusing to hear them admiring every thing. In the first place, where in all the earth did so large a tree grow, from which so immense a mass of a ship could be hewn? for they conceived it cut from the single trunk of a tree, in the manner of a canoe. Our cannon struck them all with consternation, as they were much louder than their twanging bows, and loud as thunder.

The Governor had taken as companion in his visit to the chieftain, Captain Henry Fleet, a resident of Virginia, a man very much beloved by the savages, and acquainted with their language and settlements. At the first he was very friendly to us; afterwards, seduced by the evil counsels of a certain Claiborne, who entertained the most hostile disposition, he stirred up

up the minds of the natives against us with all the art of which he was master. In the meantime, however, while he remained as a friend among us, he pointed out to the Governor a place for a settlement, such that Europe cannot show a better for agreeableness of situation.

From St. Clement's, having proceeded about nine leagues towards the north, we entered the mouth of a river, to which we gave the name of St. George. This river, in a course from south to north, runs about twenty miles before it is freed from its salt taste—not unlike the Thames. Two bays appeared at its mouth, capable of containing three hundred ships of the largest class. One of the bays we consecrated to St. George; the other bay, more inland, to the blessed Virgin Mary. The left bank of the river was the residence of King Yoacomico. We landed on the right, and having advanced about a thousand paces from the shore, we gave the name of St. Mary's to the intended city; and that we might avoid all appearance of injury and of hostility, having paid in exchange axes, hatchets, hoes, and some yards of cloth, we bought from the King thirty miles of his territory, which part now goes by the name of Augusta Carolina.

The Susquehannoes, a tribe accustomed to wars, and particularly troublesome to King Yoacomico, in frequent incursions devastate all his land, and compel the inhabitants, through fear of danger, to seek other habitations. This is the reason why so readily we obtained a part of his kingdom; God, by these miracles, opening a way for his law and for eternal life. Some emigrate, and others are daily relinquishing to us their houses, lands, and fallow-fields. Truly this is like a miracle, that savage men, a few days before arrayed in arms against us, so readily trust themselves like lambs to us, and surrender themselves and their property to us. The finger of God is in this; and some great good God designs to this people. Some few have granted to them the privilege of remaining with us till the next year. But then the ground is to be given up to us, unencumbered.

The natives are of tall and comely stature, of a skin by nature somewhat tawny, which they make more hideous by daubing, for the most part, with red paint mixed with oil, to keep away the musquitoes; in this, intent more on their comfort than their beauty. They smear their faces also with other colors; from the nose upwards, seagreen, downwards, reddish, or the contrary, in a manner truly disgusting and terrific. And since they are without beard almost to the end of life, they make the representation

resentation of beard with paint, a line of various colors being drawn from the tip of the lips to the ears. They encourage the growth of the hair, which is generally black, and bind it with a fillet when brought round in a fashionable style to the left ear, something which is held in estimation by them, being added by way of ornament. Some bear upon their forehead the representation of a fish in copper. They encircle their necks with glass beads strung upon a thread, after the manner of chains. These beads, however, begin to be more common with them, and less useful for traffic.

They are generally dressed in deerskin, or like kind of covering, which flows behind after the manner of a cloak, and are girded about the middle with an apron; in other respects they are naked. Boys and girls who have not reached the age of puberty, run about without any covering whatever. The soles of their feet are as hard as horn; they tread upon thorns and thistles without injury. Their weapons are bows and arrows two cubits long, pointed with buck horn or a piece of sharpened flintstone. They direct these with so much skill that at a distance, they can shoot a sparrow through the middle. And in order to practise themselves for skill they throw up a thong on high, and transfix it by an arrow impelled by a bowstring before it falls to the ground. They cannot strike an object situated at a distance from them, on account of not using a well strung bow. By means of these arms they live, and daily through the fields and woods, hunt squirrels, partridges, guinea-hens, and wild beasts; for of all these there is great plenty, though we, ourselves, do not venture as yet to provide food by hunting, through fear of falling into an ambuscade. They live in huts of an oblong, oval form, built nine or ten feet high. Into these huts light is admitted from above, by a window, a cubit in extent; it serves also for removing the smoke; for they kindle a fire in the middle of the floor and sleep around the fire. The kings, however, and principal men have, as it were, their private apartments and bed, four posts being driven into the earth and poles placed on them to receive the bed. One of these huts has been allotted to me and my companions, in which we are accommodated sufficiently well for the time being, until more commodious edifices shall be built. This is the first chapel in Maryland, which was built, however, by the Indians. The next voyage, if God prosper our undertaking, we shall not be destitute of the things which are found necessary in other houses.

The tribe has an ingenuous and liberal disposition; and what may

may, with good reason, surprise you when it is stated, in acuteness of taste, smell, and sight, they even surpass Europeans. They live mostly on a pap which they call *pone* or *homini*, each of which is made of corn. They add sometimes a fish, or a beast or bird which they have taken in hunting. They keep themselves as much as possible from wine and warm drinks, nor are they easily induced to taste them, except those whom the English have infected with their vices. So far as pertains to chastity, I confess that I have not yet observed in man or woman any action which might savor of levity, notwithstanding they are with us and among us daily, and are glad to enjoy our society. They come of their own accord, with a cheerful countenance, and offer whatever they have taken in hunting or fishing, victuals also at times, and oysters boiled or roasted, when invited by the few words of their vernacular tongue which we have hitherto learned by signs, as well as we could. Notwithstanding they keep many wives, they preserve conjugal faith inviolate. The countenances of the women are grave and modest. Upon the whole, they cultivate generous minds; whatever kindness you may confer, they repay. They determine nothing rashly, or when actuated by a sudden impulse of mind, but with reflection; so that when any thing of moment is, at any time, proposed, they are for a time silent in a thoughful manner; then they answer briefly, Yes or No, and are very firm of their purpose.

These having departed, if once they are imbued with christian precepts, (and I see nothing indeed to hinder it, except a want of an acquaintance with the language spoken in these regions,) will become worthy promoters of virtue and humanity. They are possessed with a wonderful desire of civilization and of the dress of Europeans, and they would have long since used their clothing had not the avarice of the traders prevented it, who do not exchange cloth except for beaver. Each one of them cannot hunt the beaver. Far from us be their avarice, that we should imitate it.

Ignorance of their language renders it still doubtful for me to state what views they entertain concerning religion; for we trust less to protestant interpreters. These few things we have learned at different times. They recognise one God of heaven, whom they call "Our God;" nevertheless, they pay him no external worship, but by every means in their power, endeavor to appease a certain evil spirit which they call Okee, that he may not hurt them. They worship corn and fire, as I am informed

formed, as Gods wonderfully beneficent to the human race. Some of our men relate that they have seen the following ceremony in a temple at Barcluxen.

On an appointed day there assembled from many parts of the country around a great fire, all the men and women of all ages. Next to the fire stood the younger people; behind them those more advanced in life. A piece of deer's fat being then thrown into the fire, and hands and voices being uplifted to heaven, they cried out "Taho! Taho!" A space being cleared, some one produces a large bag; in the bag is a pipe and some powder which they call *potu.* The pipe is such as our countrymen use for smoking tobacco, but much larger. Then the bag is carried around the fire, the boys and girls following, and in an agreeable voice singing alternately, Taho! Taho! The circle being ended, the pipe is taken from the pouch with the powder. The *potu* is distributed to each of those standing around, and lighted in the pipe, and each one smoking it, breathes over the several members of his body and consecrates them. I have not been able to learn more, except that they appear to have some knowledge of a Flood by which the world perished because of the sins of mankind.

We have been here only one month, and so other things must be reserved for the next sail. This I can say, that the soil appears particularly fertile, and strawberries, vines, sassafras, hickory nuts, and walnuts, we tread upon every where, in the thickest woods. The soil is dark and soft, a foot in thickness, and rests upon a rich and red clay. Every where there are very high trees, except where the ground is tilled by a scanty population. An abundance of springs afford water. No animals are seen except deer, the beaver, and squirrels, which are as large as the hares of Europe. There is an infinite number of birds of various colors, as eagles, herons, swans, geese, and partridges. From which you may infer that there is not wanting to the region whatever may serve for commerce or pleasure.

1635. From this mission, which was lately commenced, there has been as yet but small fruit, on account of the very many difficulties which occur in it, especially among barbarians, whose language is slowly acquired by our countrymen. Nothing in a manner can be written. There are five members in it, three priests and two coadjutors, who, with much alacrity, sustain their present labors in hope of future success.

1636. There are in this mission four priests, with one temporal coadjutor, of whose labors we are necessarily ignorant, inasmuch

asmuch as no letters have been brought to us from thence this year.

1638. Four priests and one coadjutor in temporal affairs, had care of this mission; and he indeed, after many labors for the whole period of five years, with the greatest patience, humility, and fervent charity, having been seized with a sickness then prevailing, happily exchanged this miserable life for one that is immortal. One of the priests soon followed him, a young man indeed, but evidently of great promise, on account of his remarkable endowments of mind. Scarcely had he passed two months in this mission, when by the prevalent sickness of the colony, which not one of the three other priests escaped, he was carried off, to the great regret of all. Nevertheless, we have not ceased in an active manner to exert our endeavors for our neighbors; and although it is not yet permitted us by the rulers of the province to live among the barbarians, both on account of the prevailing sickness and the hostile acts which the barbarians commit against the English, as one man from the colony who was among them for the purpose of traffic was slain, and a conspiracy also made against the whole nation—nevertheless, we hope in a short time that we will obtain one station of our own among the barbarians. In the interim we are more earnestly intent on the English, and since there are protestants as well as catholics in the colony, we have labored with both, and God has blessed our labors. For of the protestants who came from England this year, 1638, almost all have been converted to the faith, besides many others, with four servants that we bought for necessary use in Virginia, another colony of our empire. And of five workmen whom we hired for a month, we have in the meantime gained two. One of these, not long after, departed this life, being well prepared by the sacraments for dying. And among these, indeed, scarcely any thing else has happened worthy of note. The things which follow are more remarkable.

A certain one, altogether unknown to us, but zealous in the religion of the protestants, and staying with a host more fervent than himself, having been bitten by a snake, of which there are a great many in these parts, expected instant death. One of our people understanding this, having taken a surgeon with him to the sick man, who was now said to be deprived of his senses, was anxious for his soul, that he might, in a measure, heal it also; but his host perceiving the thing interrupted his pious endeavors. And when the priest could think of no other opportunity he resolved

solved to spend the night with the sick man; but the host threw an impediment in the way of this also, and lest by night access might be granted to the priest, he set a watch who would sleep in a bed opposite the door of the chamber, where he lay. Nevertheless, the priest taking advantage of every means, at an unseasonable hour of the night, when he supposed the guard most oppressed with sleep, without his being aroused, found a way of entrance to the sick man, and admitted him into the church as he desired it. And although, in consequence of these difficulties, the sick man could not be instructed much or greatly confirmed, nevertheless, when, contrary to all expectation, he was cured by our surgeon, through the power of divine grace, he chose rather to be turned out of his shelter than retract what he had done; and coming to us of his own accord, completed what he had happily begun.

One of us having endeavored to bring over a certain other one to the orthodox faith, was rejected by him, saying, that he had vowed that he never would embrace that faith. A little while after this miserable man fell sick, and was brought almost to the last extremity, before the father was advised of his being sick. However, he flies to him with all haste, and finds him deprived of all sense, yet breathing; and thus admonishes his nurses—that they should put, at intervals, a little nutriment into the sick man's mouth, and call him at any time he should return to his senses. That was done the day after in the morning; and the father hastening to the sick man, perceived while speaking that he was in a measure recognized by him, obtained also at times a response to a short interrogation, for he could not use a long speech at the same time. The father then determined to use the present opportunity as one who did not expect another hereafter, and when, by various modes, he had obtained what he supposed the consent of the sick man, that he wished to become a catholic, that he repented of his sins, that he desired to be absolved from them, having absolved him from his sins, he anointed him with holy oil.

These things being done, within a day or two the sick man returned to his perfect senses; and when he was asked what he had done, or what he had noticed done around him, he replied with great joy, that he had been admitted into the catholic church, and that he would remain in it till his latest breath; so that he excited no little surprise among all who were present. The same afterwards expressed great joy to the father when he returned to him, and to his great satisfaction performed the other

other things necessary for the perfecting of the work he had begun.

From that time he was gradually convalescent, but when he was almost without suitable remedies and lay a long time on his back, horrid ulcers broke out over his whole body. Wherefore, as far as we could, we obtained for him necessaries at our own expense, and sent a surgeon who might cure his malady. And although the surgeon took from the ulcers a great quantity of worms, nevertheless, by his skilful attention and the watchful care of others, the sick man was cured, and now he is a robust servant, sound, as we believe, both in mind and body.

Another, of noble extraction, was brought by his unbridled licentiousness to such a state of poverty, that he alienated himself into this colony, where he was recalled by one of us to the true faith, and became a better man. He was always in anxious doubt whether he had entered the right way, and when on a certain occasion he had committed himself to the sea in a little boat, a fearful tempest arose, such as he who had experienced many in sailing had never seen before, and when certain shipwreck appeared now to threaten him, he entreated God ardently in confirmation of the faith lately received, if indeed it was true, to avert his present danger. God heard the suppliant, and the other tempest being stilled, he confirmed his wavering soul with tranquil quiet. And not long after, this man being brought to the point of death by a grievous sickness, when he had received all the sacraments, about an hour before death, he asked his catholic nurse to pray for him. It is thought that his good angel rendered himself visible to him, for almost in the article of death, calling the nurse, he said in an eager voice, "Do you not see my good angel? See where he stands to bear me away! I must depart!" And thus breathed out his soul happy, as we have reason to hope. After his burial a very bright light around his tomb was often seen at night, even by protestants.

Moreover, one of us making an excursion beyond the colony found two Frenchmen, one of whom had been without the sacraments of the catholic church for the space of three years; the other now near to death, having passed fifteen entire years among heretics, had lived like them. The father aided the former with the sacraments, and confirmed him as much as he could in the catholic faith. Restoring the latter to the catholic church, he prepared him, by virtue of all the sacraments, for dying happily.

So

So far as concerns the catholics here, their attendance on the sacraments is such, that there is no greater among Europeans in proportion to the number. On every Lord's day catechisings are had before reading, and catechetic lessons before expositions; but on holydays meeting is rare, except for the mass. By every aid this year we have assisted the sick and dying who truly were very many and much scattered about; so that not even one, when about to die, was destitute of the sacraments. We have buried very many; we have baptized various persons. And although there are not wanting frequent causes of discord, nevertheless; none of any moment has happened for the past nine months, which we have not immediately allayed. By the kindness of God we have this comfort, that as yet no vices have sprung up among the new catholics, although places like this are not expected to be settled by the best kind of men.

The two catholics who had sold themselves into servitude in Virginia we have redeemed, nor was the money ill expended. Both of them have since deported themselves as good christians; but one excels ordinary people. The same work of charity some others have performed, buying thence catholic servants, of whom there is a plenty there; for it is said that to each person there, very many have sold themselves as servants, who, living among men of most profligate example, and destitute of all spiritual aid, for the most part, make shipwreck of their souls.

By spiritual exercises we have formed several of the principal men to piety, a fruit not to be repented of. In the case of one, we adore the remarkable providence and mercy of God, which brought a man encompassed in the world with very many difficulties, and now at length living in Virginia, almost continually without any aid to his soul, to undertake these exercises, not long before his death. This design a severe sickness prevented, which he bore with the greatest patience, with a mind generally fixed on God, and at length having properly received all the sacraments in the most peaceful manner, beyond what is usual, renders back to the Creator the breath of the life that remained, which had been so full of troubles and disquietudes.

A noble matron also has died, who, coming with the first settlers into the colony, with more than woman's courage bore all difficulties and inconveniences. She was given to much prayer, and most anxious for the salvation of her neighbors—a perfect example as well in herself as in her domestic concerns—she was fond of our society while living, and a benefactor to it when dying—of blessed memory with all for her notable examples

amples, especially of charity to the sick, as well as of other virtues.

1639. There are in this mission four priests and one coadjutor. All are in places far distant—thus, doubtless, that so they expect to obtain an earlier acquaintance with the barbarian language, and propagate more widely the sacred faith of the gospel. Father John Brock, the Superior, with a coadjutor brother, remains in the plantation. Metapawnien, which was given us by Maquacomen, the king of Patuxent, is a certain storehouse of this mission, whence most of our bodily supplies are obtained. Father Philip Fisher lives in the principal town of the colony, to which the name of St. Mary's is given. Father John Gravener lives in Kent Island, sixty miles distant. Father Andrew White is distant still farther, one hundred and twenty miles, to wit: at Kittamaquindi, the metropolis of Pascatoe, having lived in the palace with the king himself of the place, whom they call Tayac, from the month of June, 1639.

The cause of the father's going there was on this wise. He had bestowed much time and labor for the conversion of the king of Patuxent, which indeed was expected by us all, both on account of the recollection of kindness received, for he had given to the society, as has been said, a farm, and because he was said to be very powerful among the barbarians, on account of his reputation for wisdom and influence. For some of the people of the king had connected themselves with the fold of Christ, and he himself appeared abundantly instructed in the first principles of the faith, when lo! unhappy man, he first procrastinates, then by degrees began to grow indifferent, and lastly, in an open manner, to break off altogether from the design he had commenced. Nor this only, but also gave indications, not to be misunderstood, of a mind entirely alienated from the whole colony. When the Governor, after prudently sounding, determined, by the advice of his friends, that the father should be recalled from the hospitality of the king, lest, unexpectedly, the barbarian should give some example of his perfidy and cruelty against an innocent man, or indeed, lest this hostage, as it were, being left with the king, he himself might be hindered from being able to revenge injuries, if at any time the Patuxent should discover himself an enemy.

When rulers and kings are spoken of, let no one in his mind form an august idea of men, such as of the different princes in Europe. For these Indian kings, though they have the most absolute power of life and death over their people, and in certain prerogatives

prerogatives of honor and wealth excel others, nevertheless, in personal appearances, are scarcely any thing removed from the multitude. The only peculiarity by which you can distinguish a chief from the common people is some badge; either a collar made of a rude jewel, or a belt, or a cloak, oftentimes ornamented by shells in circular rows. The kingdoms of these are generally circumscribed by the narrow confines of a single village and the adjacent country; though Tayac has a much more extensive dominion, stretching about one hundred and thirty miles, to whose empire also other inferior chieftains are subject.

The salvation of Maquacomen being despaired of, father Andrew betook himself to him, and being treated by him very kindly at the first interview, so attached the man to him, that he was afterwards held by him in the greatest love and veneration; of which thing this is the strongest proof, that he was unwilling that the father should use any other hospitality than of his palace. Nor was the queen inferior to her husband in benevolence to their guest, for with her own hands (which thing the wife of our treasurer also does willingly) she is accustomed to prepare meat for him and bake bread, with no less care than labor.

The cause of this remarkable affection for the father, is to be referred to two dreams which he had, unless you may deem it proper to honor them with another name. One dream appeared to the mind of Uwanno, the brother-german of the king, who reigned before him, and whom he slew. For in his sleep he appeared to see father White and father Gravener before him, and moreover to hear a voice admonishing him, "Finally these are the men who from their soul loved him with all his tribe, and had brought with them those blessings by which he could be happy, if he desired it." Hence so lively an impression of these unknown men remained in his mind, that even at the first sight, he recognized them when coming to him, whom afterwards he embraced with remarkable affection. He was accustomed also to call father White his parent, to whose instruction also he wished to give up, for seven years, his sons, who were very dear to him, as the whole tribe is very fond of children, and seldom let them go from their embrace. The other dream, which he is accustomed to relate in frequent conversations, occurred to Tayac as he slept, to wit: That his father, deceased some time before, appeared to be present before his eyes, accompanied by a god of a black color, whom he worshipped, beseeching him that he would not desert him. At a short

short distance a most hideous demon, with a certain Snow, an obstinate heretic from England, and at length, in another part, the Governor of the colony and father White appeared, a god also being his companion, but much more beautiful, who excelled the unstained snow in whiteness, seeming gently to beckon the king to him. From that time he treated both the Governor and the father with the greatest affection.

So not long after the coming of father White to his palace, Tayac was in danger from a severe disease, and when forty conjurers had in vain tried every remedy, the father, by permission of the sick man, administered medicine, to wit: a certain powder of known efficacy mixed with holy water, and took care the day after, by the assistance of the boy whom he had with him, to open one of his veins for blood letting. After this the sick man began daily to grow better, nor long after became altogether well. Restored from the disease entirely, of himself he resolved as soon as possible to be initiated in the christian rights; nor himself only, but his wife also and two daughters; for as yet he has no male offspring. Father White is now diligently engaged in their instruction; nor do they slothfully receive the heavenly doctrine, for by the light of heaven poured upon them, they have long since found out the errors of their former life. The king has exchanged the skins with which he was heretofore clothed for a garment made in our fashion; he makes also a little endeavor to learn our language.

Having put away his concubines from him, he lives content with one wife, that he may the more freely (as he says) have leisure to pray to God. He abstains from meat on the days in which it is forbidden by the christian laws, and men that are heretics that do otherwise, or are of that name, he thinks ought to be called bad christians. He is greatly delighted with spiritual conversation, and indeed seems to esteem earthly wealth as nothing in comparison with heavenly, as he told the Governor, when explaining to him what great advantages from the English could be enjoyed by a mutual exchange of wares—"Verily, I consider these trifling when compared with this one advantage—that through these, as authors, I have arrived at the true knowledge of the one God; than which there is nothing greater to me among you, or which ought to be greater." So not long since, when he held a convention of the empire, in a crowded assembly of the chiefs and a circle of the common people, father White and some of the English being present, he publicly attested, it was his advice, together with that of his wife and

and children, that the superstition of the country being abjured, to give their names to Christ; for that no other true deity is any where else had, other than among the christians, nor otherwise can the immortal soul of man be saved from death—but that stones and herbs to which, through blindness of mind, he and they had hitherto given divine honors, are the humblest things created by the Almighty God for the use and relief of human life. Which being spoken, he cast from him a stone which he held in his hand, and spurned it with his foot. A murmur of applause from the people sufficiently indicated that they did not hear these things with unfavorable ears. But the greatest hope is, that when the family of the king is purified by baptism, the conversion of the whole empire will speedily take place. In the meantime, we heartily thank God for the joyful commencement of affairs; and are especially encouraged when we daily behold those idols to be the contempt of the natives, which were lately reckoned in the number of deities.

Another thing not unworthy of mention, the more inflamed the king, long since enkindled with the desire of baptism. A certain Indian having slain an Englishman, on account of an injury, was found guilty of the homicide, and was also sentenced to death, most remarkably, at the time when Tayac, with his companion, father White, was coming to the colony. We exhorted the miserable man, devoted to death, that by receiving solemnly the christian sacraments he would provide for the salvation of his immortal soul. When in this thing he appeared to show himself not at all obdurate, we endeavored as far as we could by the power of speech, to reach the mind of the man in some measure inclined to our advice. The pious king perceived us to labor for language; wherefore, of his own accord, he added his assistance to accomplish the end. He not only did not refuse to perform the office of a faithful interpreter, conveying to the man the things which he had received from father White to be impressed; but also of himself added some things so apposite and efficacious, that he was the admiration of those present, and at length drew over the Indian himself to the catholic side; who, imbued with the necessary knowledge and washed in the sacred font, prepared himself for death, for the most part in the very way which was prescribed to him. And indeed he appeared to be possessed with so vehement a desire of seeing God, that you would have thought he desired the execution to be hastened earlier. A remarkable eagerness appeared in his countenance; he fortified himself by the frequent and salutary

salutary sign of the cross; he often repeated submissively; and whatever things he did or said, did not seem feigned for show only, but to come from the inmost senses and recesses of the soul. When he came to the place of execution, he inquired, with cheerful countenance, if any thing was to be observed by him on his departure; and when answer was given, that by piously taking the holy names of the blessed Jesus and Mary, he would propitiate them in his last conflict, he cheerfully obeyed those that advised him, and almost at the same moment closed his life and pious voice, by the cord that stopped his breath. When dead, he was buried in our cemetery in the most solemn manner, that even from this, the barbarians might understand, that, although execrating the crimes of malefactors, christians may avenge them by merited punishment, nevertheless they hold their souls dear, and are easily reconciled to them, if they repent. And surely an example of clemency and charity to the deceased, struck them so much the more forcibly, the more it differed from their customs—who indeed are accustomed to serve up their enemies slain, in the most cruel manner, to be feasted on by their friends.

No one, however, was more vehemently moved at the sight of the dying *neophyte* than Tayac, who afterwards earnestly insisted that he too should receive the gift of baptism. The thing being considered in council, it appeared that it would be for the greater glory of God, if it be deferred a little, until it could be performed with splendid display, in the greatest solemnity, and in the sight of his countrymen; his wife also, and his children, coming to a participation of his joy and gladness. The king, at length, won over by the attentions of the catholics, and greatly delighted with their prolonged hospitality, returns home, the same father White being his attendant; whither as soon as he came, he gave command to his people to prepare the church by next pentecost, the time appointed for the next baptism. On that day, at Kittamaquindi, the governor and the other distinguished men of the colony contemplate honoring, by their presence, and by whatever other means they can, the christian sacraments and the second better birth of Tayac, a merciful God causing this thing to turn out to the good of all—to his glory, to our reward, and to the salvation of the whole tribe.

Whoever shall contemplate in thought the whole earth, will, perhaps, no where find men more abject in appearance than these Indians; who, nevertheless, have souls (if you consider the ransom paid by Christ) no less precious than the most cul-

cultivated

tivated Europeans. They are inclined indeed to vices, though not very many, in such darkness of ignorance, such barbarism, and in so unrestrained and wandering a mode of life; nevertheless, in their disposition they are docile, nor will you perceive in them, except rarely, the passions of the mind transported in an extraordinary manner. They are most patient of troubles, and easily endure contumely and injuries, if they do not involve danger of life. Idols, either many or few, they have, to whose worship they are greatly addicted; nor are there priests nor mystæ, to whom the administration of sacrifices appertains by appointment; though there are not wanting those who interpret superstitions, and sell them to the people; but even these are commonly not at all numerous. They acknowledge one God of heaven; notwithstanding, they distrust that they know in what way he is to be worshipped, in what way to be honored: from which it happens that they give willing ear to those that teach this knowledge. They rarely think of the immortality of the soul, or of the things that are to be after death. If at any time they meet a teacher clearly explaining these things, they show themselves very attentive as well as docile; and by and by are seriously turned to think of their souls; so as to be ready to obtain those things which they perceive conduce to the salvation of the same. They are readily swayed by reason, nor do they withhold their assent obstinately from the truth set forth in a credible manner. This natural disposition of the tribe, aided by the seasonable assistance of divine grace, gives us hope of the most desirable harvest hereafter, and animates us to continue our labors in this vineyard with the greatest exertion. And the same ought to be an incitement to all those who in future, by the will of God, may come hither to us for supply or assistance.

To the hope of the Indian harvest, are to be added also no mean fruits reaped from the colony and its inhabitants, to whom, on the principal festival days of the year, sermons are preached and the catechetical expositions given on the Lord's day. Not only catholics come in crowds, but also very many heretics—not without the reward of our labors; for this year, twelve in all, wearied of former errors, have returned to favor with God and the church. Our people cease not daily to engage in their divine employment, and to dispense the sacraments to those that come, as often as circumstances demand. In fine, to those in health, to the sick, to the afflicted, and the dying, we strive to be in season for counsel, for relief, and assistance of every kind whatsoever.

1640.

1640. In this mission this year have been four priests and one adjutor. We stated last year what hope we had conceived of converting Tayac, or the emperor of what they call Pascatoe. From that time, such is the kindness of God, the event has not disappointed the expectation; for he has joined our faith, some others also being brought over with him; and on the 5th of July, 1640, when he was sufficiently instructed in the mysteries of the faith, in a solemn manner received the sacramental waters in a little chapel which, for that purpose and for divine worship, he had erected out of bark, after the manner of the Indians. At the same time the queen, with an infant at the breast, and others of the principal men, whom he especially admitted to his counsels, together with his little son, were regenerated in the baptismal font. To the emperor, who was called Chitomacheu before, was given the name of Charles; to his wife, that of Mary. The others, in receiving the christian faith, had christian names allotted to them. The governor was present at the ceremony, together with his secretary and many others; nor was any thing wanting in display which our means could supply.

In the afternoon the king and queen were united in matrimony in the christian manner; then the great holy cross was erected, in carrying which to its destined place the king, governor, secretary, and others, lent their shoulders and hands; two of us in the mean time chanting before them the litany in honor of the Blessed Virgin. And not long after father Andrew White and father John Gravener had to bear their crosses by no means light; for father White, in performing the ceremonies of the sacred rite of baptism, which were somewhat long, had contracted a fever and again suffered a relapse, which held him even till the winter. But father Gravener was so deprived of the use of his feet, that he could not even put a foot to the ground; nevertheless he became well: though afterwards, affected with an abscess, he was carried off in the space of a few days, upon the 5th of November.

When famine prevailed among the Indians on account of the great drought of the past summer, that we might not appear to neglect their bodies for the care of whose souls we had made so great a voyage, though corn was sold at a great price, nevertheless we considered it necessary to relieve their want of bread by assisting them. Amidst these cares, intent also on settling the affairs of the mission, we passed the greater part of the winter.

On the 15th of February we came to Pascatoe, not without the

the great gratulation and joy of the inhabitants, who indeed seem well inclined to receive the christian faith. So that not long after the king brought his daughter, seven years old, (whom he loves with great affection,) to be educated among the English at St. Mary's; and, when she shall well understand the christian mysteries, to be washed in the sacred font of baptism. His counsellor, also, of whom we have spoken above, desiring the goodness of God, which he had experienced in his own case, to be brought also to his people, has nothing more earnest in his prayers, than that his wife and children may be brought to the waters of salvation; which most proper desire, after suitable instruction, by the favor of God, shall be gratified.

But the king also of the Anacostans, whose territory is not far distant, is anxious to live among us, as one of us: from which it is plainly evident that a harvest will by no means be wanting to us, on which we may bestow labor with advantage; but rather it is to be feared that there will not be laborers for gathering so abundant a harvest. There are other villages lying near, which, I doubt not, would run promptly and joyfully to the light of gospel truth, if any one would impart to them the word of eternal life. But it is not right for us here to be too anxious for bringing the others to the truth, lest we may seem to abandon prematurely our present tender flock. Nor need those who are sent for assisting us fear lest the means of life be wanting, when he who clothes the lilies and feeds the fowls of the air, will not suffer those who are laboring to extend his kingdom to be destitute of necessary sustenance.

To father Philip Fisher, who now resides at St. Mary's, in the colony, nothing could have happened more agreeable than to labor in the Indian harvest, if he had been permitted by his own people, who could not do without his services. His reward, however, has been correspondent to his will; for, while those of whom we have spoken above among the Indians are cleansed by the water of baptism, as many at the same time by his active industry are brought back from heretical depravity into the bosom of the church. The catholics who live in the colony are not inferior in piety to those who live in other countries; but in urbanity of manners, according to the judgment of those who have visited the other colonies, are considered far superior to them. Every where the hope of harvest has dawned; and while each one of us, even unto death, is anxious to help now these, now those, various things happen worthy of recital—of which, (others being omitted for the purpose of avoiding prolixity,) two

of

of the most prominent shall be stated here, in one of which the divine mercy was manifest, in the other the divine justice.

On the day upon which a certain man was about to abjure heresy, and expiate the sins of his past life by confession, a flame having caught in the interior part of his house, running up the door-post, had burst out at the top; when he had perceived the thing, for he was not far distant, he suddenly called to a neighbor, but finds no assistance however: he runs then to another, when he finds only two that will go with them; and although, all this time, the fire was burning, and the house was built of dry logs, nevertheless it was put out before any great injury had happened. Some feared lest by this unexpected occurrence he might be deterred from conversion. It happened far different, however; for his house being almost uninjured, he thence drew the conclusion that God was propitious to him and approved his design by a manifest token. Wherefore, uniting a great reformation in morals with the faith he professed, he now sheds abroad the very sweet savor of a good example, upon all who are acquainted with him.

A certain one, when he had felt some internal drawings of the faith of God, had desired prayer-beads for himself; but afterwards, having changed his mind, he was accustomed to smoke them in his pipe with tobacco, after they had been ground to powder, often boasting that he had eaten up his "Ave Marias;" for so he called the beads, by telling of which the salutation of the angel is recited. But the divine vengeance did not let the wicked crime go long unpunished; for scarcely a year having passed, on the returning vigils of the day on which he had abandoned his purpose of embracing the catholic faith, a more sacrilegious playfulness possessed him, as was noticed by his companions. Therefore, in the afternoon, when he had betaken himself to the river for the purpose of swimming, scarcely had he touched the water when a huge fish having suddenly seized the wicked man, before he could retreat to the bank, tore away, at a bite, a large portion of his thigh, by the pain of which most merited laceration, the unhappy wretch was hurried away from the living—the divine justice bringing it about that he who a little while before boasted that he had eaten up his "Ave Maria beads," should see his own flesh devoured, even while he was yet living.

1642. In the mission of Maryland for the year 1642, just elapsed, we have had only three companions and those three priests, one of whom too was confined by sickness of three months'

months' duration. This was father Roger Rigby. The other two were father Philip Fisher, superior of the mission, and father Andrew White, who separated themselves in different places for the purpose of collecting more fruit. The superior, father Philip, remained for the most part at St. Mary's, the chief town of the colony, in order that he might take care of the English, who live there in greater numbers, and also of the Indians not living far distant, as well as those going and coming backwards and forwards. Father Andrew betook himself to his former station at Pascataway ; but father Roger went to a new settlement, which in the vulgar idiom they call Patuxen, in order to learn the more easily the Indian language ; also, that he might better instruct some neophytes, and scatter along the bank of that great river the seed of faith. This was almost the only fruit his labors.

Father Andrew suffered no little inconvenience from a hard-hearted and troublesome captain of New England, whom he had engaged for the purpose of taking him and his affairs, from whom he was in fear a little while after, not without cause, that he would either be cast into the sea, or be carried with his property to New England, which is full of puritan calvinists—that is of all calvinist heresy. Silently committing the thing to God, at length in safety he reached Potomac—they vulgarly call it Patemeak, in which harbor, when they had cast anchor, the ship stuck so fast, bound by a great quantity of ice, that for the space of seventeen days it could not be moved. Walking on the ice as if on land, the father departed for the town ; and when the ice was broken up, the ship, driven and jammed by the force and violence of the ice, sunk, the cargo being in a great measure recovered.

By this misfortune the father was detained longer in his visit, to wit: seven weeks ; for he found it necessary to bring another ship from St. Mary's. But the spiritual advantage of souls readily compensated for that delay ; for during that time was added to the church the ruler of that little village, with the other principal men of its inhabitants, who received the faith of Christ and baptism. Besides these, also another, with many of his friends ; a third likewise, with his wife, his son, and a friend ; a fourth, in like manner, with another of no ignoble standing among his people. By their example the people are prepared to receive the faith whenever we will have leisure to instruct them by catechism.

Not long after, the young empress (as they call her at Pascataway)

cataway) was baptized in the town of St. Mary's and is being educated there, and is now a proficient in the English language. Almost at the same time the town called Portobacco, to a great extent, received the faith, with baptism. Which town, as it is situated on the river Pamac, (the inhabitants call it Pamake,) almost in the centre of the Indians, and so more convenient for excursions in all directions, we have determined to make our residence; and the more so, because we fear that we may be compelled to abandon Pascataway, on account of its proximity to the Susquehannoes, which nation is the most savage and warlike of these regions, and hostile to the christians.

An attack having been recently made on a place of ours, they slew the men that we had there, and carried away our goods, with great loss. And unless they be restrained by force of arms, which we little expect from the counsels of the English, who disagree among themselves, we will not be safe there.

Wherefore, we have to be content with excursions, many of which we have made this year in ascending the river which they call Patuxen, of which this fruit has arisen, namely the conversion of the young queen of the town of that place, of the same name with the river there, and her mother: also of the young queen of Portobacco; of the wife and two sons of Tayac the great, as they call him—that is the emperor who died last year; and of one hundred and thirty others besides. The following is our manner of making an excursion. We are carried in a pinnace or galley, to wit: the father, the interpreter, and a servant—for we use an interpreter, as will be stated hereafter—two of them propel the boat with oars, when the wind fails or is adverse; the third steers with the helm. We take with us a little chest of bread, butter, cheese, corn, cut and dried before it is ripe, beans, and a little flour—another chest, also, for carrying bottles, one of which contains wine for religious purposes, six others holy water for the purpose of baptism; a casket with the sacred utensils, and a table for altar for performing sacrifice; and another casket full of trifles, which we give the Indians to conciliate their affection—such as little bells, combs, fishing-hooks, needles, thread, and other things of this kind. We have, besides, a little tent, when we are obliged to lie out in the open air, which is frequently the case; also, a larger one, which is intended to keep out the rain. The servants also bring other things which are necessary for hunting, and preparing for food whatever they have taken in hunting.

In our excursions we endeavor as much as we can to reach by

by evening some English house, or Indian village, but if not we land, and to the father falls the care of mooring the boat fast to the shore, then of collecting wood and making a fire, while in the meantime the two others go hunt—so that whatever they take may be prepared. But if not, having refreshed ourselves with our provisions, we lie down by the fire and take our rest. If fear of rain threatens, we erect our hut and cover it with a larger mat spread over; nor, praise be to God, do we enjoy this humble fare and hard couch with a less joyful mind than more luxurious provisions in Europe: with this present comfort that God now imparts to us a foretaste of what he is about to give to those that labor faithfully in this life, and mitigates all hardships with a degree of pleasantness; so that his divine majesty appears to be present with us, in an extraordinary manner. For the difficulty of this language is so great that none of us can yet converse with the Indians without an interpreter. Father Rigby has made a little progress, so that he hopes he will be able by a short time to converse with them, upon things of ordinary importance, as far as may be necessary to instruct them to be admitted to baptism; for he has composed a short catechism, by the aid of an interpreter. These things, I say, being considered, it appears miraculous that we have been able to effect any thing with them; especially when we have no interpreter, except a young man, who is not himself so well acquainted with their language, but that he sometimes excites their laughter; so that when, for a time, we seemed almost to despair in mind, nevertheless, by patience we are succeeding, and in a gradual way are bringing them over to what we desire.

It has also pleased the divine goodness, by the virtue of his cross, to effect something beyond mere human power. The circumstances are these: a certain Indian called an Anacostan from his country, but now a christian, whilst he was making his way with others through a wood, fell behind his companions, a little ahead, when some savages of the tribe of Susquehannoes, which I have mentioned before, attacked him suddenly from an ambuscade, and with a strong and light spear of locust wood, from which they make their bows, with an iron point, oblong at the sides, run him through from the right side to the left, at a hand's breadth below the armpit, near the heart itself, with a wound two fingers broad at each side. From the effect of this, when the man had fallen, his enemies fly with the utmost precipitation; but his friends, who had gone on before, recalled by the sudden noise and shout, return and carry the man from the land

land to the boat, which was not far distant, and thence to his home at Pascataway, and leave him speechless and out of his senses. The thing being reported to father White, who by chance was but a short distance off, hastened to him the following morning, and found the man before the doors lying on a mat before the fire and enclosed by a circle of his tribe—not indeed altogether speechless or out of his senses, as the day before, but expecting the most certain death almost every moment, and with a mournful voice joining in the song with his friends that stood around, as is the custom in the case of the more distinguished of these men when they are thought to be certainly about to die. But some of his friends were christians, and their song, which, musically indeed, but with plaintive inflexion of tone, they modulated, was, "may he live, oh God! if it so please thee;" and they repeated it again and again, until the father attempted to address the dying man, who immediately knew the father, and showed him his wounds. The father pitied him exceedingly; but when he saw the danger to be most imminent, the other things being omitted, he briefly runs over the principal articles of faith; and repentance of his sins being excited, he received his confession; then, elevating his soul with hope and confidence in God, he recited the gospel which is appointed to be read for the sick, as also the litany of the Blessed Virgin, and told him to commend himself to her most holy intercessions, and to call unceasingly upon the most sacred name of Jesus. Then the father, applying the sacred relics of the most holy cross, which he carried in a casket hung to his neck, but had now taken off, to the wound on each side, before his departure, (for it was necessary to depart before the morrow, to an aged Indian who was considered about to die, for the purpose of administering baptism,) directed the bystanders, when he should breathe his last, to carry him to the chapel for the purpose of burial.

It was now noon when the father departed; and the following day; at the same hour, when by chance he was borne along in his boat, he saw two Indians propelling a boat with oars towards him; and when they had come along side, one of them put his foot into the boat in which the father was sitting. Whilst he gazed on the man with fixed eyes, being in doubt, for in a measure he recognised him by his features who he was, but in part was in doubt, recollecting in what state he had left him the day before, when the man, on a sudden, having thrown open his cloak, and having disclosed the cicatrices of the wounds, or rather a red spot on each side, as the trace of the wound, immediately

diately removed all doubt from him. Moreover, in language with great exultation, he exclaims, " that he is entirely well, nor from the hour at which the father had left yesterday had he ceased to invoke the most holy name of Jesus, to whom he attributed his recovered health. All who were in the boat with the father, after they investigated the thing, both by the sense of seeing and hearing, breathing forth into praise of God and thanksgiving, were greatly rejoiced and confirmed in the faith at this miracle.

But the father advising the man that, always mindful of so great and manifest a blessing, he should return thanks, and finally persevere to treat that holy name and most holy cross, with love and reverence, dismisses the same from him. Then returning to his own boat together with the other, he boldly propelled it with the oar, which he could not have done unless he had been of sound and entire strength.

This is about the sum of the labor and fruit for this year ; one thing, however, remains not altogether to be omitted, though to be touched upon lightly, to wit: this thing, that occasion of suffering has not been wanting from those from whom rather it was proper to expect aid and protection ; who, too intent upon their own affairs, have not feared to violate the immunities of the church, by using their endeavors that laws of this kind formerly passed in England and unjustly observed there, may obtain like force here, to wit: that it shall not be lawful for any person or community, even ecclesiastical, in any wise, even by gift, to acquire or possess any land, unless the permission of the civil magistrate first be obtained. Which thing, when our people declared it to be repugnant to the laws of the church, two priests were sent from England who might teach the contrary. But the reverse of what was expected happened; for our reasons being heard, and the thing itself being more clearly understood, they easily fell in with our opinion, and the laity in like manner generally. This I add, by way of conclusion, that two others have recently come to us from England, to our great comfort, after an unpleasant voyage of fourteen weeks, whereas it is not generally more than six or eight. But of these and their labors and their fruit, if God grant others, we hope indeed that it will be abundant; thus far, we may predict from their present zeal and the emulation of their minds, since that is the most certain sign of the abiding of Him with us who is the unit of the whole, and the beginning of all unity.

1654. This year father Francis Fitzherbert, destined for Maryland

Maryland, at the first intimation of our superior, without a single companion, with magnanimity and alacrity of mind, entered upon an arduous expedition, and a laborious and long journey among unknown men, dissimilar in morals and religion. Nor, during his whole journey, was there wanting an abundant harvest to his merit, from his confidence in God and his patience. Four ships sailed together from England, which a fearful storm overtook, when carried beyond the Western Isles, and the ship in which the father was carried, the violent winds so shattered, that, springing a leak by the continued violence of the sea, it left the pump almost hopeless. But in carrying away and exhausting the water, the men, four at a time, not only of the ship's crew, but of the passengers, every one in his turn, sweated at the great pump, in ceaseless labor, day and night.

Wherefore, having changed their course, their intention was to make sail towards the island which the English call Barbadoes; but it could be accomplished by no art, by no labor; then the design was, having abandoned the ship, to commit themselves with their wares to the long boat. But the sea, swelling with adverse winds and the huge mountainous waves, forbade. Many a form of death presenting itself to the minds of all, the habitude of terror, now grown familiar, had almost excluded the fear of death. The tempest lasted, in all, two months, whence the opinion arose that it was not on account of violence of the ship or atmosphere, but was occasioned by the malevolence of witches. Forthwith they seize a little old woman suspected of sorcery, and after examining her with the strictest scrutiny, guilty or not guilty, they slay her, suspected of this very heinous sin. The corpse, and whatever belonged to her, they cast into the sea. However, the winds did not thus remit their violence, or the raging sea its threatenings. To the troubles of the storm, sickness was added, which having spread to almost every person, carried off not a few. Nevertheless, the father remained untouched by all the contagion, and unharmed, except that in working and exercising at the pump too laboriously, he contracted a slight fever of a few days' continuance. Having passed through multiplied dangers, at length, by the favor of God, the ship reached the port of Maryland.

1656. In Maryland, during the year last past, our people have escaped grievous dangers, and have had to contend with great difficulties and straits, and have suffered many unpleasant things as well from enemies as our own people. The English who inhabit Virginia had made an attack on the colonists, themselves

themselves Englishmen too, and safety being guarantied on certain conditions, received indeed the governor of Maryland, with many others in surrender; but the conditions being treacherously violated, four of the captives, and three of them catholics, were pierced with leaden balls. Rushing into our houses, they demanded for death the impostors, as they called them, intending inevitable slaughter to those who should be caught. But the fathers, by the protection of God, unknown to them, were carried before their faces: their books, furniture, and whatever was in the house, fell a prey to the robbers. With almost the entire loss of their property, private and domestic, together with great peril of life, they were secretly carried into Virginia, and in the greatest want of necessaries, scarcely, and with difficulty, do they sustain life. They live in a mean hut, low and depressed, not much unlike a cistern or even a tomb in which that great defender of the faith, St. Athanasius, lay concealed for many years. To their other miseries this inconvenience was added, that whatever comfort or aid this year, under name of stipend, from pious men in England, was destined for them, had been lost, the ship being intercepted in which it was carried. But nothing affects them more than that there is not a supply of wine which is sufficient to perform the sacred mysteries of the altar. They have no servant, either for domestic use or for directing their way through unknown and suspected places, or even to row and steer the boat, if at any time there is need. Often over spacious and vast rivers, one of them, alone and unaccompanied, passes and repasses long distances, with no other pilot directing his course than Divine Providence. By and by the enemy may be gone and they may return to Maryland; the things which they have already suffered from their people, and the disadvantages which still threaten, are not much more tolerable.

1669. Two priests of us have charge of the Maryland mission; the third, father Peter Manner, in the beginning of his labors and harvest, was suddenly taken from amongst us, no less to the regret than the loss of the inhabitants; both because that in six years he had become acquainted with the character of the region, and especially, that he was a man full of the apostolic spirit and of great promise, of whose virtues I omit any thing further, as they are about to be set forth in an eulogy which will be sent to you. To repair this loss, two priests, with a temporal coadjutor, were lately sent over this fall; so that, the two who were already here being numbered, the mission consists of four priests and three temporal coadjutors.

1670.

1670. In this mission are three priests and three temporal coadjutors. This year we have learned a remarkable thing, which, though it happened here many years ago, and very likely may have been recorded in our annals of former times, notwithstanding, since it has been copied by us this very year, confirmed also by the authentic testimony of an eye-witness and public notary, it has seemed proper to touch upon the matter here, at least, in a brief manner. It is, however, necessary for me to premise this one thing, that it has been established by custom and usage of the catholics who live in Maryland, during the whole night of the 31st of July following the festival of St. Ignatius, to honor with a salute of cannon their tutelar guardian and patron saint.

Therefore, in the year 1646, mindful of the solemn custom, the anniversary of the holy father being ended, they wished the night also consecrated to the honor of the same by the continual discharge of artillery. At the time, there were in the neighborhood certain soldiers, unjust plunderers, Englishmen indeed by birth, of the heterodox faith, who, coming the year before with a fleet, had invaded with arms almost the entire colony, had plundered, burnt, and finally, having abducted the priests and driven the Governor himself into exile, had reduced it to a miserable servitude. These had protection in a certain fortified citadel, built for the purpose of their own defence, situated about five miles from the others; but now, aroused by the nocturnal report of the cannon, the day after, that is, on the first of August, rush upon us with arms, break into the houses of the catholics, and plunder whatever there is of arms or powder.

After a while, when at length they had made an end of plundering, and had arranged their departure, one of them, a fellow of a beastly disposition, and a scoffer, both contemptible and blasphemous, even dared to assail St. Ignatius himself with filthy scurrility and a more filthy act. "Away to the wicked cross with you, papists!" says he, "who take delight in saluting your poor saint by the firing of cannon. I have a cannon, too, and I will give him a salute more suitable and appropriate to so miserable a saint." This being said, (let me not offend the delicacy of your ears,) he resounded with a loud report, and departed, while his companions deride with their insolent laughter.

But his impious and wicked scurrility cost the wretch dear; for, scarcely had he proceeded two hundred paces from the place, when he felt a commotion of the bowels within, and that he was solicited to privacy; and when he had gone about the same

same distance on his way, he had to withdraw privately again, complaining of an unusual pain of his bowels, the like of which he had never felt in his life before. The remaining part of his journey, to wit: four miles, was accomplished in a boat; in which space the severe torture of his bowels and the looseness of his belly frequently compelled him to land. Having arrived at the fort, scarcely in possession of his mind, through so great pain, he rolls himself at one time on the ground, at another casts himself on a bench, again on a bed, crying out all the time with a loud voice "I am burning up! I am burning up! There is a fire in my belly! There is a fire in my bowels!" The officers, having pitied the deplorable fate of their comrade, carry him at length, placed in a boat, to a certain Thomas Hebden, a skilful surgeon; but the malady had proceeded farther than could be cured or alleviated by his art. In the meantime you could hear nothing else coming from his lips, than that well-known and mournful cry "I am burning up! I am burning up! Fire! Fire!" The day after, which was the second of August, his intolerable suffering growing worse every hour, his bowels began to be voided, piecemeal. But on the 3d of August, furious and raging, he passed larger portions of the intestines, some of which were a foot, some a foot and a half, others two feet long. At length, the fourth day drained the whole pump, so that it left nothing remaining but the abdomen, empty and void. Still surviving, he saw the dawning of the fifth day, when the unhappy wretch ceased to see and live, an example to posterity of divine vengeance warning mankind:

"Discite justitiam moniti et non contemnere divos."

Innumerable persons, still living, saw the intestines of the dead man for many months hung upon the fence posts, among whom also he who has added his testimony to these things, and with his eyes saw and with his hands handled the bowels, blackened and as if crisped up by fire, of this modern Judas, who, when being hung, broke in the midst and all his bowels gushed out.

1671. The Maryland mission has four companions, two priests and two temporal coadjutors. This mission succeeds prosperously, as we have learned from the last letters, and bears no mean harvest; and would yield greater, if more laborers would till it. Of those who were sent in former years very few remain, the others being removed by death, of which number this year were father William Pellam, and Thomas Sherbon, temporal coadjutor. In this mission fifty four have been brought to the catholic faith; and twenty general confessions have been received.

1672.

1672. Two priests have care of the Maryland mission, to whom as many coadjutors have been added for the care of temporal and domestic affairs. From the last return made, it is counted—seventy brought over to the church, one hundred baptized, twenty general confessions received.

1673. This year, two priests and one temporal coadjutor are here. They bestow their principal labor in confirming catholics in the faith, and imbuing them with piety, but labor also as occasion serves with the heretics, and of these have brought into the fold of the church twenty-eight; but by sacred baptism have regenerated seventy infants to Christ. But two fathers of the order of St. Francis, sent from England the year before, have entered into a portion of the labors and harvest; between whom and us offices of kindness are mutually observed for the common prosperity of the catholic cause.

1674. The mission has three confederates, two priests and one coadjutor: the latter indeed watches over the temporal affairs; but by the labors of the former, thirty-four have been brought to the faith and the catholic church; seventy five have been baptized; seven general confessions have been received.

1675. During the autumn last past the mission has been augmented by a new addition of four confederates, to wit: two priests and as many coadjutors, who sailed from London about the end of November, with the royal fleet, all of whom, we learn from the letters of father Francis Pennington, arrived in those parts in health and safety; who, nevertheless, states that a companion with him, father Nicholas Gulich, who had contracted a severe sickness on ship-board, is still grievously ill; but that there is no doubt of his recovery. But what fruit our people have produced in the culture of this vineyard we have not yet learned.

1677. The Maryland mission numbers six confederates; it was increased, about the close of the year, by two confederates, one a priest, the other a lay coadjutor. At this place Francis Knotchball, a temporal coadjutor, departed this life. He was admitted into the order at Walter, on 20th November, 1671, and, while yet in his noviciate, with great zeal was desirous of the Maryland mission, which at length he obtained about the close of the year 1674; in which, however, it was not permitted him to prosper more than the space of two years; for in the 6th of January of the following year, 1677, he was carried off by death.

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